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A social identity model of riot diffusion: from injustice to empowerment in the 2011 London riots

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Combined timeline for Brixton, Croydon, and Clapham riots, August 2011

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
5th August	20:27					Clapham Common Tube station	"Strong visible police presence". (20:27)
6th August	21:43 - 23:26		Tweets advocating and discussing the possibility of a riot in Brixton.				
6th - 7th August	23:20 - 00:07	Morley's, Brixton High Street	Tweets reporting Morley's broken into and Brixton riot.			Lambeth	Scotland Yard introduced special section 60 powers allowing stop and search without reasonable suspicion. (00:00)
6th - 7th August	23:30 - 13:30		Tweets advocating that H&M, New Look, Footlocker, KFC, JD Sports, Argos, and phone shops such as Carphone Warehouse and T-Mobile should be looted.				
7th August	Throughout					Lambeth	Violence and disturbances reported.
7th August	00:22		Tweet suggesting the incidents this evening never turned into a riot.				

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
7th August	00:49	Acre Lane	Tweet reporting a possible riot on Acre Lane.				
7th August	01:02	Brixton	Tweets confirming that the reports of a riot in Brixton this evening were fake.				
7th August	02:00	SW2 2LA	By unknown person stealing unattended bicycle from street.				
7th August	Morning	Brixton	News that Brixton is likely to have unrest.				
7th - 8th August	10:00 - 04:00	Coldharbour Lane and Moorlands Road, SW9 8QH	Large group of masked youths with weapons rampaging through Coldharbour Lane and Moorlands Road, throwing missiles at police, at cars, carrying weapons and missiles, smashing the windows of premises. (36 entries)				
7th August	From 11:02		Tweets suggesting that Currys will be attacked.				
7th - 8th August	11:45 - 00:30	SW9 7NJ	Victim was pushed off his delivery bike. Beaten while on the ground and had the pizzas and delivery bike was stolen.				
7th August	12:05 - 17:45		Tweet: "Der Gonna Start Ah Riot At Brixton Splash".				

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
7th August	16:15	SW9 9QA	Suspect has grabbed victim's wrist and taken his phone from his hand.				
7th August	18:00 - 20:00	Brixton Foot Locker	Brick thrown through foot locker				
7th August	After Splash	Brixton	As Splash crowd walks to street party, police trail behind, trying to "separate out the crowd". Crowd clashed with police.				
7th August	Just before unrest	Brixton	Rioters chasing police, trying to scare them.				
7th August	After Splash	Coldharbour Lane	Rioters begin covering up and preparing weapons. Most rioters vandalising first to let police know riot was about to begin. Rioters knock bins over to get bottles to use as weapons.				
7th August	After Splash + next 3 hours	Brixton	Youth stabbed by crowd member, youth grabbed by police, stabber runs away and is bottled by the crowd.				
7th August	18:08		Tweet reporting possible "mini-riot" in Brixton.				
7th August	18:30	Brixton	Rioters fight police. Police injured after intervening in an altercation with youths. Missiles were thrown.				

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
			During the second day the disorder extended to other parts of North London and also erupted in Lambeth. At 1830hrs police were injured in an altercation with youths in Brixton. Disorder escalated in these and other areas and continued into the early hours of the following morning.				
7th August	18:47		Tweet: "Bottles thrown and the riot gear is out in #Brixton...."				
7th August	18:49		Tweet: "#BrixtonSplash was actually calm! Apart from one small incident."				
7th August	18:53		Tweet: "Police have just got the riot gear out. Rioters lobbing rubbish from our recycling bin...#brixton"				
7th August	19:00	Brixton	Brixton Splash event and Domino Club party end in the evening, lots of young people still on streets. "Police told me that they had been a larger than normal police presence in the area				

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			because the Splash Festival had been taking place in Brixton earlier in the day but had finished at 7pm."				
7th August	19:00 - 19:59	SW9 8UB	Group of youths threw empty glass bottles at Police minibus as it drove past smashing rear nearside window and injuring officers				
7th August	19:03		Tweet: "Its goin down just off my rd. Brixton..."				
7th August	19:04 - 20:15		Tweets reassuring the Brixton riot hasn't started yet, likely confusion with the Splash crowd, involving a "minor incident lasting a couple of minutes..." and people getting chased by police.				
7th August	19:38		Tweet: "What the hell is going on in Brixton tonight? Riot vans, hundreds of police cars!"				
7th August	19:48	SW9 8UR	The victim claimed he was stood in the street and was punched from behind for apparent reason causing his eye to swell.				
7th August	20:00	Brixton Town Centre	People packing away equipment from Splash				

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
7th August	20:00	Brixton	BBM Broadcasts planning riots in Brixton at 00:00. (About 20:00)				
7th August	20:13			Croydon	BBM messages intercepted by MPS suggesting riots in Croydon.		
7th August	20:18			London Rd, Norbury and Purley Way, West Croydon	First reported incident of robbery/looting in Croydon borough		
7th August	Just after 20:18			The Retreat, Thornton Heath	Officers have stones thrown at them.		
7th August	20:20	Lambeth	Further reports of disorder in Lambeth due to the Brixton splash event - further PSUs deployed.				
7th August	20:22		Tweet: "The Riot Has Started In Brixton, 5 Minutes Away From My House - _ - Thanks."				
7th August	20:28		Tweet claiming their friend at the riot helped raid Foot Locker.				
7th August	20:30	Brixton	"getting dark but nothing was really going on, just people running around. People trying to break, you could hear people trying to break stuff but you don't really see anything being broken." (About 20:30)	Croydon	A further message circulates via social networking stating <i>"meeting Croydon 10pm; let's burn it down"</i> .		

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
7th August	23:00	SW9 8QH	VIW reporting criminal damage to van outside home address and tools stolen from rear or VEH. Witnessed by VIW during rioting.	Borough of Croydon	Duty Inspector authorised use of Section 60 CJPOA search powers for Croydon Borough. (Just after 23:00)		
7th August	23:00 - 23:15	SW9 8QH	Offenders entered store as owner attempted to close and prevented him from closing. Suspects jumped over counter into staff area and stole property. (5 entries)	Overton's Yard, Croydon town centre	The police are stopping small groups under Section 60; 2 youths arrested in Overton's Yard. (Just after 23:00)		
7th August	23:00 - 01:00	SW9 8PA (Likely Gamemaster)	Unknown suspects have tried to smash through front door using a large metal pole.				
7th August	23:05 - 23:07	SW2 4QY (Tesco Express)	suspects smashed way in store, threatened staff and stole cash and alcohol before leaving				
7th August	23:09		Tweet: "Been on duty now 16hrs straight in full riot gear.,Reports of looting and trouble in Brixton..."				
7th August	23:16		Tweet: "I don't think the riot in Brixton has started there trying to start it is just youth running up an down so FAR? ??"				
7th August	23:18		"gangs...now [in] Brixton!"				

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
7th August	Around 23:20		"Police are out in force..." This wasn't until around 40 minutes after looting had started though.				
7th August	23:22		"Unconfirmed reports are circulating that a police van's just been smashed in Brixton..."				
7th August	23:23	JD Sports	Tweet: "Brixton didn't riot, they broke into jd I swear -."				
7th August	23:28	Gresham Road, Brixton, SW9	Fire engine Windscreen damaged by rioters as engine en route to fire.				
7th August	23:26			Croydon	All non-Croydon police units stood down.		
7th August	23:29	Brixton	"Large group of youths in Brixton just started throwing bottles at police. Their faces are covered, apparently."				
7th August	23:30	Moorlands Estate	Fight broke out, police pelted with missiles, crowd moved to centre of Brixton where H&M, Vodafone, McDonalds, fire ended looting of Footlocker. "The earlier crowd of screaming, running youths had been replaced by voyeurs with				

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
			cameras, intermingled with excitable teenagers shouting that they were off to the jeweller's."				
7th August	After Moorlands	Brixton	Fight on moorland's estate, 200 youths, moved up to Coldharbour lane. lots of details in this source				
7th - 8th August	During looting	WHSmith; H&M	WHSmith was first place hit. Second place was H&M.				
7th - 8th August	During looting	William Hill, Coldharbour Lane	Looters broke into bookies, but there was nothing in there so they ran away.				
7th - 8th August	During looting	Nandos and Western Union	Interviewee participant in throwing bricks through Nando's and Western Union. others looted Foot Locker, McDonalds and KFC				
7th August	23:30	Brixton	Masked people pelt police officers with stones and bottles. 2 separate cordons established, businesses advised to close.				
7th - 8th August	23:30 - early hours	Foot locker, Halfords, Currys	Foot locker, Halfords, and Currys all looted. Rival gangs helped each other raid Foot Locker. Looters steal bikes from Halfords, small police presence. Soon after "So				

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			we've got, there's a small number of police officers that have attended to Halfords, and the group have split, it looks like sort of in two, one are going further up to Brixton Hill, Tulse Hill direction; and one have turned left. So as we've been speaking, they've dispersed."				
7th August	23:38		Tweet: "Youths have done runner now. #Brixton #riots".				
7th August	23:40	SW9 8LN	VEH windows smashed and doors kicked in during riots in Brixton. Property discovered taken from car boot.				
7th August	23:45 - 23:50	SW9 8HE	Victim was punched in the side of the face on his helmet with unknown implement and his scooter taken.				
7th August	23:47		Tweet: "Woah, actual riot happening outside my flat in Brixton. Fires in the middle of the road further up, police blockades, lots of sirens."				
7th August	23:47		"Reporters from the mainstream news agencies are being dispatched to Brixton now."				

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
7th August	23:50	SW9 8HE	Wounding/GBH & Criminal Damage To M/V - By unknown suspect throwing bottle at victim and striking him on head causing injury during large scale public disorder.				
7th - 8th August	23:50 - 00:10	SW9	Theft of axe from LFB. (2 entries)				
7th - 8th August	23:52 - 00:04	Coldharbour Lane	Tweets suggesting Brixton was a "mini-riot," possibly contained on Coldharbour Lane.				
7th August	23:55 - 23:58	SW9 7AW	Victim had moped taken from him, then when recovered was found to be damaged.				
7th - 8th August	23:55 - 00:05	SW9 8EN (McDonald's)	By several masked suspects entering the restaurant by force with the intention of stealing cash from the tills. (8 entries)				
7th - 8th August	23:55 - 00:20	SW9 8HH (KFC)	Offenders entered the premises when it was open, and part of group smashed windows in the restaurant whilst other members of the group trespassed over the counter into the staff area and damaged to the cash tills and stole cash. (8 entries)				

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(Date not included)	Late evening					Tesco, Clapham Junction.	Tesco looted.
8th August	Non-specific					Wandsworth	Wandsworth sends two inspectors, seven sergeants and 44 constables to be deployed centrally by the MPS. between 23 and 30 officers were left available locally.
8th August	00:00		Tweet: "Big Brixton Riot. My uncle just left. He works in brixton n started running. People breaking JD Sports n H&M windows. I swear to God".				
8th August	Just after 00:00	Likely Near the Ritzy Cinema	"...large groups of youths had begun indiscriminately smashing windows of shop fronts."				
8th August	After 00:00	Brixton	Police blocked off bridge past foot locker ("If I'm standing on Brixton road, and tube on right and Morley's on my left") with white board so no one could drive through. Police stood by KFC not doing anything. 20 on one end and 10-15 on the other side, riot gear, watching only.				

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8th August	During Looting	Brixton	Once finished with WHSmith, H&M, tried M&S. Morden's, but couldn't get in. Moved to Currys.				
8th August	00:00	Brixton	At "dead on 12 o'clock. Dead on.", as planned, people with faces covered/ hoodies showed up and set fires to bins, block the road				
8th August	non-specific, after midnight	Currys	Currys looted.			Wandsworth	Police receive information that police stations were to be attacked with hand grenades. (Morning, before 03:20)
8th August	00:01	SW2 4XA	by subject being stopped and searched and found in possession of a mobile phone which was reported stolen by means of a burglary on the 8th August from a mobile phone shop during the riots.				
8th August	00:01	SW2 1BZ	By unknown suspects forcing entry to vehicle.				
8th August	00:01	Comet & Curtis (??)	Looting of Comet & Curtis (??).				
8th August	00:01	SW9 7AW, Brixton Town centre	Large scale violent disorder being committed around Brixton Town centre. lots of youths. a member of				

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			this group through a bottle hitting viw1 in the face as he was riding a moped with his visor up. Bottle did not break, injuries = ABH. Bricks and bottles thrown at police car with officers inside.				
8th August	00:01 - 01:00	SW9 8PL	crim dam to m/v				
8th August	00:01 - 02:00	SW9 8TP	VIW was robbed by unknown suspects whilst joining in the looting and rioting in Brixton.				
8th August	00:02	Brixton Recreation Centre	Brixton Recreation Centre on Fire. PROBABLY UNTRUE				
8th August	00:06	Coldharbour Lane	Tweet: "Coldharbour lane, Brixton, riot police barrier, bottles thrown, 5 bins alight in road. 999 state not sending fire brigade for police safety".				
8th August	00:07	Coldharbour Lane	"Coldharbour Lane in Brixton has a heavy police presence but that's about it so far."				
8th August	00:10	T-Mobile	T-Mobile looted.				
8th August	00:11		"Brixton a few minutes ago. Not many police in that particular area despite earlier reports of 200+ youths in the area. Perhaps the crowd are beginning to disperse?"				

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	00:20	Brixton	Riot Police block roads.				
8th August	00:22	Coldharbour Lane	"More of Coldharbour Lane in Brixton, police have most definitely got it sealed off."				
8th August	00:23 - 00:25	Foot Locker	Fire in Foot Locker.				
8th August	00:25		Tweet: "Lying in bed listening to what might be a riot out the window in Brixton. Helicopters have gone but there's lots of shouting."	Mitcham and Colliers Wood	Looting of shops.		
8th August	00:27		"Neil Henderson, BBC Home News editor, is on the ground in Brixton and reports that hundreds of people are waiting around corners for the police. Their line doesn't look too strong:"				
8th August	00:28 - 00:44	Brixton	Tweets reporting a heavy riot police presence, likely to protect Foot Locker that is now on fire, M&S also smashed up.				
8th August	Around 00:30	Effra Road	PSUs arrive. Hold end of Effra Road, work south in line, concrete from wall on left & bricks thrown at officers. Looting Currys & other large retail premises. 10-12 arrests made. Dogs deployed.				

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8th August	00:30	SW9 8HE (WHSmith)	Suspect seen by police inside premises				
8th August	00:30	SW9 8BZ	VIW approached by SUSP from group of people amidst rioters in Brixton and felt in fear of her safety. SUSP shouted at victim to get off her bike, which she did. SUSP then cycled it back towards the other rioters.				
8th August	00:30	Brixton	Starts to rain. Met take control centre of Brixton after an hour when in protective gear. Pushed crowd up high street. Advanced slowly at first, then short "charges". Crowd advanced towards Currys.				
8th August	00:30	Brixton	More officers deployed. "Matthew Taylor of the Guardian reports that police are now moving to clear Brixton town centre of rioters. Someone else just said that the police drew batons after an object was thrown at their lines."				
8th August	00:30	SW2 1EN	Unknown suspects pulling a shoulder bag off of the victim's				

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			shoulder and stealing all of the contents without permission.				
8th August	just after 00:30 - 02:00	Currys	Currys Looted.				
8th August	00:35		"Reports of youths now throwing more stones and bottles at police in Brixton."				
8th August	00:38		Tweets confirming Nando's was attacked.				
8th August	00:44	Brixton Underground Station	"Fluid crowd apparently gathering around Brixton tube station and defying efforts by police to disperse them."				
8th August	00:45	Foot Locker, Brixton Road	Six fire engines and 30 firefighters are despatched to a blaze.				
8th August	00:45	SW2	VIW claims he was at bus stop during rioting in Brixton, when SUSP wearing mask over his face demanded VIW hand over his bag. VIW claims he felt in genuine fear of his safety and handed over the bag.				
8th August	00:45	Vodafone	Vodaphone shop smashed. Someone arrested.				
8th August	00:49		Tweet confirming the presence of helicopters.				

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	00:50	Currys	"Curry's in Brixton now coming under attack."				
8th August	00:53	M&S	"Marks and Spencer (M&S) in Brixton has been set alight as well. These rioters seem remarkably well equipped with arson equipment."				
8th August	00:55		"People on the ground in Brixton...are complaining that it's raining."				
8th August	01:00	SW2 1BZ	Criminal Damage To M/V, By unknown suspects forcing entry to vehicle				
8th August	01:00	McDonald's and KFC	McDonald's and KFC smashed by this point.				
8th August	01:00	Brixton High Street	"Situation on Brixton High St becoming calmer, apparently because the rioters have heard that Currys has been broken into."				
8th August	01:00 - 01:29	SW2 1BZ	While on operation VIW was attacked by a suspect who swung a machete at his left arm. Without the protective equipment on VIW'S arm it would have caused GBH.				

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8th August	01:02	Iceland, Calley Road	"Iceland on Calley Road, Brixton, has apparently had a window smashed."				
8th August	01:03		"Heavy rain now falling in Brixton. The BBC's man on the ground says that small groups of rioters are now moving away from the area."				
8th August	01:07	Brixton High Street	Tweet: "Riot police just charged Brixton High St. Prayers for rain answered".				
8th August	01:08	Foot Locker	"Sky News reporting that 6 fire engines are attending the burning Foot Locker store in Brixton."				
8th August	01:10	Currys	Tweet: "It's pretty bad. Lots of riot police, just saw massive group of about 200 people attacking Currys #brixton".				
8th August	01:12	Brixton High Street	"Sean Cameron reports that webcams along Brixton High Street have been blocked from public view."				
8th August	01:12	Currys	Crowd moved to Currys. Shop ransacked. Police pushed back, gaining control at 03.00 with police helicopter.				

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8th August		Currys Effra Road	Stealing goods from people coming out.				
8th August		Currys	"saw 2 people with guns".				
8th August	01:14 - 1:37	Brixton high Street	Tweets: Police vans and police in riot gear block the entry to Brixton High Street, several shops on fire.				
8th August	01:15	Brixton Recreational Centre	Police pushing people back from Brixton Recreational Centre.				
8th August	01:15 - 01:25	SW2 1BZ	MPS police carrier containing Level 2 officers came under attack and extensive damage was done to vehicle by 30-40 suspects.				
8th August	01:15 - 01:25	SW9 9SL	Suspects 30+ attacked vehicle during serious disorder.				
8th August	01:15 - 01:40	SW2 1BZ (Currys, Halfords)	By suspects throwing missiles at the vehicle causing the damage recorded. (01:15 - 01:38)			SW4 7UL (Coral)	Robbery. (01:20 - 01:40)
8th August	01:22	SW9 9HR	Male has been attacked after intervening when a female was also being attacked. He has been punched and kicked and				

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			has lost consciousness. Money has been taken from his pocket in the incident. (2 entries)				
8th August	01:26	Curry's	"Currys in Brixton a few minutes ago:" (see photo)				
8th August	01:30	Brixton	Police retreat after coming under attack with paving stones and other projectiles.				
8th August	01:30	Brixton	Crowd of 100+ people clash with police throwing missiles at officers and looting the local shops, they are dispersed by police helicopter using night-sun lighting.				
8th August	01:30	SW2 1BZ	Individual punching and biting a police officer.				
8th August	1:30 - 1:40	SW2 2TJ (Super Save Food and Wine)	30-40 males a mixed of IC1 and IC3 broke off a lock holding down a shutter to a convenience store, broke the lock lifted shutter and smashed lower pane glass on door entered and made off with sprits, cigarettes and phone cards.				

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8th August	01:30 - 01:45	SW2 1BZ	Viw1 property attempted to be taken by Susp, then viw1 hit to the back of head and then kicked and punched by Susp/s unknown. Susp has then picked up Viw1's pedal cycle which was lying on the ground and rode off.				
8th August	01:30 - 2:30	Currys	Currys Looted				
8th August	01:37	SW2 4QY	Whilst standing on a crime scene officers are approached by two males, one of whom points an automatic weapon towards him. Officer describes as an Uzi or Mac 10.				
8th August	01:39	Atlantic Road and Coldharbour Lane	"...police are still very much on the Brixton scene, in Atlantic Road. Meanwhile heavy rain is putting out fires in commercial waste bins on Coldharbour Road."				
8th August	01:41	McDonald's	"Dedication to duty in Brixton McDonald's as an employee wipes down the tables following rioters' attempts to smash the place up!"				

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8th August	Unsure	Currys	During looting of Currys, crowd ran in different directions when 2 police riot vans (TS3?) arrived from Brixton Road side past McDonald's. Much of the crowd stayed.				
8th August	01:44		Tweet: "Brixton riot appears to be dying down. Not far from the police station..."				
8th August	01:45	Currys	Currys raided again after police retreat.				
8th August	01:45	SW2 2UB	street bin used to smash window.				
8th August	01:45	Currys	"Police have now cordoned off Brixton Curry's and are attempting to regain control there. Looters are spilling away down back streets."				
8th August	01:50	Effra Road, Brixton, SW2	Fire engine Windscreen damaged by rioters as engine en route to fire.				
8th August	01:53		Tweet: "Seen 2 mins ago in Brixton - lots of police officers in riot gear. But no rioters. High St closed."				

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8th August	02:00 - 02:04	SW2 3HN	Suspects have attempted to kick the victim's front door in and have ran off when they have been stopped. No entry gained.				
8th August	02:00 - 02:30	SW9 8QH (Bookies: William Hill?)	A large group have smashed the front window of the store, damaged games machines and computer screens, stolen money from the games machines and attempted to access the safe then escaped via a fire exit.				
8th August	02:00 - 03:00	SW2 1QN (High Spirits?)	Following violent disorder in the local area a group of approximately 20 to 25 males ransacked the shop and stole cigarettes, spirits and wine while the owner just had to stand back and watch.				
8th August	02:00 - 03:00	SW2 1QW (Kwik-stop?)	Pulled shutter up, smashed front window and gained entry. Took various items and left through same front window.				
8th August	02:02	SW9 9SP (Nando's)	Property broken into and set alight. No evidence of theft. (2 entries)				

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8th August	02:03	Acre Lane, Tesco	Tweet: "Rioting kicking off in Brixton, riot squad outside Tesco on Acre Lane. Pretty scary right now!"	Croydon	Information circulating at 0203hrs <i>"everyone out to Croydon for looting"</i> .		
8th August	Just after 02:03			London Rd, West Croydon	Armed males wearing masks, cars turning up with groups of people and an attempted car-jacking.		
8th August	02:04 - 2:21	Currys	Tweet: "Reports riot police have been sent away from Brixton. A Helicopter is landing by currys's #londonriots"				
8th August	02:14	Currys	"Currys in Brixton a few minutes ago. Much calmer than earlier although police efforts to disperse the rioters hasn't quite worked just yet."				
8th August	02:15			George St, Croydon town centre	Group of five stopped, one started fighting with police and was detained.		
8th August	02:18			North End, Croydon	Large groups arriving by car about 20+ one with a spade smashed the window of Brighthouse (electrical goods north end).		

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	02:22	Currys	"Brixton Currys latest. Looks like the police may need to return there and post a few bobbies to keep an eye on the place."				
8th August	02:24	Currys	Tweet: "RT @lukewaterfield Much bigger line of riot police advancing up the road <- approaching Brixton Currys."				
8th August	02:25	Streatham Hill	Windows smashed in Streatham Hill independent computer store.				
8th August	02:26	Currys	"Yet more from Currys in Brixton. Where are the police? Not long ago they were reported to be there and clearing away the looters."				
8th August	02:29 - 03:00	SW2 4QY, Carphone Warehouse	10 + males in dark hooded cloths seen by VIW4 to force entry into CARPHONE WAREHOUSE at 0229 hrs as part of large scale BRIXTON disorder. Seems that Carphone Warehouse was also burnt down (see photo).				
8th August	02:30 - 02:35	SW2 1BZ	VIW 1 was attacked from a side on view, he did not see his attackers.				

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
			From his front line vision. He had his camera and other electrical items stolen from him.				
8th August	02:34	Currys	"Police reinforcements arrive at Currys, and the crowd of looters scatter..."				
8th August	02:37	Effra Road and Currys	"Effra Road, Brixton, is now clear of crowds, reports Sean Cameron. Situation at Currys still fluid – police in the area and lots of looters still walking off with stuff."				
8th August	02:38	Brixton Road (Carphone Warehouse?)	6 Fire Engines and 30 firefighters are fighting a blaze at a shop.				
8th August	02:39	Coldharbour Lane/Atlantic Road crossroads	"Solid line of riot police still sealing off Coldharbour Lane/Atlantic Road crossroads in Brixton."				
8th August	02:45	SW2 1BZ	During the mass disorder in several locations in London, Brixton Currys been broken into and looted. Susp1, Susp2, Susp3 were found in close vicinity of Curry's guarding several electrical items. (24 entries)				

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	02:45	SW2 5TN (Ecclat Hair Salon??)	Susp(s) smashed front door to VEN and stole items from within.				
8th August	02:50	M&S	Tweet stating that M&S was burned down.				
8th August	02:57	Brixton Station, up Effra Road towards Currys	“Latest update from Brixton Currys is that police pushed rioters away from Brixton station up Effra Road towards Currys.” Possibly moved away by 4/5 riot vans and police with shields.				
8th August	03:00	Currys	Police begin to bring looting under control. "A helicopter hovered just above and the police finally moved in as screeching tyres, sirens and shouting kids rang out until 3am."				
8th August	03:00	Brazas Restaurant, 45 Tulse Hill, London, SW2 2TJ	A popular Portuguese cafe on Tulse Hill had their windows, door and counter glass smashed window and food and groceries stolen.				
8th August	03:01	Body Shop	Body shop has been looted by now.				
8th August	03:05	SW2 1AH (Ladbrokes)	Suspects forced their way through front door then searched the counter area. (3 entries)				

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	03:03			Croydon town centre?	Youths gather in Croydon resulting in the decision being taken at 0303hrs that all officers were to be retained on duty.		
8th August	03:05		"Brixton looters reportedly stealing goods from each other now the shops are empty."				
8th August	03:08	SW9 8HE (Brixton News?)	Apparently unknown person has smashed front left hand side door to venue which is main entrance. There is also smoke damage to internal wall of venue.				
8th August	03:12 - 03:18	Coldharbour Lane, M&S, Iceland, Footlocker, McDonald's, and Currys	Map showing shops that have been looted by now. (03:12)			SW12 9RE	Suspect chased, stopped and searched by police following a break in. Found in possession of a lock knife. (03:15 - 03:18)
8th August	03:15 - 03:19		"Police helicopter has apparently moved away from Brixton – not heard for about quarter of an hour now. Possibly gone to refuel." (03:15)			SW12 9AP (Ladbrokes)	Suspects broke into the venue by smashing the front door. They then forced the 2 tills open and made off with approximately £200 of cash. (3 entries; 03:15 - 03:19)

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	03:20 - 03:22	Aldi	"Small groups of looters are running rings around the police in Brixton. Three police carriers sped up to Aldi before driving off abruptly." (03:22)			Wandsworth	Local Superintendent authorises use of Section 60 CJOA. (03:20)
8th August	03:27	Coldharbour Lane	"Coldharbour Lane in Brixton has apparently calmed down as well, with the only people present being bored policemen and cars driving away from the area."				
8th August	03:30	Currys	Tweet: Outside Currys in #Brixton, the police were chased away with stones and bricks. 3 riot vans fled".				
8th August	03:39			London Rd, Purley Way in Croydon and Norbury	Looting reported in London Road, Purley Way and Norbury. Dog units and two Police Support Units deployed to deal with the disorder.		
8th August	03:43	SW2 4RU (PC Planet)	The venue has had the front window smashed with a rock and access gained. Approximately 20 laptops have been taken from the location.				

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	03:44			London Rd, Norbury	Norbury phones London Rd broken into.		
8th August	03:45			Drummond Mews, Croydon town centre	Groups attempting to break into rear of shops chased off by police.		
8th August	03:49	Brixton Town Centre	"Fire crews are leaving Brixton town centre".			SW4 7TG (Nando's)	The 3 SUS smashed a window and gained entry into the restaurant, restaurant vandalised.
8th August	04:00			Croydon town centre	Police reinforcements consisting of 5 carriers of TSG and dog handlers arrive in Croydon.		
8th August	04:00			North End - Tamworth Rd, Croydon town centre	Two large groups arrive in North End. The group of 30 threw missiles at police and ran down church path onto Tamworth Rd where many were detained.		
8th August	04:05		"Brixton seems to have quietened down now".				
8th August	04:07	Brixton High Street	"Brixton High Street sealed off. Reports of people looting local off-licences as well as big shops."				

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	04:10 - 04:30	SW2 5DB (Royal Mail)	Victims pushed into dept and threatened with knife while mail delivery was stolen from van. (04:10 - 04:30)	Trafalgar Way Retail Park, Purley Way, West Croydon	Looting of Best Buy computer shop. (04:30)	SW11 1PW (O2/Santander)	Unknown suspects have smashed door window to gain entry to shop during night time hours of darkness (4 entries; 04:10 - 04:14)
8th August	07:40	SW9 8HE	By large group of suspects smashing all windows of vehicle.			Blockbusters	Seven arrests were made from an incident at Blockbusters. (Early morning)
8th August	09:00			Croydon Police Station	Local Senior Manager chairs a Gold Group meeting with partners at Croydon Police Station. Plans to reassure the community and inform local shop keepers were made. Intelligence reports suggest Croydon is being targeted.		
8th August	09:00			Croydon town centre	Increased Police presence in town centre.		
8th August	From 09:07		Tweets mentioning that Brixton Underground station and roads closed. (From 09:07)			Northcote Rd, Lavender Hill, Clapham Junction	People first begin to congregate on the entryway to a long stretch of high street from Clapham Junction station down to Northcote Road. Reports say Police in station on Lavender Hill and protesters watch each other. (Unspecified, early, following event 1)

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8th August	09:30				Officers on patrol recover cans of petrol hidden in bushes, which CCTV had showed two youths secreting.		
8th August	09:30			Borough of Croydon	“Mutual Aid” requested from other Police Forces by the Metropolitan Police Service.		
8th August	10:30			Purley Way and Croydon town centre	Officers deployed to specific locations in relation to intelligence received.		
8th August	11:56 and next five hours						First reports of social media messaging claiming there would be riots in Clapham Junction. Members of public and local shop owners called 999.
8th August	Morning - all day	Brixton Underground Station	Brixton Underground Station closed, hours after the unrest.				
8th August	Around midday and the next five hours					Wandsworth	999 calls report social media information on planned violence that night, CJ named.
8th August	12:05			Croydon	Reports that large groups are gathering in Croydon.		

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8th August	12:15			Borough of Croydon	A 'section 60 Order' is issued by Croydon Police to extend stop and search powers across Croydon.		
8th August	12:20			Croydon	Calls to police stating that messages were circulating for 500 people to " <i>gather at JD Sports</i> " to " <i>F**k the Feds</i> ".		
8th August	Just after 12:20			Whitgift Centre, Croydon	Reports received of looting and disorder at the Foot Locker store in the Whitgift Centre.		
8th August	12:22			Croydon	Press statement issued "Stay Away From Croydon" by Croydon Council.		
8th August	12:44			Croydon	Message of reassurance circulated to Croydon Councillors giving update on situation.		
8th August	13:00			Croydon	Second Gold Group Briefing between emergency services and MPS. A decision was taken to retain all officers on duty and for high visibility patrols to be undertaken in the town centre. Contact was to be made with petrol stations and retail		

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
					outlets in Purley Way. Safer Neighbourhoods Team (SNT) officers were deployed to key locations and spent the day visiting local retailers.		
8th August	14:17		More tweets mentioning transport disruption. (14:17)			Clapham Junction	Interviewees received BBM messages giving info on "where to be and what time" (Early afternoon)
8th August	14:24			Croydon	Intelligence reports of further disturbances in central Croydon this afternoon – between 3-4pm. The Clocktower being mentioned as congregating point. JD Sports has also been mentioned as a possible target.		
8th August	14:53			Whitgift Centre, Croydon	Youths gathering in shopping centre		
8th August	15:00 - 15:01		Tweet: "Reports of children of 12 in Brixton riot. http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/blog I saw boy of about that age being robbed by man for his looted TV." (15:01)			Wandsworth	First of police early shift teams dismissed. Seven officers remain due to intelligence reports. (15:00)
8th August	15:30			Croydon	Shops report that they are being tipped off about possible looting that day.		

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	15:30			Whitgift Centre, Croydon	Shops in North End and the Whitgift Centre in central Croydon are warned by circular letter from the police to be extra vigilant that evening, to make sure their premises are fully locked and alarmed after closure and that extra security staff have been drafted in as a precaution.		
8th August	15:50			North End, Croydon	Stores in North End close early as a precaution. There is a strong police presence with about 50 officers in high visibility in the area. They have conducted several stop and searches already.		
8th August	16:00	SW2 1SW	Criminal Damage To a Dwelling by person unknown smashing window and making off.	London Rd and Whitgift Centre, Croydon	Reports of looting at 5 different premises on London Road and the Whitgift Centre. (Just after 16:00)		
8th August	16:20 - 16:30	SW9 8LP	SUS approached VIW and said "just give me the camera mate" before trying to snatch it from VIW. VIW tried to keep hold of it but gave in when SUS slapped him. (16:20 - 16:27)	Croydon	Croydon University Hospital releases a statement about its readiness for any disorder. (16:20)	Croydon	Interviewee in Croydon claims to have received text message advising to be in Clapham Junction. (16:30)

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	16:26			Croydon	Croydon Police say they have an "appropriate policing plan" for the night in the wake of rumours of a planned riot in the town centre.		
8th August	16:30			North End, Croydon	Large groups gathering at North End along with heavy police presence. Police carry out SAS.		
8th August	16:32			Croydon	Email circulated by Croydon Police to community stating that it is "business as usual" in Croydon and that significant numbers of Police were available in the event of any unrest.		
8th August	16:37			Reeves Corner, West Croydon	Call was received referring to a "male with a petrol bomb". Officers attended but no suspect was found.		
8th August	16:51			North End, Croydon	Large groups of youths are reported to be in North End. Police provide advice to numerous retail outlets.		
8th August	By 17:00					Salon (Health & Beauty?)	"By five pm we knew we were going to be hit. I was in salon when brick came through window."

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	17:00						"Multi- agency GOLD meeting notes rumours of attacks planned on Putney, Tooting, Southside shopping centre and Clapham Junction amongst others. Information is described as scrappy and unreliable." [17] [...] "partners present was that, at that time, there were no issues being raised from the local community in Battersea and specifically Clapham Junction." [4]
8th August	Just after 17:15			West Croydon	Reports of gatherings of young people and young adults in West Croydon.		
8th August	17:18			Surrey Street Market, Croydon	Minibuses of youths arrive at Surrey Street Market.		
8th August	17:18			Handcroft Rd, West Croydon	Youths putting on masks.		
8th August	17:25			North End, Croydon	Stores in North End close early as a precaution.	JD Sports	Police around JD Sports
8th August	17:26			New Addington	Information received that New Addington was to be targeted. Vehicle patrols increased. Foot patrols maintained in town centre.		

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	17:30 - 23:00					SW11 5QL (Health & Beauty)	Unknown suspect had smashed the front window to the shop gained entry and removed cash from the till.
8th August	17:42			London Rd, Croydon	A group of at least 10 smashing a shop in London Road.		
8th August	17:42			West Croydon	Group of 30-40 near West Croydon.		
8th August	18:00	SW2 5NT	Victim got out of car after fearing an approaching group at the time of the riots. He left keys behind. He is unsure whether the car is still at location, however this is unlikely as it was in the middle of the road.			Wandsworth	10 more officers paraded for duty. 51 officers now available for deployment.
8th August	18:00 - 18:07	SW2 3BU	SUS pulled knife on VIW and demanded his watch and phone which VIW handed over as he was frightened of being stabbed. (18:00 - 18:07)			SW11 2QS	Susp was present together with others using and threatening unlawful violence for a common purpose. (18:00)
8th August	18:06	SW2 3BU	By susps entering the shop and using a knife to threaten viw1 and steal items.				

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	18:15			North End, Croydon	Police report that youths are gathering at the West Croydon end of North End and at George Street/High Street.		
8th August	18:15			North End, Croydon	Both ends of North End begin to be cordoned off by Police (in Hi Vis) and LBC Mobile Enforcement Officer dog handlers, to the north at the junction of North End and London Rd and to the south at the junction of North End and George St-High St. This effectively protected the shopping centre. Crowds begin to build up at both end of North End, with the larger crowd at the London Rd end. A third police line was formed across Tamworth Rd.		
8th August	18:20			Whitgift Centre, Croydon	Incident in Whitgift Centre, group of youths enter shopping centre and are chased by police and security guards.		
8th August	18:25			North End - London Rd- Station Rd junction, West Croydon	Police report that the numbers of groups had swelled and officers reported large scale disorder in progress. This corresponds to the attacks on Maplin and Paddy Power bookmakers. Also a bus		

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					is stopped on Station Rd and according to MPS crime data, the driver was robbed. It is probable that police gathered at North End-Poplar Walk cordon charged the crowd who were throwing missiles at them.		
8th August	Just after 18:30			North End - London Rd- Station Rd junction, West Croydon	PCSO injured by missiles and sent to hospital.		
8th August	18:45 - 19:00		Tweet: "The Victoria line has been suspended between Stockwell and Brixton "due to civil unrest". (18:58)	West Croydon station	Eight transport police guarding West Croydon Station drive the crowd from the junction of Station Rd and London Rd into London Rd. West Croydon Station closed just before 19:00 with 70 people locked inside. This was because the station lay between missile throwing youths and the police. (18:50)	SW11 1PW (O2/Santander)	Unknown suspects entered the venue by smashing the front window and damaging the front door. (18:45 - 19:00)
8th August	18:57			North End- London Rd junction, Croydon	100 youths are in a stand-off with police as police closed off North End-London Rd junction to pedestrians.		

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	18:58						3/4 riot vans heading to Clapham Junction.
8th August	Just before 19:00					Debenhams	"...the youngsters started trying to smash their way in. It took a while before they finally got into the building. A group of police turned up with riot shields but they quickly withdrew." (Just before 19:00)
8th August	Around 19:00					Winstanley Estate	Reports of young people attacking police. (Around 19:00)
8th August	19:00			Crown Hill, Frith Rd - Surrey St, Croydon town centre	A large portion of a second crowd to the south of North End then ran down Crown Hill and another large group were seen running into Surrey Street from Frith Road. Windows were then heard being smashed and alarms sounding. Police held their cordon at North End-George St-High St.	Outside JD Sports	Whilst on point duty outside JD sports shop in ST John's road, The PCSO had her back to a group of youths. Suddenly she was hit in the back of her head by a very small object which was very hard causing her to nearly faint. (19:00)
8th August	19:00			Tamworth Rd and London Rd, West Croydon	Large groups and large-scale disorder in West Croydon. Police officers started to come under attack from people gathered in the West Croydon and wider London Road area who		

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					were armed with makeshift weapons and projectiles. Looting escalates. (Around 19:00)		
8th August	Just after 19:00			Church St, West Croydon	Argos store looted to the south of the shopping centre (not far from Reeves Corner). Police observe this happening from North End-George St-High St cordon.		
8th - 9th August	19:00 - 08:00					Wandsworth	Over 600 incidents recorded on the Computer Aided Despatch (CAD) system for Wandsworth. In addition to this there were 1000 plus 'linked' calls (incidents of which police were already aware).
8th August	19:01			West Croydon	Croydon Police request reinforcements from Metropolitan Police central command. 90 public order officers sent to West Croydon.		
8th August	Around 19:15			London Rd, West Croydon	A bus is stopped on London Rd by the debris in the road (an attempted barricade) and by the crowd. The windscreen is cracked by a missile and the		

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					passengers get off. The driver tries to stop rioters entering the bus and is roughed up. A scooterist is dragged off his bike shortly after.		
8th August	Just after 19:15			London Rd, West Croydon	Looting of Rock Bottom music shop begins and later an attempt is made to set it on fire.		
8th August	19:16	Coldharbour Lane	Tweet: "Just back from work an there's quite a lot of riot police and plain clothed on Coldharbour Lane. Seem to be expectant #Brixton".				
8th August	19:22			Croydon	Email circulated by Croydon Police requesting immediate assistance.		
8th August	19:24			North End- London Rd junction, West Croydon	After the police lines (Hi Vis) are scouted by rioters on a scooter, a large crowd advances on the cordon with a stolen vehicle as the vanguard. Vehicle drives at police cordon at North End- London Rd and breaks through.	Winstanley Estate and Roads nearby	First reports of small groups gathering. (19:24)
8th August	19:24					Clapham Common	Helicopter and riot vans. (19:24)

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	19:24					Clapham Junction	Patrolling officer reports small groups gathering around Clapham Junction. (19:24)
8th August	19:24					Winstanley Estate and Roads nearby	Ran through estate and chased police into station. (Around this time [19:24])
8th August	Up to 19:25					Wandsworth	Steady flow of uncorroborated info. Police plan: post officers to key locations where disorder suggested, deemed sufficient until early afternoon. (Up to 19:25)
8th August	19:25					Clapham Junction	Local officer reports small groups gathering. 1 sergeant + 7 constables deployed to railway station. (19:25)
8th August	Few minutes after 19:25					Grant Road	Civilian reports 12 youths w/ petrol can, faces covered.
8th August	19:27			North End- London Rd junction, West Croydon	Crowds attack riot police at junction of London Rd and North End by West Croydon Station. Where have these riot police come from?		
8th August	19:29					Clapham Junction train station.	One sergeant and seven constables deployed.

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	Few minutes after 19:29					Grant Road	Officers responding to call on Grant Road report 50-60 youths present.
8th August	19:30			London Rd, West Croydon	First reported arson in London Road when a solicitors' office is set alight. Note this is a few doors up from Rock Bottom music shop.		
8th August	19:30 - 19:31					SW11 3AF (Police Station)	By suspect picking up camera boxes during looting.
8th August	19:30 - 22:00					Clapham Junction	Height of looting. Shops affected: Debenhams, JD Sports, Boots, T-Mobile, Currys.
8th August	19:30 - 22:00					Clapham Junction area	Reports of people "stealing" goods as looters come out of shops.
8th August	Around 19:30					KFC	KFC was smashed up.
8th August	19:30					SW11 1LE (Pizza Express), SW11 1QN (T-Mobile), SW11 1QW (3 Store), SW11 1QX (NationWide), SW11 1LJ (Headmasters/Ladbrokes), SW11 1LP (HSBC/Pizza Express), Clapham Junction area	By Person/persons unknown damaging the entry point of property entering and removing items.

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	19:30					SW11 1LH (HSBC)	By unknown suspects forcing entry to premises, untidy searching removing fixtures and furniture including atm, Internet stations and desks before decamping. (2 entries)
8th August	19:30					SW11 1LN (Wimpy)	By person/persons unknown smashing the main front window of venue effecting entry, damaging various items then making off with items listed. (4 entries)
8th August	19:30					SW11 1PW (The Body Shop)	Footage from CCTV shows a suspect smash glass door to facilitate entry, pull a till off the table, it opened and was empty, further two suspects entered and grabbed cosmetics and decamped.
8th August	19:30					SW11 1PZ (Natwest)	By numerous suspect(s) unknown at this stage, causing serious violent disorder in St John's Hill where numerous shops were vandalised and property stolen from within.
8th August	19:30					SW11 1JD (Post Office)	Window damaged during violent disorder, no entry gained suspects decamped.

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	19:30					SW11 1PR (Jamie Oliver Shop), SW11 1PT (Natwest)	By numerous suspect(s) unknown at this stage, causing serious violent disorder in St John's Hill where numerous shops were vandalised and property stolen from within.
8th August	19:30					SW11 2AS (Sunrise Express)	By approx 30 youths forced shutters and stole property from within store.
8th August	19:30 - 19:35					SW11 2	Group of youths attacked the informants vehicles causing damage to the windscreen and side panels.
8th August	19:30 - 19:45					SW12 OBL	Youths approached moving vehicle. kicked and scratched the side until driver stopped. They opened the boot and took out a laptop, coat and money- then victim drove off.
8th August	19:37					SW11 1JD, St. John's Hill	By numerous suspects, unknown at this stage, causing serious violent disorder in St John's Hill, where numerous shops were vandalised and property stolen from within.

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	19:37					Grant Road/Falcon Road, Clapham Junction	Youths sitting on the grass with their faces covered and a petrol can.
8th August	19:37					SW11 1JR (Court), SW11 1JD (Post Office), SW11 1JW, SW11 1LJ (Headmasters/Ladbrokes), SW11 1PN (JD Sports), SW11 1PW (McDonalds), SW11 1PX (Currys), SW11 1QN, SW11 1QP (Arding and Hobbes), SW11 1QQ (Vodafone), SW11 1QY (Nationwide), SW11 1QZ, SW11 5QJ, SW11 5QL (Health and Beauty), SW11 5QN, St. John's Hill	By numerous suspect(s) unknown at this stage, causing serious violent disorder in St John's Hill and surrounding areas where numerous shops were vandalised & property stolen from within., entering the venue by force and removing property listed.
8th August	19:37					SW11	By numerous suspect(s) unknown at this stage, causing serious violent disorder in St John's Hill entry point to venue damaged entry gained and property inside damaged.
8th August	19:40 - 20:00					Winstanley Estate	Larger groups form, armed with sticks and bricks etc. They attack vehicles and the police.

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	19:41 - 19:42					Currys	Officers respond, reporting more youths, throwing bottles at cars. Further units deployed.
8th August	19:45			Centrale Shopping Centre, Croydon town centre	House of Fraser and Orange shops looted.	Grant Road to Winstanley Estate	Officers report group at Grant Road arming selves with bricks and bottles and moving down to Winstanley Estate.
8th August	19:45			Croydon	Chief Inspector Nanji takes operational control of the policing of the riots, known in the Police as 'Silver Command', from Inspector Scrivener.		
8th August	19:45			North End, West Croydon train station and Station Rd, West Croydon	Public order trained police officers (TSG?) requested at 19:01 arrive and are deployed to the cordons at North End/London Rd and North End George St. Near West Croydon rail station officers are confronted by a hostile crowd of over 200 with a further 30 -50 in Station Road.		
8th August	19:45			London Rd, West Croydon	Reports of " <i>gangs of marauding youths in balaclavas were attacking cars</i> " at West Croydon station.		

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8th August	Around 19:45			Church St-Reeves Corner, West Croydon	A TSG unit arrives at the North End-George St cordon and then advances down Crown Hill and Church Street, driving looters towards Reeves Corner area.		
8th August	19:46			Church St and Surrey St, West Croydon	Looting continues in Surrey St and Church St. Croydon Advertiser reporters attacked and assaulted by some members of the crowd.		
8th August	Around 19:47					Grant Road/ Falcon Road, Winstanley Estate	Local duty inspector deployed level two public order trained officers towards Winstanley Estate. Establish rendezvous point at Grant Road/ Falcon Road for officers without protective equipment. Only one serial of level two trained officers in public order protective uniform (one sergeant and seven constables) were available. "successfully deployed and dispersed some of the hostile crowd despite coming under continuous attack".
8th August	Around 19:47					Local Duties office	All level two trained officers recalled to duty.

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	19:47					Grant Road to Winstanley Estate	Police report fireworks and smoke, police vehicle struck with plank of wood.
8th August	19:47					Winstanley Estate	Group armed themselves with bricks and bottles. Police vehicle comes under attack. Public order officers entered the estate, coming under immediate attack. Local duties call for all public order officers to report for duty. All buses re-routed away. Smoke grenades being thrown.
8th August	19:47 - 20:09		Tweets describing around 12 riot vans moving around Brixton Hill and Streatham.			SW11 3RX (Halfords)	Suspects have broken into venue while staff still inside by smashing front windows. They have then made off with unknown quantity of pedal cycles. (19:50 - 20:00)
8th August	19:50			Croydon Borough Council	Police do not intervene due to lack of numbers.	Winstanley Estate	officers at the scene reported smoke grenades being thrown and coming under attack from youths hurling bottles and glass.
8th August	19:51					Clapham Junction	Buses told Clapham Junction is closed, told to wait to be told about diversion.

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8th August	19:51					Winstanley Estate	Member of public called police saying they believed youths were trying to 'bait officers onto the estate'. CCTV witnesses youths self-arming and using bins to create road blocks.
8th August	19:54 - 19:56			North End- London Rd junction, West Croydon	Large numbers of rioters bombard riot police lines with missiles at every junction to London Rd, close to West Croydon Station which is now closed. (19:54)	Winstanley Estate/Grant Road/Plough Road	Police under sustained attack by growing group, vehicles vandalised with rocks and shops looted. on CCTV, Youths attacking members of public and passing vehicles. 60-70 youths on plough road robbed a shop, 20 smashing up a shop in Winstanley Estate.
8th August	Around 20:00			South End, Croydon	Limited selective looting (this could be organised with vehicles) including Geoffrey Butler cycles.	Lavender Hill	Wimpy and Headmaster's looted. No Policemen.
8th August	20:00	Iceland, SW9	Unknown suspects broke in and stole cash from Iceland.	London Rd-Broad Green Ave, Broad Green	Looting of Somerfields supermarket. Tesco looted across the street. Other properties included electrical goods and hair salon.	St Johns Road area of Battersea	Number of gathering youths with bricks increasing. Many high street stores ransacked, police are slow to respond due to lack of resources and commitments elsewhere.
8th August	20:00			New Addington	First reports of sporadic incidents of disorder in New Addington.	Streets around Clapham Junction	People gathering "to protect home and businesses".

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	20:00			Forestdale Centre, Addington, South Croydon	Looting begins and last til 23:15, sporadic after that til 06:00.		
8th August	20:02					Winstanley Road to Battersea Park Road	Group from Winstanley Road had moved off to Battersea Park Road. 35 youths put on masks outside a local pub near Clapham Junction station.
8th August	20:03					Lombard Way	Halfords looted, two arrested by police, remainers flee.
8th August	20:04					Outside Falcon pub and in Falcon Road	Youths putting on masks.
8th August	20:05			London Rd, West Croydon	Officers are sent to London Road to assist London Fire Brigade with access.		
8th August	20:06					Towards Clapham Junction / Scholey House	Youths with covered faces heading towards CJ on bikes. Youths climbed over a gate and face near Scholey House.
8th August	20:10			North End - London Rd junction, West Croydon	PCSOs are injured at North end cordon.	Winstanley Estate	Police can no longer counter the sustained attack at the estate, they withdraw from the location.

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8th August	20:10			Station Rd, West Croydon	Further 25 TSG officers sent and begin dispersal of crowd. Crowd on Station Rd driven east onto Wellesley Rd. Police set up sterile zone at southern end of London Rd.		
8th August	20:00 - 20:10					SW11 2PH	by the snatching of the viw's bag from his shoulder by sus1.
8th August	Around 20:00 - 20:30					Debenhams, Clapham Junction.	First brick thrown into Debenhams, beginning the looting of the shop. The Halford's on York Road had already been looted at this point.
8th August	20:00 - 20:59	SW2 1HP, Brixton Hill	2 Susp's together with a number of others yet to be identified looting and causing criminal damage in Brixton Hill.				
8th August	20:00-21:30					SW11 1JD (Panasonic)	Venue burgled during an evening of rioting in London.
8th August	20:00 - 23:30					SW11 1QN	Attended Riots and helped a looter to load stolen property into her own car, before driving it away.

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	20:14			Croydon town centre	Crowds enter Centrale shopping centre. Petrol bombs being thrown at police lines on London Rd. First significant fire on London Rd.		
8th August	20:15			London Rd- Montague Rd, West Croydon	Lidl store is looted and then set on fire. (Just after 20:15)	Peabody Estate	Hooded youths reported, armed with a machete.
8th August	20:15 - 20:45					500 or so yards from Clapham Junction	Youths in balaclavas pulled up outside Jane Ellison's house in a large white transit vat. They looted in Clapham Junction and then came back to the van and fled.
8th August	20:15 - 21:15					Shops and restaurants about 250 yards from Clapham Junction	Jane Ellison went to warn shops and restaurants that it seemed the area was soon to be looted. Specifically, takeaway drivers told not to go out.
8th August	20:20			Drummond Rd, Reeves Corner, West Croydon	Empty double decker bus set on fire and Ref. [1] claims <i>and a house in Tamworth Road</i> . [25] The burning bus caused damage to adjacent buildings.		Officers flagged by victim of robbery, end up being attacked by 30 youths.

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	20:21			Purley Way, West Croydon	First reports of looting at Purley Way retail parks. Initial targets are Best Buy, John Lewis and Sainsburys. Followed by Comet.		
8th August	20:24					JD Sports	Youths reported at JD sports.
8th August	20:25			Sutherland Rd- Canterbury Rd off London Rd, close to Croydon University Hospital	Series of armed carjackings and attempted car jackings, from 20:25-21:30. Note this is close to looted Somerfield and Tesco Xpress.		
8th August	20:27					Peabody Estate	Hooded youths on estate, one with a machete.
8th August	20:30			London Rd and Oakfield Rd, West Croydon	Pawnbrokers is looted and then set on fire. (Around 20:30)	Lavender Hill (?)	Looting begins, apparently unprompted, moving up Lavender Hill, where buildings were set on fire. There is a police station on LH.
8th August	20:30			London Rd and Oakfield Rd, West Croydon	Under a hail of missiles part of a TSG unit and supporting officers in Hi Vis, some with large riot shields, advance down London Road forcing the rioters back. (Just after 20:30)	Tesco, Clapham Junction	Tesco's closed at this point. All the little shops, restaurants and takeaways still open.

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	20:30 - 21:30					SW11 1PZ, Comyn Road into St John's Road	suspect ran from Comyn Road into St John's Road and kicked the offside driver's door near to wing mirror breaking wing mirror housing.
8th August	20:30 - 23:00					SW11 1QD	VIW has been handling goods stolen during the riots.
8th August	20:34			Croydon	100 public order officers and senior commander deployed to Croydon.	JD Sports	Youths present at JD Sports.
8th August	20:39					Shops on St. John's Road	Attacks begin on the shops (including the T-Mobile shop), small number of police, initial success but come under attack.
8th August	20:40 - 21:30					SW11	By masked suspects attacking SNT Police Vehicle with bricks and chains causing damage to vehicle as described.
8th August	20:45					Junction of Lavender Hill and St John's Road, O2 store	Crowd surges towards Debenhams off LH and St John's Road. Crowd begins smashing windows with metal bars and possibly a sword. Police reported looting, came under attack and their vehicle was

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							damaged. Reports of youths entering O2 store member of the public having been hit by a brick trying to fight them off.
8th August	20:45					Towards Lavender Hill	Group armed with bricks/ stones heading towards Lavender Hill.
8th August	20:45					SW11 1QN	Victim was policing mass public disorder incident when struck by missile thrown by suspect.
8th August	20:45 - 20:55					SW11 1LJ	VIW1 was pushed from his bike and assaulted by SUSP1 who tried to make off with property.
8th August	20:47 - 20:56					Debenhams, Clapham Junction	Two police units approach Debenhams, 250 youths armed with metal bars are looting it. The police are attacked and their vehicles are damaged. Police under attack by people with knives, one policeman is injured. Youths enter O2 shop, member of public hit by brick trying to fight them off. Blacks Leisure attacked.
8th August	Just after 20:49			London Rd, West Croydon	Police units try unsuccessfully to repel the crowd on London Rd. By this time darkness was falling and there		

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					were reports of large scale and serious disorder right across Croydon and Addington including Centrale Centre, Purley Way and Surrey Street with hundreds of calls being received via the 999 system. Assistance was still being requested but such was the scale of disorder that the officers on the ground were simply overwhelmed.		
8th August	20:50			Reeves Corner, West Croydon	Reeves Furniture Store on Reeves Corner is attacked and then set on fire. Persons believed trapped.	St. John's Road	"three police vans turned up and a cheer went up: "Kill them, beat them up, the scum."" (Around 20:50)
8th August	20:50			Forestdale Centre, Addington, South Croydon	Looting of local shopping centre begins.		
8th August	20:55 - 20:59	SW2 1HP (William Hill)	A large group of Susp's steam into Bookies, threaten staff & demand cash from tills, cash handed over & Susp's decamp on foot, 2 Susp's detained by police outside venue.			Debenhams, Clapham Junction/Altenburg Gardens, RVP (Grant Road/ Falcon Road)	Officers informed no additional resources available. 13 public order officers and 2 dog units get isolated and to withdraw to RVP. Gold group order officers that the working strategy aim was the 'preservation of life'. Youths armed with knives, one officer injured. Information received that a petrol

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							bomb has been thrown. People preparing at Altenburg Gardens. Local Superintendent requests Territorial Support Group (TSG). (20:56)
8th August	Around 21:00			Whitgift Centre, Wellesley Rd, Croydon	Thirty youths break into the rear entrance of the Whitgift shopping centre. (Just before 21:00)	Altenburg Gardens, second RVP (Elspeth Road/Clapham Common Northside)	Police receive info of petrol bombs thrown at officers, other ready at Altenburg Gardens near RVP. Level three officers moved second RVP of Elspeth Road/Clapham Common Northside, when informed that vehicles readied to drive at them so units withdraw.
8th August	21:00			Whitehorse Rd, Croydon	Consistent rioting and looting spread east of London Road, in the area north of St James's Road/Lower Addiscombe Road along White Horse Road from 9.00pm, with incidents continuing until around 3.00am. (Just after 21:00)	Northcote Road, Clapham Junction	Currys attacked. Police leave after coming under attack, more looters arrive.
8th August	21:00					Currys 84-86 St John's Road, Clapham Junction SW11 1PX	Dozens of rioters, many wearing hoods and scarves, ransacked Curry's. A small number of riot police left the scene when they came under light bombardment from projectiles.

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8th August	21:00					St John's Road	Looting begins, break into shops including Debenhams, Currys, Headmasters, and Ladbrokes.
8th August	21:00 - 22:00					Currys and Jamie Oliver shops, Clapham Junction	Currys and Jamie Oliver shops looted.
8th August	21:00 - 23:30					SW11 1PN	By suspects burgling a commercial premises (Jewellery shop) whilst large scale public disorder involving large groups was taking place near Clapham Junction.
8th August	21:00 - 00:30					Clapham Junction, Clapham High Street	Looted stores mentioned: Clapham Junction: JD Sports, Carphone Warehouse, “a shoe shop”, “the bank, maybe Nationwide”, New Look, Toni and Guy, Music Stores. Clapham High Street: Blockbusters, Bike Shop.
8th August	21:08					Earlsfield Police Station	Police withdraw to Earlsfield police station.
8th August	Just after 21:08						"There was a carnival atmosphere amongst the looters, as people realised that the “feds” had fled, other than a group of about seven

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							police who were standing two minutes' walk away outside Clapham Junction rail station."
8th August	21:08 - 22:38					St John's Road, Clapham Junction & Lavender Hill	Police 'abandoned' the streets for 90 minutes as looters ran amok. An investigation has found that police withdrew from Clapham Junction at 9.08pm, when their commander feared for their lives, and did not return until 10.38pm. They had learned of a large group approaching from Lavender Hill.
8th August	21:14 - 21:16	South Croydon	Trevor Ellis (from Brixton) found in car with bullet holes in him, died later in hospital. (21:15)			Pizza Express, Clapham Junction	Pizza express is attacked and staff are trapped in the back office. Officer tells staff no officers available to assist. No Police in St. John's Road.
8th August	21:15			Croydon	Chief Superintendent Musker, a member of the Metropolitan Police Senior Public Order Cadre and then Wandsworth Borough Commander, arrived in Croydon at this time to take over 'Silver Command' of the policing of the disorder.		

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8th August	21:15			Reeves Corner, West Croydon	Officers sent to repel crowd and facilitate access for London Fire Brigade.		
8th August	21:15			Duppas Hill Rd - Warrington Rd, West Croydon	Fatal shooting of Trevor Ellis in Duppas Hill. After looting cash converters on London Rd, Ellis and two accomplices were involved in an altercation over loot and a car chase which ended in the killing of Ellis.		
8th August	21:15			South End-Ledbury Rd, Croydon	Looting begins on Brighton Rd. with Richer Sounds and Cycle King attacked.		
8th August	Just after 21:15			Central Croydon and South End	Between 9.15pm and around 11.15pm, large scale looting and rioting continued in central Croydon and South Croydon.		
8th August	Just after 21:15			Croydon	The first level two public order trained police reinforcements began to arrive in Croydon from MPS central command.		
8th August	21:15 - 21:30					SW4 9JN (Pizza Hut)	Group of males forced themselves into the shop and stole the cash till.
8th August	21:15 - 21:37					SW11 1PN (TK Maxx)	Took hold of items she knew to be stolen in an area being looted.

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8th August	21:17					Currys and Foot Locker	Currys and Foot Locker attacked.
8th August	21:19					Clapham Junction train station	Police request the public to avoid the station for their safety.
8th August	21:20	SW2 4EG	By suspects taking property during riots and making off with it.				
8th August	21:24					Pizza Express, Clapham Junction	Pizza express attack reported.
8th August	21:25					ASDA	ASDA attacked.
8th August	21:30			Purley Way, West Croydon	Sainsburys, TK Maxx, Currys and PC World looted.	Pizza Express, Clapham Junction	Police contact staff of Pizza Express, from CCTV saw no youths outside and advised them to leave the area.
8th August	21:30			Norbury	Looting begins and lasts til 12:00 midnight. Sporadic after that til 06:00.	Lavender Hill, near the party shop	Barriers placed across the road by rioters.
8th August	21:30 - 22:00	SW2 2QP	VIW stopped at red ATS approached by 6 unknown males who smashed drivers window, punched VIW in the head several times, dragged him from vehicle and drove off. (21:30 - 21:53)			SW11 2JW	Attempted breaking in during the looting in the SW11 area on 08/08/2011 by three persons who were possibly disturbed. (21:30 - 22:00)

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8th August	21:38	Loughborough Junction	Tweet: "Reports of trouble at Loughborough Junction in Brixton - group of 30 to 40 hooded youths sealed in the station by riot police."				
8th August	21:44					St. John's Road	Phone shop attacked.
8th August	21:50	SW9 7LE	Unknown suspects pushed the victim and made her exit her car before stealing it.				
8th August	21:51			Croydon	Air Support Unit deploys to Croydon. Police resource on the ground is running low.		
8th August	21:54			Croydon	Police issue instruction that addressing fires is to take priority over looting and a Level 1 PSU sent to assist at London Road and a local ground commander to Reeves Corner in this respect.		
8th August	21:56					JD Sports	JD Sports attacked.
8th August	21:57 - 21:58	SW2 2TE	Unknown group of males carrying goods ran past premises throwing a piece of a weight training bench through his front window.			St John's Road/ Lavender Hill	75 public order officers and bronze commander deploy local level one and two. Officers and conduct shield advances. (21:57)

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	21:59			Purley Way, West Croydon	More reports of looting on Purley Way		
8th August	Night						Police on lavender hill move toward Clapham Junction from Lavender Hill Police station, making arrests. Video outside "image dry cleaners".
8th August	By 22:00					Lavender Hill	Looting widespread
8th August	Around 22:00	Croydon	"20 or so" Level-1 police officers on 2 hours sleep following 26-hour shift in Brixton head to Croydon to intercept group en route to Croydon police station armed with petrol bombs. In Brixton "they fought running battles with violent crowds. None of the officers had come out of that incident unscathed".	South End-Brighton Rd- Selsdon Rd	Large crowd gathers by Swan and Sugar Loaf pub, effectively controlling the South End-Brighton Rd junction.	St. John's Road	Police enter Black's, already looted.
8th August	Around 22:00					New Look	Interviewee looted New Look.
8th August	22:00			Selsdon, South Croydon	Looting of shops in Selsdon commences.	Clapham Junction	Sky News report, filmed on Cell Phone. Reporter films looting of Currys, and talks to some rioters.

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8th August	22:00					SW11 1QN	Sus I.D. herself on FLICKR for handling handbags on CCTV during RIOTS.
8th August	22:00					Lavender Hill	Looting spreads to Lavender Hill. Carphone Warehouse is targeted.
8th August	22:00					Clapham, Battersea	Local people gathered to watch activity - no police on the scene.
8th August	22:00					Sainsbury's, Clapham Junction	People surrounding Sainsbury's with armfuls of trainers and clothes.
8th August	Just after 22:00					Clapham Junction area	Police suddenly lifted cordons and let people through.
8th August	22:00 - 22:50					SW11 1PR (Jamie Oliver)	Group of males seen with faces covered, armed with sticks and hammers smashing widows and looting shops during local public disorder.
8th August	22:00 - 22:55					SW11 1PX (Currys)	the three accused have pushed and punched a police officer with one brandishing a hammer - this has all taken place while a shop is being looted.

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8th August	22:00 - 23:00	SW2 2TH	Viw was forced to the ground had his pockets and wallets searched then his knee was stamped on fracturing it.			Clapham Junction	Crowd still on rampage and attacking police with missiles. Several shield advances undertaken and officers quickly establish control. Arrests were made outside Currys and crowds were dispersed along St John's Road with cordons put in place outside Debenhams.
8th August	22:01		Tweet: "Lovely evening for a stroll through Brixton with caged riot vans and groups of gangs. Mood: very tense."				
8th August	22:07		Tweet: "Friend in Brixton: "Gang of masked youths assembling outside shop below us. Police van turned up. Dozens of officers in riot gear Scared.""				
8th August	22:09			Park Lane, Croydon	CCTV sees group heading towards Croydon Police Station with petrol bombs.		
8th August	22:15 - 22:36	SW2 2QD	VIW1 was pulling out of location when a group of unknown IC3 males approached vehicle opened door and put a			SW11	VIW1 was pulled from scooter by SUSPs unknown who then drove off with it. (22:15 - 22:20)

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
			cloth to his head which he believed contained a firearm. VIW1 got out of vehicle and suspects drove off.				
8th August	22:17			Park Lane, Croydon	Level one public order officers intercept youths on way to police station.		
8th August	22:18					SW4 8GA	Suspect found in possession of stolen clothing.
8th August	22:19			Mint Walk, Croydon Town Hall, Croydon	Two unattended police vehicles set alight by rioters in Mint Walk next to Croydon Town Hall.		
8th August	Just after 22:19			Croydon Magistrates' Court, Barclay Rd, Croydon	Attempted petrol bomb attack on Magistrates' Court.		
8th August	22:20					SW11 1QY	By a group of person(s), firstly threatening victim with a fire extinguisher before letting same extinguisher off in victim's face. Part of widespread disorder in vicinity.
8th August	22:20 - 22:25					SW4 7UJ	Male stopped in possession of metal bar, latex gloves and face covering. (2 entries)
8th August	22:20					SW11 3AF	Suspect charged with handling stolen property.

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8th August	22:21			Church St West Croydon	Second phase of looting is reported at Argos.		
8th August	22:30					SW11 1QS	By person/persons unknown damaging the victim's property without lawful authority or reasonable excuse.
8th August	22:30 - 23:00					SW11 5QN (Urban Tanning)	Unknown suspects had caused damage to victims shop and had stolen quantity of hair product items from the venue.
8th August	22:30 - 23:00					"main areas of looting"	Police start to move towards "main areas of looting".
8th August	22:35					Clapham Junction	3 riot vans spotted on their way to Clapham Junction.
8th August	22:37					Outside Clapham Junction and up St. John's Road	L2 police vans with 75 trained officers arrive.
8th August	22:37 - 00:00					St John's road and immediate vicinity	Police move in with reinforcements, they re- establish control.
8th August	22:40	SW2	Unknown object thrown at police car while on route to immediate call.			Outside Currys	Crowds dispersed by police and arrests made. 20-25 officers involved, couple of people throw things at them.

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8th August	22:47			Purley Way, West Croydon	Public order officers respond to reports of looting in Purley Way.		
8th August	22:48			London Rd, West Croydon	Sky satellite van and BBC vehicle attacked.	St Johns Road.	Most of the crowd is cleared. Traffic still coming down Lavender Hill from Plough Road.
8th August	22:50					Clapham Junction, Battersea	First police arrive.
8th August	22:50 - 22:54					SW4 6BH	Males jumped and kicked on VIW1's window screen causing it to smash.
8th August	22:54 - 2:00					SW11 5QL (DJStop/ Hardware Store/ Lavendar Spa/Health and Beauty)	Shutters bent and shop front windows smashed with bodily force and bricks. Entry gained and two shops looted by approximately 20 youths between 2254 and 0200 hours.
8th August	22:55 - 23:05					SW11 5QL	Unknown suspects had broken into the shop and stolen the till with cash.
8th August	22:58					Clapham Junction	Helicopter spotted above Clapham Junction.
8th August	22:59 - 23:15	SW2 2TH (Italian Pizza Wood Oven?)	VIWs were working in Pizza Shop. 33 hooded/masked youths came into the shop, jumped over the counter, stole cash,				

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			mobile phones and swept all the computers/ keyboards, CCTV and smashed all the items onto the floor.				
8th August	By 23:00					St John's Road, Clapham Junction.	Arrests made outside Currys and Debenhams, crowds dispersed, cordons put in place.
8th August	Around 23:00			Royal Mansions, St James Rd - London Rd	Fire started in Anglo-Asian foods after it is looted (grocers, 262-264) eventually spreads to Greyhound Motors (258-260), Crystal Clean (Laundry, 256), Rainbow Dry Cleaners (266), a bookmakers and solicitors.		
8th August	23:00	SW9 6SX	By suspects unknown trying to steal a car by implying that he had a gun.			Clapham Junction	Police Severely outnumbered by rioters.
8th August	23:00	SW9 6SX	Vehicle chased by youths. Ended up damaged.				
8th August	23:00	SW9 7TH (Loughborough Estate)	By SUSPS placing bins in the road to divert traffic into the estate. Once a car had pulled in their language and demeanour were used to threaten the driver who got out of the car fearing for her safety. The car was then stolen.				

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	Just after 23:00					Clapham Junction area	Police slowly brought area under control.
8th August	23:00 - 23:11	SW2 1BZ	By susps shown acting as part of a group numbering up to 50 who attacked police officers in a vehicle causing damage shown, threw bicycles and glass bottles. (6 entries)				
8th August	23:00 - 23:30					SW11 5TG (Second Office Printing)	VIW1s front window was smashed by persons unknown and computers removed from office.
8th August	23:06			Thornton Heath	Petrol bombs in Staples store, public order officers deployed		
8th August	23:10					SW11 1QB	By person(s) unknown, throwing victims terracotta window box through front bay window at victim's home address.
8th August	23:10					SW12 9AU	Crowd of kids by my front door, they have kicked my door open to the building. There are 5-6 of them in the market place now. ",",", "1", "1", ", "MON", "MON", " ", "S149/74 ", "Crim Dam U 500", "Criminal Damage", "Criminal Damage To Other Bldg

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	From 23:13		Tweets reporting around 10 riot vans driving past their house in Brixton.				
8th August	23:14					Lavender Hill	Described as "quieting."
8th August	Just after 23:15			Central Croydon and South End	Disorder in Croydon Town Centre is brought under control, with looting and rioting becoming more sporadic.		
8th August	23:20			London Rd, West Croydon	Fires in London Road. Further police units dispatched.		
8th August	23:27			Purley Way retail park, West Croydon	Looting at Purley Way Retail Park - PSUs dispatched.		
8th August	23:30			Central Parade, New Addington	Looting of shops begins and lasts til about 02:00.	SW11 2PE (Zenoria)	by persons pulling up shutters to shop, smashing window with a brick to gain entry and stealing a large amount of goods.
8th August	23:30					SW11 1QQ	suspect 1 took viw1 mobile and suspect 3 pulled viw1 hand bag from her shoulder without her permission.
8th August	23:34			Croydon	London Fire Brigade request police escort but no units are available.		

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
8th August	23:38			London Rd, Norbury	Barclays Bank in Norbury is broken into.		
8th August	23:44	Rushcroft	Tweet: “@Claresaxon just went for a quick drive/walk in brixton, riot police at the market end of rushcroft look like they've arrested two/three ppl”.				
8th August	23:50					SW12 9AU (T-Mobile and/or Carphone Warehouse)	By a number of suspects unknown smashing the front of the store to gain entry and steal items.
8th August	23:54						Tweets sent out to organise clean-up of the riot at 9:00 AM.
8th August	23:58					Party shop, Lavender Hill	Inspectors on duty noticed fire at the Party Shop on Lavender Hill. He called the Fire Brigade and took four officers with him to the location with the intention of trying to put it out. They managed to push back the crowd that was gathering and instigated a successful evacuation of the premises that involved forcing entry to the ats and searching to ensure nobody was trapped. held the large group back at the junction to

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
							allow Fire Service to control the blaze. When joined by an Essex Constabulary PSU that had been deployed to assist, they were eventually able to clear the area using tactical advances.
8th August	23:59					SW11	By suspect(s) unknown setting fire to shop with residents living above (who managed to escape) causing extensive damage shown.
8th August	23:59					SW11	The Party Store was broken into on 8/8/11 during the riots at Clapham Junction, masks used to conceal suspects' identities as they continued looting.
9th August	Around 00:00			Whitgift and Centrale Shopping Centres, Croydon town centre	Relatively small numbers of rioters were able to break into the Whitgift Centre via the Wellesley Road entrance and into Centrale via the Tamworth Road entrance. Police officers and council dog handlers entered Centrale and arrested a number of looters. (Just after 00:00)	Clapham High Street (Clapham Common)	4 rioters enter Blockbusters in Clapham High Street, are soon arrested.

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
9th August	00:00					Clapham Junction, Battersea	Reports that a fancy-dress shop has been set alight.
9th August	00:01			London Rd, West Croydon	Building fires are spreading. All available officers are redeployed to London Road.	Retail stores in Lavender Hill	Youths loot retail stores. Police deploy armoured land rovers ('Jenkels') in a "show of force" to successfully disperse group.
9th August	00:01					SW11 1PW (O2/Santander)	By person/persons unknown entering premises without lawful authority or reasonable excuse.
9th August	00:03					SW11 1JG (ASDA)	by approximately 20 to 30 youths breaking in to store using bins, trolleys and iron bars to get in.
9th August	00:10						Fire engine arrives. No heavy police escort but one police van arrives after.
9th August	00:12					SW12 0PH (Interfunds International)	large group of suspects have raided viw's shop and have swung a metal bar at him and brandished a black handgun at viw before making off with large amounts of jewellery from the shop.

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
9th August	00:13					Clapham junction	Seven police armoured vehicles clear the streets. A large number of people are still on the streets.
9th August	00:15					SW12 9AU (T-Mobile and/or Carphone Warehouse)	Looters smashing the front glass to gain entry to the store and removing property from within.
9th August	00:19			Greenside Rd-London Rd, West Croydon	Petrol bombs being used against police officers, units are deployed to assist.		
9th August	00:20					Clapham Junction	Jenkels deployed, Level three officers deployed to manage crime scenes, road closures, and cordons. Control regained. "the streets were relatively clear" by 00:20.
9th August	00:26	SW2 1PS, Effra Road	viw1 was chased by unknown males from behind then punched and pinned to the ground, where suspects took his trainers and made off towards EFFRA ROAD.				
9th August	00:30					"main areas of looting"	Officers in full riot gear join other officers and largely disperse looters. Rumours of police preparing to use rubber bullets.

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
9th August	00:30					St. John's Road	"the police all got in a line and they started [...] walking into the middle of St John's road, so all the boys got into a line theirselves and charged towards the police [...] chasing each other".
9th August	00:47			Sumner Rd, West Croydon	Numerous arrests take place at Halfords, dog units assist officers.		
9th August	00:30 - 1:55					SW4 7UR (Blockbuster)	Group of suspects smashed shop glass front with a trolley then entered premises and took items for the shop before making off.
9th August	00:50 - 1:03					SW11 1HG (Tesco Express)	Suspect/s attempted to break into front entrance of store.
9th August	01:00 - 01:07	SW2 2QB (Esso Petrol Station, Tulse Hill)	Two cash machines ripped from wall and entry to shop gained.				
9th August	1:00 - 1:20					SW12 ONP	Call to venue that it was being burgled. SUSPECT 1 was seen running into nearby estate, stopped and searched, found computer cables on SUSPECT 1, that matched those from computer at the venue.

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
9th August	01:07	The Ritzy	Tweet: "Police and riot police are stationed outside the Ritzy, Brixton".				
9th August	01:08			Brighton Rd, South Croydon	Large scale looting.		
9th August	01:15					SW4 OJE (William Hill)	Unknown suspects smashed glass front door to premises to gain entry. (2 entries)
9th August	01:18			Thornton Heath	Further looting, police units deployed.		
9th August	01:30	SW9 9SZ	Victim's car smashed during recent riot.				"Level three officers could now be safely deployed to manage crime scenes, road closures and cordons and at 0130hrs calm was fully restored."
9th August	01:30					SW4 7TG (Nando's)	By persons unknown breaking into store then attempting to remove goods from within.
9th August	01:30					SW4 7UR (Blockbuster)	Called to blockbusters - report of a large group looting. Directed to susps, Voltaire Rd by MOP. SUS1 was found around the gate of number 11 where there were around 15+ games consoles on the floor. made off along with others.

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
9th August	01:30 - 01:40	SW2 2TH	Business burgled.				
9th August	01:33			Church Rd, West Croydon	Police units disperse looters at Sainsbury's.		
9th August	01:36			Gloucester Rd, North east Croydon	Shops looted in Gloucester Road and a report that a firearm has been seen.		
9th August	Just after 01:45			New Addington	Further sporadic incidents of rioting and looting are reported in New Addington.		
9th August	02:00 - 02:15	SW2 4QY	Entered as trespassers and caused damage.				"The violence has nearly ended with just a few small pockets of violence involving small groups spread over the area." (02:00)
9th August	02:00 - 02:30	SW2 5UT	20 to 30 youths forced entry to venue and removed numerous items of clothing and jewellery before leaving.			SW12 9AU (T-Mobile and/or Carphone Warehouse)	Looters smashing the front glass to gain entry to the store and removing property from within. (02:30)
9th August	02:01				Youths reported in a Next store.		
9th August	02:04			Purley Way, West Croydon	Looting.		
9th August	02:07			Windmill Rd- Whitehorse Rd, North Croydon	Looting at Tesco, Windmill Road; a vehicle has been driven into the premises.		

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
9th August	02:25			Sumner Rd, West Croydon	Residents are evacuated in Sumner Road due to the spreading fire.		
9th August	02:30			Church Rd, West Croydon	Looting at Sainsbury's and a jewellery shop.		
9th August	02:45 - 02:49					SW4 9LU	Suspect stopped in hire car driving at speed in early hours, large boxed expensive flat screen found in boot claimed to have purchased for £200 from a friend and had no receipt or proof of purchase.
9th August	02:50	Petrol station on Tulse Hill (Esso)	Esso petrol station attacked, police van guarding it.				
9th August	02:52			Purley Way, West Croydon	A dog unit is deployed to deal with the disorder and looting at Comet and Sainsbury's.		
9th August	03:00	Currys Effra Road	Police helicopter arrives, order restored by this time.	Oakfield Rd, West Croydon	There are still approx 200 youths in area.		
9th August	Just after 03:00			Croydon	Additional public order trained officers from Sussex and South Wales Police arrived in the borough and were tasked to relieve local officers.		

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
9th August	03:20					Party shop, Lavender Hill	Fire extinguished.
9th August	04:00			Oakfield Rd, West Croydon	Remaining large crowds dispersed by reinforcements. (Just before 04:00)	SW12 8QT	Communal door to the block has been ripped off.
9th August	04:00			Croydon	Control regained.	SW4 7UR	suspect stopped and searched under s60 CJPO and a kitchen knife found in bag. Later other unopened cosmetic items found in bag believed stolen during looting.
9th August	04:25			Central Parade, New Addington	Co-op store set alight.		
9th August	06:52						First tweet suggesting a 9am clean up at Clapham Junction.
9th August	08:00			Coulsdon	Ram raid on a gun shop.		Local residents start arriving to clean up, some spontaneously, some from seeing things on Twitter. 400 by the early afternoon.
9th August	08:30						Crisis management team meeting held.
9th August	09:00	Brixton	Riot clean-up starts.				

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
9th August	10:29 - 18:59		Tweets reporting riot vans driving around Brixton.				
9th August	11:28 - 16:47		Tweets reporting transport disruption.				
9th August	14:30						Boris Johnson and Theresa May arrive to observe the scene.
9th August	All day		“Big name stores like WHSmith, Argos, Carphone Warehouse and Vodafone have remained closed all day, and we’re now hearing that Superdrug and M&S have already shut up shop on the advice of the police, with other businesses following.” So Superdrug also hit.				
9th August	15:00	SW9 7UR	Suspect seen by CCTV appearing to offering goods for sale from boot of car. When stopped and searched a new iPod dock was in the boot of his car. Could not account nor prove where it came from. (3 entries)				
9th August	17:00	Brixton High Street	7 black, 5 white vans are seen driving through Brixton.				

Date	Time	Brixton location	Brixton description	Croydon location	Croydon description	Clapham location	Clapham description
9th August	20:15 - 20:45	SW9	By unknown suspect punching victim in face during large scale disturbance.				
9th August	20:45	SW9 6NG	VIW chased by 40 youths trying to get his bike.				
9th August	22:03	Windrush Square, Ritzy Square	Tweets about live jazz events in both Windrush and Ritzy Square.				

Full triangulated account of the August 2011 “riots” in Brixton Beyond Contagion

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Disturbances in Brixton

Saturday 6th - Tuesday 9th August 2011

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Abbreviations

BBC British Broadcasting Corporation
 IMD Indices of Multiple Deprivation

LSE London School of Economics
 MPS Metropolitan Police Service
 PSU Police Support Unit
 RtR Reading the Riots

1. Methodology

This paper analyses the disturbances in the district of Brixton, in the London borough of Lambeth, from the 6th to the 9th of August 2011. Our methodological approach mirrors that of the examination by Stott Drury, and Reicher (2017) of the 2011 disorders in Tottenham and Hackney.¹ This method essentially entails triangulating timings and locations of events using eye-witness accounts, photos and videos, and timelines and reports from various organisations both independent and institutional. Along with assessing the quality of our sources, the quantity of information allowed us a greater level of confidence and specificity in our account of each event.

Relevant references to the Brixton disturbances were collected in a 132-page document. Sources of information on the time and location of events, and the movements of groups, were compiled into a chronological timeline in Excel, consisting of 245 events in total. Timeline entries were triangulated where possible, and notes were made where conflicts arose. Our aim was primarily to create an objective account of the timing and order of group and inter-group behaviours by the crowd and the police, and the movements of groups throughout the disorders (frequently referred to as “riots”). The timeline is the basis for this narrative account.

2. Data Sources

The structure of the event timeline for the disturbances that underlies this narrative account was based on a wide variety of sources. A literature search of over 185 documents previously compiled for this project revealed 11 journal articles and 13 reports containing significant references to the Brixton disturbances. However, the journals did not provide much by way of an account of the events that transpired in Brixton, although this was not their specific intent. A useful account came from the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) report which contained a general timeline.² The MPS also provided crime data during the disturbances, including location, time, duration and type of crime, from the 6th-9th August in Brixton (postcode outcodes SW2 and SW9).³ Our account of events relied heavily on this source which described behaviours less well reported in other media. As the names of shops and businesses were not provided in the dataset, postcodes were cross-referenced using Google Maps to determine which properties the data was referring to.

¹ Stott, C., Drury, J., & Reicher, S. (2017). On the role of a social identity analysis in articulating structure and collective action: The 2011 riots in Tottenham and Hackney. *British Journal of Criminology*, 57(4), 964-981. doi: 10.1093/bjc/azw036)

² (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p.16).

³ This information was provided in Excel spreadsheet form as part of a Research Information Sharing Agreement between the MPS and the Beyond Contagion research team (February 9, 2017). In the following account it is referenced as MPS August 2011 Disorders Crime Data (Metropolitan Police Service [MPS], 2017) and the location of specific reported crimes determined by postcode, time, and crime is added to the citation.

Timelines and narrative descriptions from online blogs and media outlets provided another important source of data for this account. Thirteen significant articles were sourced from both local and national newspapers. In particular *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph* featured useful eyewitness accounts from reporters.⁴ Local news outlet *The West Londoner* provided an instrumental and highly detailed timeline of events and the *South London Press* gave an informative insight into crowd movement and police responses.⁵ Ten blogs contained valuable information, most notably an eyewitness account from *Brixton Blog*, and a detailed timeline of events from *Ceasefire Magazine*.⁶

The online news and social networking service Twitter was searched for posts containing the words “Brixton” and “Riot”, liberating 296 relevant tweets from August 6th – 9th. These provided an indispensable rolling timeline constructed from crowd-sourced, time-stamped eye-witness testimony, albeit one that required cautious analysis.⁷ Several tweets with the same content or retweets were excluded from analysis. The video-sharing website YouTube was used to locate 39 videos relating to the case study, the majority of which were real-time footage of riot events, and a few of which were post-event news reports and interviews.⁸ Video evidence was largely used for triangulating events, as they rarely featured exact time or location information. Forty-six photographs of the disturbances and their aftermath were collected, mostly sourced from blogs and the image-hosting website Flickr. Locations of videos and photographs were determined in the same manner as the crime data.

Interviews conducted by the *Guardian*/LSE for the “Reading the Riots” (RtR) project provided the majority of eye-witness testimony, with 22 accounts of the Brixton riots.⁹ These provided details of events and perspectives not gained through other sources, although they were often lacking in specificity regarding the time and location of events. An audio clip of a radio interview from a reporter at the scene was also useful.¹⁰ The project researchers conducted an interview with a Level 2 Police Support Unit Inspector who was on duty during several of the August 2011 disturbances, including Brixton.¹¹ A project researcher also conducted a field trip to the Brixton district to gather observational data on the geography of the area.

3. Analysis

Introduction

As a result of the controversial killing of Mark Duggan by the MPS firearms team on Thursday 4th August, looting and criminal damage broke out across London and the UK following a

⁴ (Taylor, 2011; Ward, 2011; Hough, 2011; London riots spread to Brixton, 2011).

⁵ (Corfield, 2011).

⁶ (Reynolds, 2011a; Younis, 2011).

⁷ The most significant use of Twitter was for increasing the accuracy of the time each event occurred. Whilst most sources will tend to round their timing estimations, for example to the nearest hour, or the nearest ten minutes, Twitter is accurate to the second of posting. For example, where we record that something occurred at 11:30, but tweets about this same incident began to be posted at 11:22, we can assume the earlier timing to be correct.

⁸ The majority of these are on a playlist available at: (Lovell, Biddlestone & Bell, 2017).

⁹ (The Guardian & LSE, 2011).

¹⁰ (Nolan & O’Brien, 2011).

¹¹ MPS Interview, 30/03/2017.

demonstration against the unsatisfactory police response to events at Tottenham Police Station on Saturday 6th August. That evening, anti-police violence, property damage and looting occurred in Tottenham, Tottenham Hale and Wood Green. On the evening of Sunday 7th August to the morning of the 8th, riots spread to the districts of Enfield, Islington, Waltham Cross, Walthamstow, Chingford Mount and Oxford Circus. That evening and night of Sunday 7th August further disturbances happened on the other side of the River Thames in South London, most notably in Brixton following a local community music festival, and Croydon. The relative proximity of these locations can be seen in Figure 1. Whilst disturbances took place in Brixton from the 6th-9th August 2011, the most significant riot occurred on the night of Sunday 7th into the early morning of Monday 8th.



Figure 1: Map of Boroughs in London, and wards in Lambeth

The areas of interest to this analysis can be seen in Figure 2. The key locations of the disturbances were the retail stores along Brixton Road (often referred to as the High Street); the superstores Currys and Halfords in Effra Road; and Coldharbour Lane, the main route from the Moorlands Estate (Figure 2, location 13) to the core scenes of the riots. Demographically, Brixton is one of the more deprived areas in London, particularly in comparison to the rest of the south-central area (Figure 3).¹² This is in line with Lambeth Council, who assessed that

¹² (Trimble).

Ferndale, Coldharbour and Brixton Hill wards experienced the highest concentration of looted properties (Figure 1).¹³

The most deprived areas of Brixton are located toward the north-east, notably around Brixton railway station (Figure 2, location 6), the Moorlands Estate (Figure 2, location 13), and the north side of Brixton Road. The home locations of arrestees during the disturbances show a strikingly similar distribution, with a concentration in the north-east of Brixton (Figure 4). Similarly, Lambeth Council noted a concentration of offenders from the SW9 postcode area.¹⁴ Figure 4 also indicates that the majority of arrestees came from the local area. A statistical analysis of the average distances travelled from arrestee home location to crime location indicate a median of 2.0 Km, with few individuals travelling from further than 7 Km away (Figure 5). This median is significantly lower than those recorded for disturbances in Tottenham (2.5 Km), Enfield (3.9 Km), Croydon (3.0 Km) and Clapham (3.3 Km). The modal age of arrestees was fairly young at 16, with most below the age of 26 (Figure 6). The majority of arrestees were male (93%), and Black (76%; Figure 7).

The disorders in Brixton can be summarised thus. A precipitating event for the riot was the police breaking up a large fight on the Moorlands estate, leading to anti-police clashes. After pushing police back, this group was joined by others on the Brixton Road, and began looting. The police eventually pushed the protagonists down Brixton Road, which was abandoned by looters in favour of Currys (an electronics retailer, Figure 2 location 14). The looting of Currys persisted until the early hours, with isolated lootings and muggings occurring throughout the night.

Several sources cite the Brixton disturbances as relatively severe within the context of the 2011 “riots”. In an analysis of MPS crime data, Baudains, Johnson, and Braithwaite indicated Brixton had one of the highest numbers of disorder-related offences during the 2011 disturbances.¹⁵ Also using MPS crime data, Davies et al. found Brixton to be the location with the second highest amount of arrestee residential locations. This conclusion was replicated in a predictive model broadly using parameters of “proximity to populous areas of high deprivation, and the balance of [retail] centre size and police presence”. Furthermore, this model predicted Brixton to have the quickest uptake in number of riot related incidents, and thus the most disturbance-susceptible retail sites.¹⁶

¹³ (Lambeth Council, 2011).

¹⁴ (Ibid., See Appendix).

¹⁵ (Baudains, Johnson, & Braithwaite, 2013).

¹⁶ (Davies et al., 2013, p. 6, Figure 2; p. 7, Figure 4).

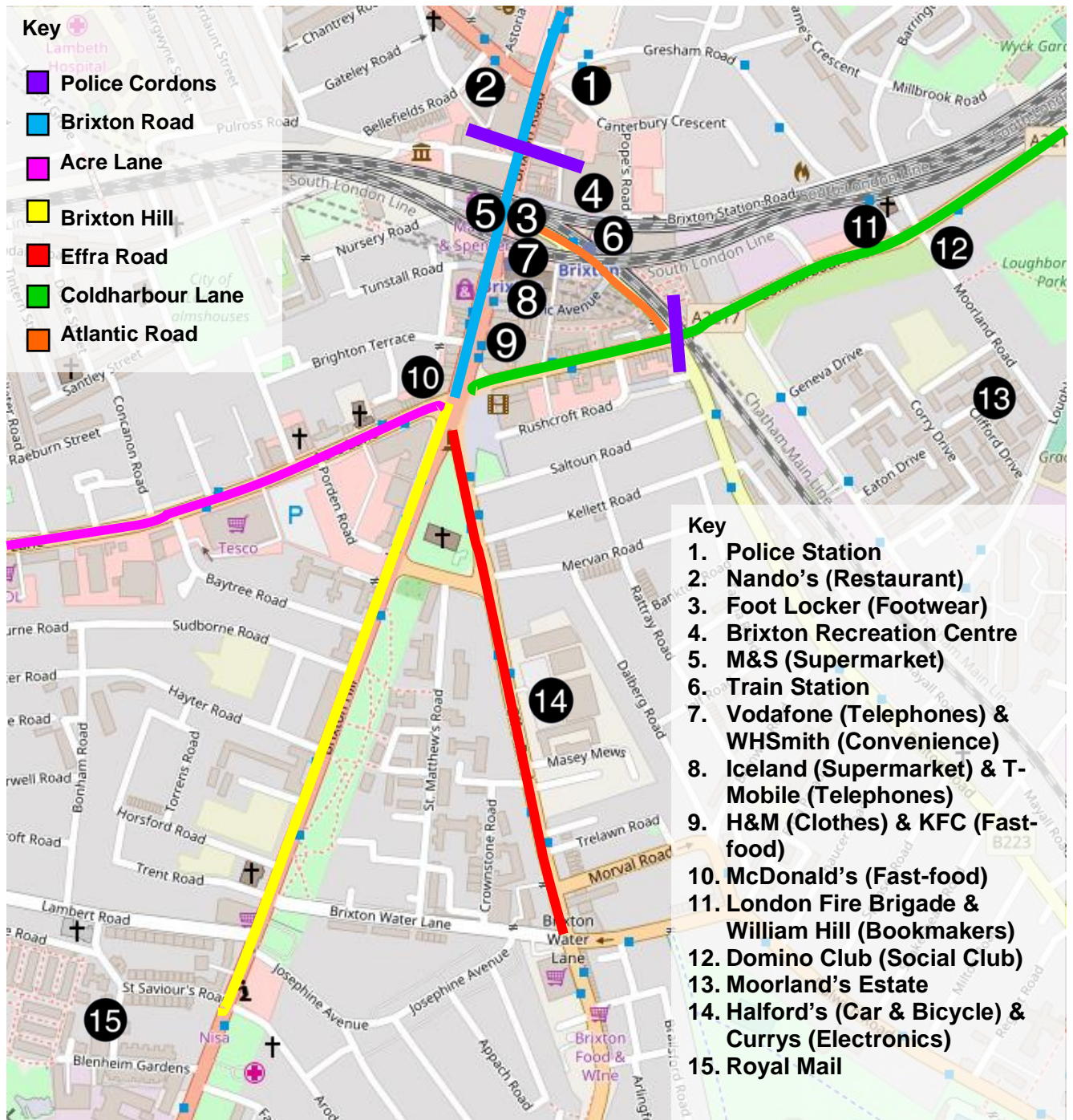


Figure 2: Map of disturbances in Brixton district, 6th-9th August 2011

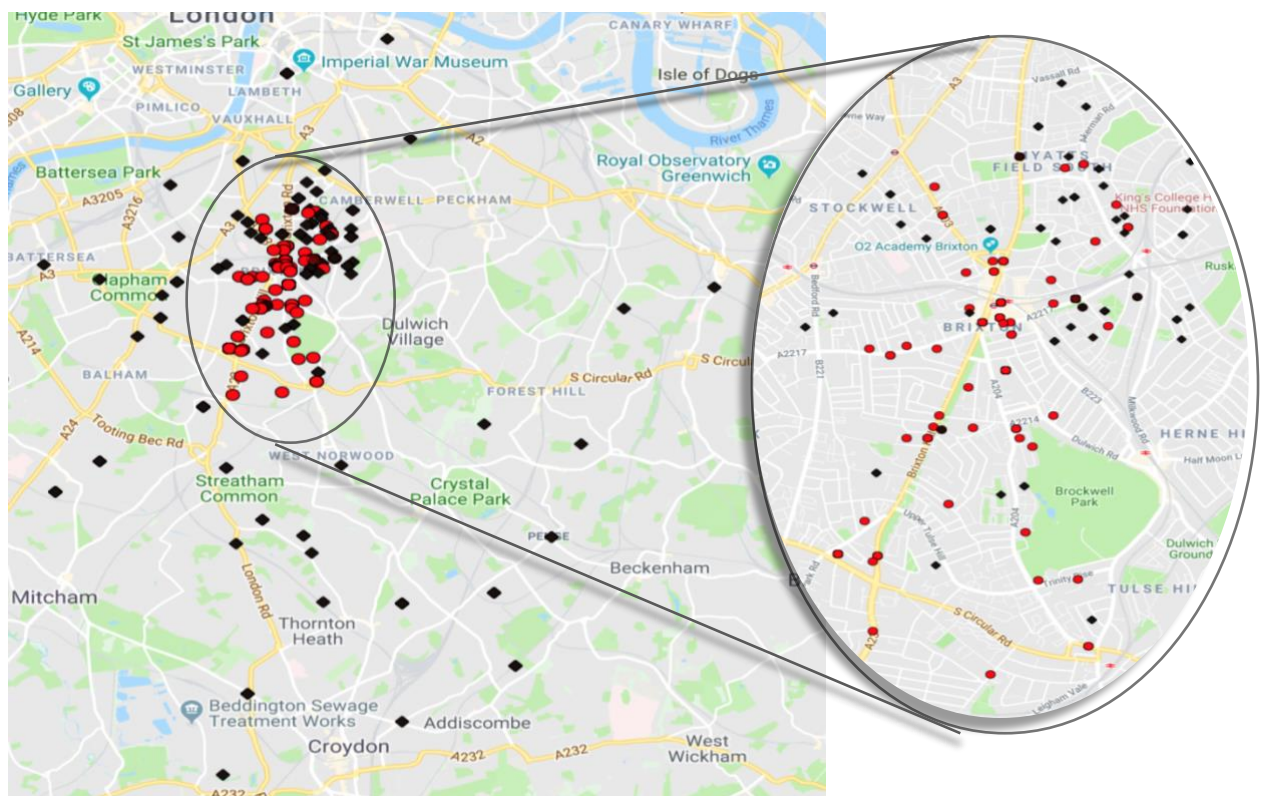
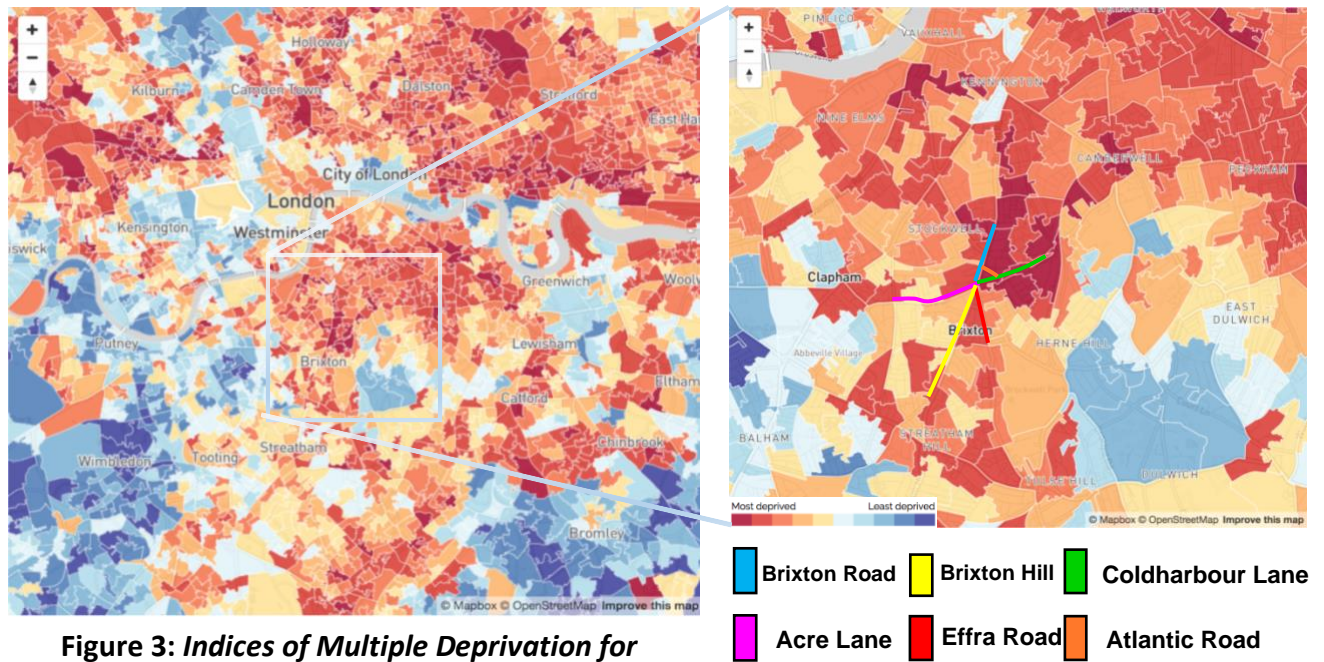


Figure 5: Frequency of distances (Km) between residential location of an arrestee and location of disorder related offence (in London postal districts SW2 and SW9) or the centre of the August 2011 disturbances in Brixton, estimated to be SW2 4DB.

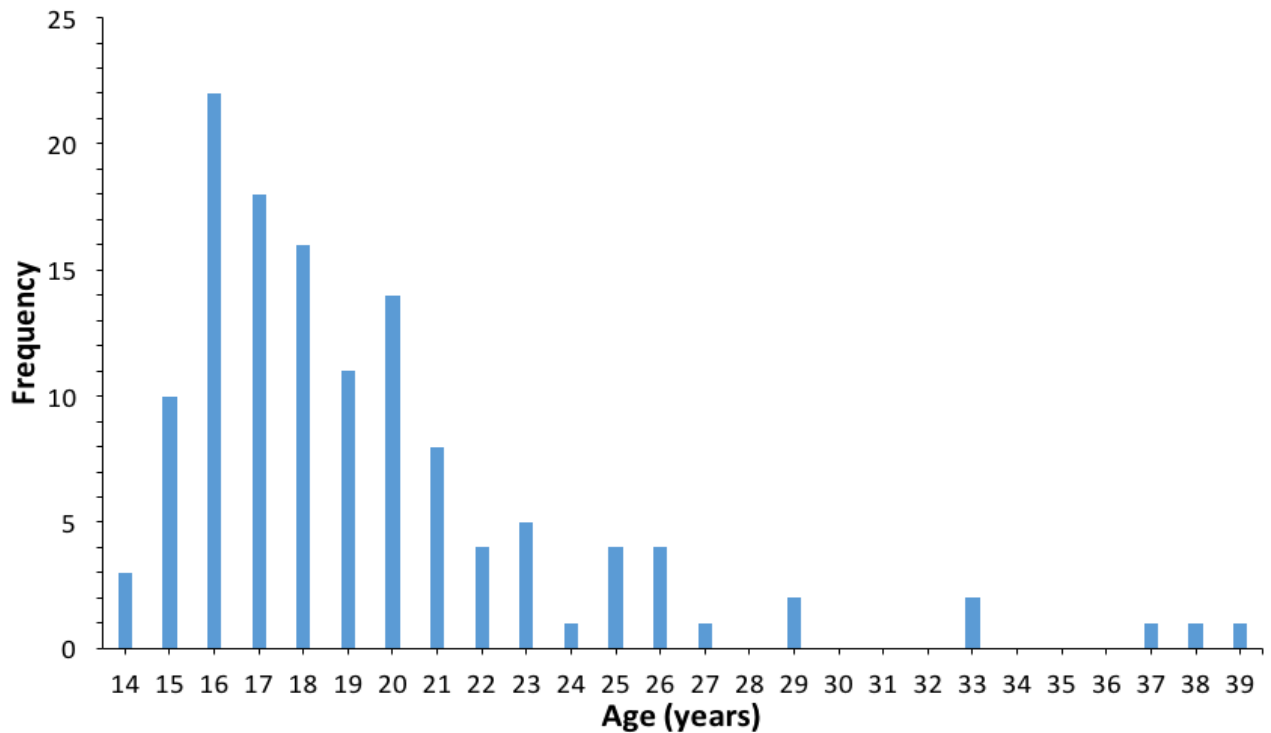
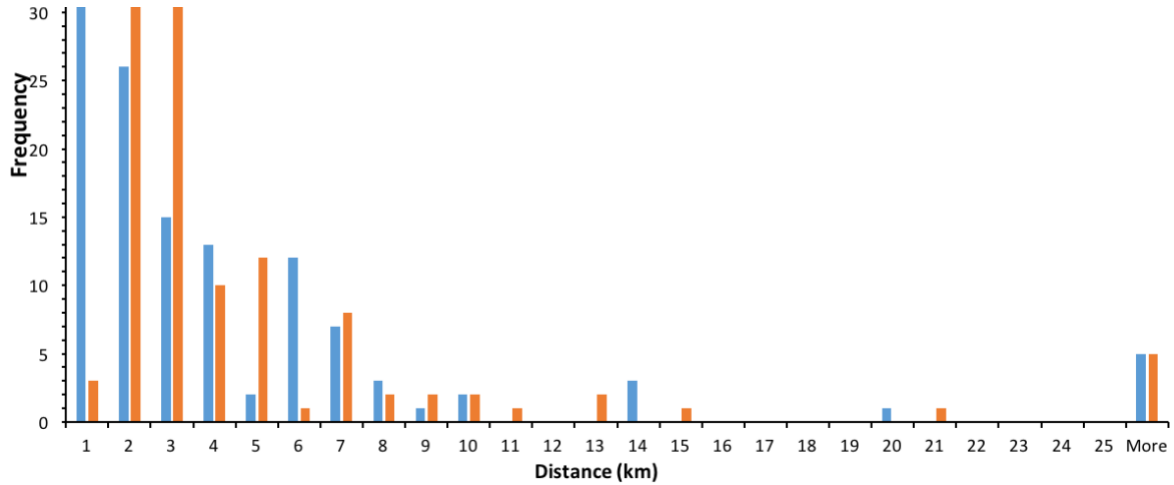


Figure 6: Distribution of ages of arrestees from Brixton disturbances 7th-10th August 2011

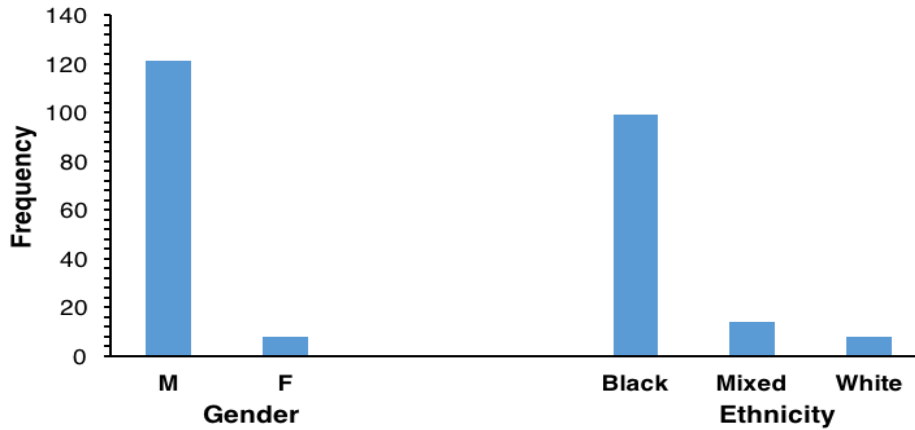


Figure 7: Frequency of gender and (self-classed) ethnicities of arrestees in SW2/SW9 6th-9th August

Saturday 6th August: Dire Predictions and False Starts

Tweets discussing the possibility of a riot in Brixton began in the late evening of Saturday 6th.¹⁷ There were claims that disturbances were planned to take place in Brixton whilst the initial Tottenham riot was still in progress, although in actuality they did not amount to anything.¹⁸ The promptness at which a riot was predicted in Brixton may reflect a reputation accumulated from a history of hosting several large-scale riots.¹⁹ Tweets from late on the Saturday 6th all the way to the early hours of Monday 8th demonstrate a back and forth between reports of a riot starting, and these being called out as false.²⁰ Whilst confirmations of a “full scale riot” proved premature, they indicate an atmosphere expectant of an imminent riot.²¹ In truth, outside of two shops vandalised at 23:00 and a stolen bike, there is little to report from the night.²²

¹⁷ *Tweets discussing possibility of a riot*: 3, 15, 17, 22, 25, 33, 34, 48 51, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 119; *encouraging*: 2, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 32, 33, 40, 42, 43, 47, 49, 53, 64, 68, 70, 71 89, 187, 214; *discouraging*: 4, 5, 30, 45, 46, 50, 58, 61, 62, 63, 74, 87, 98, 106, 172, 186, 196, 206, 208, 213, 221, 222; (c.f. Reynolds, 2011).

¹⁸ (Transcript LON2710110839, 14-28).

¹⁹ (“Brixton Riots”, n.d.; Newburn, 2014); Indeed, of the 96 documents uncovered referencing Brixton and the 2011 riots, the vast majority of these made reference to earlier riots in Brixton in 1981, 1985, and 1995.

²⁰ *Tweets stating a riot in Brixton*: 8 [23:21 6th], 23, 24, 29, 30, 31, 37, 57?, 59, 72?, 73, 74, 75, 81, 83, 84, 96, 104, 108, 114, 115, 118, 120, 121, 123, 124, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 143, 153, 155, 157, 161, 163, 164, 165, 166?, 170, 171?, 172, 173?, 174, 176?, 177, 178, 182, 184, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 196, 199, 203?, 205?, 206, 207, 211, 214, 217, 218, 219, 220, 224, 225, 228, 229; (Vis, 2013); *no riot*: 27, 28, 36, 38, 39, 44, 46, 75, 76, 78, 79, 85, 86, 88, 91, 93, 95, 99, 100, 101, 102, 107, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 116, 117, 132, 134, 135, 136, 140, 141, 142, 144, 149, 150, 151, 152, 154, 159, 169, 185, 192.

²¹ On the other hand, later tweets claiming there was no riot despite a wealth of evidence to the contrary demonstrate the lack of reliability in this source. This confusion appears to stem from three areas: an isolated riot location along with tweeters in the wrong place at the wrong time, individuals having different definitions and thresholds of what constitutes a “riot”, and finally, false rumours spread online (e.g. *Tweets*: 143, 145, 146, 186, 239, 240, 256). Such rumours were not helped by the BBC falsely claiming there was a riot in the early hours of Sunday 7th (*Tweets*: 29, 38). Coverage by the mainstream media was so sparse that rumours of a legal media blackout were incorrectly spread throughout Twitter perhaps indicating why so much of this account is based on local, independent media sources (*Tweet*: 191; Corfield, 2011, see 21:08, 00:46, 2:42).

²² ((MPS, 2017, 23:00 SW2 5QN (Acre Lane [*Tweet reporting riot on Acre Lane*: 23 [00:49, RT]], 2:00 SW2 2LA (Bike stolen), *Tweet*: 8 [23:21, suggests Morley’s (department store on Brixton High Street) was broken into. Likely exaggeration of a rock thrown at a window, as shown in a picture of the aftermath (Urban 75, 2011b)]).

Sunday 7th August: Brixton Splash to Coldharbour Clash

Coincidentally planned for the afternoon and early evening of Sunday 7th was Brixton Splash – an annual, family friendly reggae street festival held in Brixton town centre. Amidst predictions that Splash would trigger a riot, the festival organisers met with local police, but were ultimately advised to continue as normal.²³ Splash went off with only one minor, isolated incident reported – some even felt the later riot was unrelated to the day’s festivities.²⁴ Indeed, although there were some sporadic reports claiming there was a riot in Brixton at this time, these had probably been confused with the Splash crowd and the police typically stationed at such events.²⁵ However, many RtR interviewees felt the disturbances started at least in part as a result of the crowd gathered for Brixton Splash, as did the MPS.²⁶

Brixton Splash was scheduled to finish at 19:00. At 18:30 three police officers were injured while intervening in an altercation with youths²⁷ and Police Support Units (PSU)²⁸ were deployed to the area to support local officers.²⁹ Several tweets describing a “mini-riot” appear at this time, followed by reports of police in “riot gear” 15 minutes later, with police cars and “riot vans” arriving on the hour.³⁰ Meanwhile, a police minibus near Coldharbour Lane was pelted with glass bottles, breaking a nearside window and injuring the officers inside.³¹ One RtR interviewee described the area, as once Splash had finished, a crowd moved towards one of the many after-parties planned in central Brixton:

Q: Do you think you can try and describe for me the moment when it went from being Brixton Splash, to being something different, can you explain that? Were you there for that?

A: You see when everyone was walking up to come to the next street party now?

Q: Yeah

A: Like the police were trying to walk behind like, separating the crowd out, like why you separating the crowd for? That’s when I see bare [lots of] pushing and

²³ (*Meeting with police*: South London Press; *riot predictions*: Reynolds, 2011) Transcript LON051011082, 10-13; *Tweets predicting riot at Splash*: 6, 9, 18, 20, 34?, 35?, 41, 49, 50, 52, 55, 56, 60, 61, 65, 66, 68, 69; *Discouraging*: 61, 66, *Predicting no riot*: 54.

²⁴ *Tweets ‘one minor incident at Splash’*: 78 [18:49], 79 [18:52], 94 [19:18], 111 [19:50, fight], 123 [20:30, stabbing]; Transcript LON2510110835 (*without issues, unrelated to riot*: Jewell, 2011, Busteed, 2011, urban75, 2011); *But see*: Transcript LON1211101908 [Splash ended early because “somebody was being chased down the road with a gun”].

²⁵ *Tweets splash/riot confusion*: 94 [19:18], 99 [19:24], 101 [19:33], 109 [19:45], 110 [19:49], 112 [19:51], 113 [20:00], 117 [20:15], 135 [21:16], 168 [00:13]; (*c.f. Footnote 18*; Busteed, 2011 “Police told me that they had been a larger than normal police presence in the area because the Splash Festival had been taking place”).

²⁶ Transcript LON051011082, LON3010111910, LON2810110502, LON2510110835, LON1211101908; (MPS, 2012, p. 17 [“20:20 - Further reports of disorder in Lambeth due to the Brixton splash event - further PSUs deployed.”] *also* Christofi, 2011).

²⁷ (*end of splash*: Jewell, 2011; Busteed, 2011; Christofi, 2011 [people packing away equipment from splash around 20:00]; *police injuries*: MPS, 2012, p. 50 [18:30], BBC News, 2011; Briggs, 2012, p.7).

²⁸ Level 1 trained officers are full time public order trained officers and members of the Territorial Support Group. Level 2 officers receive training every six months and deal with public order issues on a part-time basis, alongside normal police work. Level 3 officers have basic public order training.

²⁹ (MPS, 2012, pp. 17,50).

³⁰ (Nolan & O’Brien, 2011) *Tweets*: 73, 75, 151, 152; *Tweets: riot gear*: 77 [18:47], 80, 82, 92, 103, *police cars and riot vans*: 105 [19:38]; N.B. These individuals may be mistaking police presence for Splash. [83, 85, 86].

³¹ (MPS, 2017, 19:00-20:00 SW9 8UB; *police injuries*: Corfield, 2011, *see* 21:36).

that, I seeing the police running and that, then I didn't know what was happening. Then I realise they was getting on to the police, that's how I start laughing like, dickheads, suck your mother, shouting at them innit, giving them some abuse.³²

The police deployed further PSUs at 20:20.³³ The state of Brixton in the later evening is described by one interviewee:

I got there about 8:30, about roughly that time, and it was getting dark but nothing was really going on, just people running around. People trying to break, you could hear people trying to break stuff but you don't really see anything being broken. Then, so then, I went back home, but then people started saying that it was really kicking off this time, so I went back again to go watch, 'cause obviously Brixton and my house aren't that far, so. But yeah, got pictures and then I went to go see.³⁴

In the view of Lambeth's borough commander, Detective Chief Superintendent Nick Ephgrave, speaking the day after the disturbances, "By 9.30pm, most of Brixton town centre was fine. We started to think that was a good job well done."³⁵ A Splash organiser commented, "We had the biggest Brixton Splash ever with significantly more people than last year. It was a largely peaceful event."³⁶

However, later that night, at around 22.00, a large group of youths "carrying weapons and missiles" began attacking police, cars and shops on Coldharbour Lane and Moorlands Road.³⁷ Half an hour later a police vehicle, responding to a report of a fight, was attacked with missiles by a group of about 100 people on Coldharbour Lane (Figure 1, Location 16).³⁸ At 23:30, nearby on the Moorland's estate itself, police responded to a large fight and were met by a barrage of missiles, resulting in at least one officer and two police cars being damaged.³⁹ A fire engine met a similar barrage on Gresham Road.⁴⁰ At this point, estimates of the group of youths, apparently many on bikes, had swelled to about 200.⁴¹ Police established two cordons at this time, at Coldharbour Lane and Brixton Road (Figure 1), and advised businesses to close. The group made its way up Coldharbour Lane towards the congregation of police officers, before attempting to lure them onto the Moorlands estate. Police did not take the bait. Riot police and helicopter reinforcements were called for.⁴²

³² Transcript LON2810110502.

³³ (MPS, 2012, p. 17, 20:20); *further disturbances*: (MPS, 2017, 19:48 SW9 8UR [assault off Coldharbour Lane], 21:00-21:30 SW9 [mugging]) Transcript LON2710110839, [interviewee claims a brick was thrown through Foot Locker between 18:00-20:00].

³⁴ Transcript LON2510110835,

³⁵ (Masters, Gilani & Burns, 2011).

³⁶ (Masters, Gilani & Burns, 2011).

³⁷ (MPS, 2017, 22:00-04:00 SW9 8QH, 22:00 SW9; Corfield, 2011, 23:22 "unconfirmed reports are circulating that a police van's just been smashed in Brixton").

³⁸ (MPS, 2017): 22:30-23:00 at SW9 8QH.

³⁹ (Hough, 2011; Taylor, 2011 [refer to these references for accounts of the clashes at this time]).

⁴⁰ (Rogers & Sedghi, 2011).

⁴¹ (Hough, 2011 [*The Telegraph* account indicates that the original Moorlands estate clash and this group comprise separate incidents], *also Riots, Communities and Victims Panel [RCVP]*, 2011, p. 20; Corfield, 2011).

⁴² Jefferson (2014) states that the riots started on a local estate, although also cites the Guardian & LSE (2011 [*as Roberts, 2011*]) as concluding that the riots started at Splash music festival.

The Borough Commander described the events at the Moorlands Estate as the police arrived:

The group formed in the Moorlands and attempted to get through the police lines. We came under sustained attack from bottles and stones. The group was between 100 and 200 people at its height. From what I could see it was young people. We tried to protect ourselves.⁴³

An RtR interviewee describes the scene on Coldharbour Lane after a Splash after-party had ended:

A: So Brixton Splash finished, there was a party at Domino Club, that finished as well and then people was just standing around, you know when everything's done but nobody was really ready to go home yet. [...] Covering up their face with bandanas and they had their hoodies and stuff like that. Initially they didn't go to the shops they was kind of vandalising first to make the police know that it was about to start. [...] they'd knocked the bins over and taken stuff out, mostly bottles. Then the police would come towards them but they'd throw the bottles at them [...] Coldharbour Lane, right that's it because as you go further up you get to Somerleyton [Road]. And they was at the, the police was actually at the bridge, and the boys was like coming in...you know Domino Club, they were there and I was in the middle where all the shops are, on the grass. And all the police come running down, and I looked to where we was talking and as soon as I looked back all the police come running back to where they'd come from and I just seen bottles flying.

Q: So how many boys and how many police?

A: Ah, the ratio was crazy it would have been about 50-60 boys and about 10 police officers. They literally just ran straight back for their life. And I could see their faces and everything, they was talking saying "we need help we need help we need help" an then you could see so many police cars about 10 minutes later coming round the corner and then they was just scaring them away. Like I've never seen police so scared before, it was like they had no control whatsoever like even the police cars, the police vans, they was just throwing rocks at them. And then they come round just to see how much people they was actually dealing with and then they'd drive straight back to where they come from. And then erm, they broke into the bookie shop on [Cold]harbour lane but there was nothing in there and they ran...⁴⁴

This account details a short-term test of the balance of power. Each group displayed warning signs as they sized each other up, the civilian body expressively vandalising local shops, the

⁴³ (Masters, Gilani & Burns, 2011).

⁴⁴ Transcript LON051011082, (suggests a bookies on Coldharbour Lane first shop broken into, then WHSmith; *Bookies on Coldharbour Lane mentioned in:* (Nolan & O'Brien, 2011; mentioned: Busteed, 2011; Picture aftermath: Urban75aa; *Video aftermath:* Sky News/Film Image Partner, 2011; MPS, 2017 [2:00-2:30, SW9 8QH, "A large group have smashed the front window of the store, damaged games machines and computer screens, stolen money from the games machines and attempted to access the safe then escaped via a fire exit"]. N.B. Domino Club, previously The 74 Club, officially called Brixton Sports and Social Club; Figure 2, location 12; *Potential Video:* Marg Nicol, 2011).

police presence itself an expression of authority. This culminated in a short skirmish, with a quick police retreat establishing the dominance of the civilian group. With the police presence diminished, anti-police actions were abandoned in favour of acquiring goods from large-scale corporate retailers.

Later in the evening, a journalist called into BBC 5 Live to report that violence flared on Coldharbour Lane, with running battles between riot police and 150-200 youths who smashed bookmaker William Hill's (Figure 2, location 11) window and set bins alight.⁴⁵ The group of youths split up at around midnight, making control difficult. It was felt that the options available to the police were limited, given a shortage of officers:

We had to prioritise certain areas. The group split up into smaller groups and caused more trouble. They managed to get through the police line in Coldharbour Lane and Atlantic Road and went for the town centre. We did what we could but we didn't have enough numbers to hold what we had and the high street.⁴⁶

The group then made its way towards central Brixton, where it was joined by others, and looting began in earnest. An RtR interview gives a vivid description of the cordons, manned by inactive riot police:

A: The police actually blocked off the bridge, just past Foot Locker, with like, with board, so no-one could drive through, no-one could get in [...] There was police by KFC but people was still looting. They was just there. They wasn't doing anything.

Q: So when you say a white board? If I'm standing on Brixton road, and the tube is on my right and Morley's in on my left, that bridge? Is that the bridge you're talking about?

A: Yeah, yeah. That bridge there.

Q: So you couldn't go up Brixton Hill?

A: No. Nah, you could go up Brixton Hill, nah, from that bit, from the bridge, there was like, you know where erm, construction board, where you've just got it up and you're blocking, that was there. It was blocked off. No-one could go through that way or no-one could come drive in or nothing. [...] There was probably about twenty on one end and about ten to fifteen on the other side.⁴⁷

Midnight: Looting the High Street

Just before midnight, violence erupted in the centre of Brixton itself, with six vehicular robberies before the day was through, and at least seven shops looted in the hour that

⁴⁵ (Nolan & O'Brien, 2011) It is possible that the event described here and the earlier clash are one and the same. However, police were definitely injured around 18:30, and the RtR interviewee (Transcript LON2810110502) appears to describe a clash as a crowd walked from Splash, which would place this event around 19:00. On the other hand, the journalist on BBC 5 describes a "flare-up" two hours after Splash ended, and RtR Transcript LON051011082 describes involvement in a confrontation after the Domino Club after party ended.

⁴⁶ (Masters, Gilani & Burns, 2011).

⁴⁷ Transcript LON281020111313.

followed.⁴⁸ One interviewee received a BlackBerry Messenger (BBM)⁴⁹ broadcast organising a riot for midnight in Brixton; plans which came to precise fruition:

It was very accurate as by about half past eleven it got ominously quiet and then a few hoodies with faces covered popped out of nowhere then they started setting fires in the bins and this was dead on 12 o'clock. Dead on.⁵⁰

The first shop looted was the books, stationery and convenience store WHSmith (Figure 2, location 7), followed by fast food restaurants McDonald's and KFC (Figure 2, locations 10 and 9, respectively)⁵¹ with looting continuing onto a mobile phone shop T-Mobile (Figure 2, location 8) at 00:10. Then, in a dramatic turn of events, footwear retailer Foot Locker (Figure 1, location 3) was set on fire at 00:25.⁵² An unsuccessful attempt at looting Western Union Bank drove individuals to the fast food outlet Nando's (Figure 2, location 2) next door, to the dismay of many locals.⁵³ One of the main targets for attack were cheque cashing businesses, whilst according to one interviewee corner shops were off limits.⁵⁴ However, it appeared not all members of the crowd of looters agreed that the community members themselves were off limits, with reports including a mugging, bike jacking and someone being forced to the ground and his knee stamped on, fracturing it.⁵⁵

Outside of corporate targets, bricks were thrown at police cars in the town centre, and an axe was stolen from the local Fire Station on Coldharbour Lane (Figure 2, location 11).⁵⁶ The size of the crowd was nearing 200 individuals, with few police officers.⁵⁷ However, police presence

⁴⁸ (MPS, 2017, [Vehicles: *Brixton High Street*: 23:40 SW9 8LN, 23:45-23:50 SW9 8HE, 23:50 SW9 8HE; *Coldharbour Lane*: 23:55-23:58 SW9 7AW, 00:01 SW9 7AW; *Effra Road*: 00:01 SW2 1BZ].

⁴⁹ BlackBerry Messenger, also known as BBM, is an internet-based instant messenger application included on BlackBerry devices that allows secure messaging between multiple users. It was used widely by participants during the unrest of 2011 as other forms of communication by social media such as Facebook or Twitter were regarded as insecure.

⁵⁰ Transcript LON2810110842, 3-12, 24-26.

⁵¹ (Transcript LON051011082, line 66; MPS, 2017, 00:30 SW9 8HE [we may have miscalculated the property referred to by the postcode]; 23:55-00:05 SW9 8EN, estimated McDonald's; 23:55-00:20 SW9 8HH, estimated KFC) McDonald's and KFC (Younis, 2011; mentioned in Taylor, 2011; Busteed, 2011; Face-marketing.com, 2011, 2011a; Sky News/Film Image Partner, 2011); Transcript LON0211110206, LON1210111908.

WHSmith *Descriptions*: Transcript LON051011082, (suggests first store hit & participated in looting); Transcript LON2810110842 42-45, 250; *Videos*: (Sky News/Film Image Partner, 2011)

Timings uncertain for: (*Videogame shop*: Tweet 202, 246) (*H&M* [clothes retailer, Figure 2, location 9: Transcript LON2810110842, 42-45; Tweet 205) (*Body Shop*: Corfield, 2011, sfingleton, 2011)

⁵² T-mobile: Younis, 2011, 00:10; [c.f. *Videos*: Ward, 2011; Barao Riobranco, 2011, *descriptions*: Transcript LON051011082; Transcript LON2510110109). Foot Locker fire: (Younis, 2011b; Corfeld, 2011a, *see* 00:23; Tweet: 178); *Descriptions*: (Reynolds, 2011; Jewell, 2011, 2011a; Transcript LON281020111313, 9-11 ["about 12" BBM photo received]); *Video*: (Corfield, 2011b; GHSR Archives, 2011; Syam charuvilayil Narayanan Sivankutty, 2011; ejreynolds34; 2011); *Images*: (Corfield, 2011c; Urban75, 2011; Tweet: 178 [Image: <http://twitpic.com/62o4e2>]).

⁵³ [This attack is only confirmed at 00:38 by tweet 187; *attack confirming following morning*: 232, 238, 25; *Described in*: Transcript LON2510110835 (participant)].

⁵⁴ Transcript LON2510110835.

⁵⁵ (MPS, 2017): [00:30, SW98BZ] Bike Jacking by group; [00:30, SW21EN] Mugging; [00:01-01:00 SW98PL] vehicle damaged; knee stamped [22.00, SW22TH].

⁵⁶ (MPS, 2017, 23:50-00:10, SW9; 00:01 SW9 7AW, Police car bottled).

⁵⁷ Transcript LON2510110835 [interviewee arrived during main looting, and appears to have left early, doesn't mention later looting of Curry's], (Corfield, 2011,; Nolan & O'Brien, 2011 [height of looting before Curry's];

then increased around Coldharbour Lane and Atlantic Road (which leads to Brixton tube station, see Figure 2), including the arrival of a helicopter at half past midnight, whilst news agencies dispatched reporters to the area.⁵⁸ The looters acted in a unified and strategic fashion, with rival “gangs” helping each other loot.⁵⁹ The *South London Press* described “splinter groups” looting shops; BBC Journalist Paraic O'Brien elaborated:

[...] this tactic of small groups breaking away in various directions and running, and targeting different places, is being adopted here tonight. Now, whether it's orchestrated or not, we can never be sure, but the point is that the police are finding it very hard to keep up.⁶⁰

Police tactics were to disperse the looters from the centre of Brixton.⁶¹ At half past midnight, as it started raining heavily, riot police began to advance down Brixton Road, southwards from the cordon near Foot Locker (see Figure 2).⁶² Several sources cite the rain as a large factor in convincing some people to leave, and as it intensified throughout the night, small fires were put out in the area.⁶³ However, far outnumbered and meeting heavy resistance, largely in the form of missiles, the police made no headway for the first quarter of an hour.⁶⁴ At 00:45 there was a large group gathering outside Brixton tube, defying police efforts to disperse them.⁶⁵ The Guardian described the police tactics:

Slowly at first they secured the area around the tube station, forming a line across the main road and then advancing in short "charges".⁶⁶

Meanwhile, a line of 20 or so police officers had managed to move past Foot Locker, allowing six fire engines and 30 firefighters to begin dealing with the blaze at the store.⁶⁷ As the crowd were pushed along Brixton Road, mobile phone shop Vodafone (Figure 2, location 7) was looted, followed by supermarket Iceland (location 8), whilst M&S (a supermarket and convenience store branch, location 5) was set alight before 01:00 by “well equipped” arsonists.⁶⁸ At 01:15, police were seen pushing people back from Brixton Recreation Centre,

Corfield, 2011, see 00:11, 00:27 citing BBC; South London Press quoting Detective Chief Superintendent Nick Ephgrave).

⁵⁸ (Corfield, 2011, see 23:47; Younis, 2011a; Corfield, 2011, see 00:11, 00:22, 2011m, 2011n; *Helicopter*: Tweet: 176, 193; Jewell, 2011b; Described in: Transcript LON2510110109.)

⁵⁹ (Newburn et al. 2011, quoted in Millington, 2016, p. 9; The Guardian & LSE, 2012).

⁶⁰ (Nolan & O'Brien, 2011; South London Press).

⁶¹ (Masters, Gilani & Burns, 2011).

⁶² (Taylor, 2011; Corfield, 2011, see 00:32 “Someone else just said that the police drew batons after an object was thrown at their lines.”, 00:27, 2011o).

⁶³ *Tweets*: 194 [00:45], 197 [00:07], 198 [1:08], 200 [01:14]; (Corfield, 2011, see 00:55, 1:03, 01:37, 01:39).

⁶⁴ (Corfield, 2011, see 00:32, 00:35, 00:40).

⁶⁵ (Corfield, 2011, 00:44 [Brixton Station crowd]).

⁶⁶ (Taylor, 2011).

⁶⁷ (00:45 BBC News, 2011; Busteed, 2011 [20 officers]; Claiming original source of Sky News: Tweet 195 [1:05] & Corfield, 2011, see 1:08). Mentioned in: (Commissioner for Fire and Emergency Planning, 2011); (London riots spread to Brixton, 2011); (Jones, Lewis, Taylor & Quinn, 2011); (Reynolds, 2011). Video: (ejreynolds34, 2011).

⁶⁸ (Corfield, 2011, 2011d; *Mentioned in*: Tweets: 184 [00:36], 190 [00:44]; next day 202, 204, 205; [02:50] 221; (Nolan & O'Brien, 2011) (*Vodafone*: Younis, 2011c; *Mentioned in*: Urban75, 2011ba; Nolan & O'Brien, 2011; *Video*: (KommondossChannel, 2011; *Image of aftermath*: Urban75, 2011ba) (*Iceland*: Corfield, 2011).

indicating headway was being made clearing the crowd around Brixton tube station (Figure 2, location 6).⁶⁹

01:00 – The Battle for Currys

The first reports of electronics retailer Currys (Figure 2, location 14) coming under attack arrived at 00:50, and it took no longer than ten minutes for word to spread, drawing looters from further up Brixton Road.⁷⁰ The rush to Currys seemed to be largely spurred on by looting opportunities, and not just by the advancing police front-line. One eye witness recounts:

they're just trying to push everyone away from the area, so then what happened then was I just saw some so like [...] about a thousand people started running and then just like the whole crowd just started chanting "Currys, Currys"⁷¹

By 01:00, the crowd at Currys was 100-200 strong, with few bystanders left, and appeared perhaps more hostile than earlier.⁷² One eyewitness described "voyeurs with cameras" as the fire in Foot Locker was being put out, and later, individuals were attacked for filming during the looting of Currys.⁷³ Outside the shop over the next hour police officers were threatened with a machete and an automatic gun, whilst civilians, the police, and fire department vehicles were pelted with rocks.⁷⁴ With the only source of loot quickly running out, goods were frequently stolen from looters, and even bought and sold.⁷⁵ Seized goods, including large screen televisions, were openly being put into waiting cars.⁷⁶ Halfords, the bicycle and automotive retailer, (Figure 2, location 14) next door was also looted for getaway bikes.⁷⁷

Police reinforcements arrived with a Level 2 MPS inspector with three PSU carriers. Based at Southwark, the day had begun for them policing the West Ham versus Cardiff football match in East London, thus they were already "kitted up" for a Category C (high risk) public order operation event. They became aware of disturbances going on elsewhere in the city and, after the West Ham match had finished, the inspector took his officers to the disturbance in Enfield. Once they were no longer under attack in Enfield and it was decided they would be better

⁶⁹ (Younis, 2011).

⁷⁰ (Corfield, 2011, *see* 01:00, 2011e [00:50], 2011f [01:26]; Taylor, 2011, 00:30; Ward, 2011, 01:30; Younis, 2011, 01:45).

Mentioned: MPS Officer Interview; Reynolds, 2011; Jewell, 2011).

(*c.f.* Younis, 2011 ["00:01 Comet & Curtis", possibly supposed to be Currys]; MPS Crime Data RID: 368 [Currys looted between 7th 12:00 – 12th 18:00, possibly means started at 00:00 on the 7th]).

Video: (Ailsa Leslie, 2011; GHSR Archives, 2011).

⁷¹ Transcript LON2510110109 (*see also*: Reynolds, 2011).

⁷² *Tweet*: 177 [00:27], 199 [01:10]; (HMIC, 2011, [01:30, '100+ people']); MPS Interview.

⁷³ (Reynolds, 2011).

⁷⁴ (MPS, 2017, 01:30-01:45 SW2 1BZ (Mugging); 01:00 SW21BZ (car damaged); 01:15-01:38 SW21BZ (rocks thrown at car by 30+ individuals); 01:15-01:25 SW2 1BZ (police carrier damaged by 30-40 individuals); 01:00-01:29 SW2 1BZ (swung machete at officer); 01:30 SW2 1BZ (officer bitten); 01:37 SW2 4QY (Uzi pointed at officer); 1:30-1:40 SW22TJ, Tulse Hill past Effra Road, possibly Sainsbury's).

⁷⁵ (Reynolds, 2011; Corfield, 2011, *see* 01:57 [video now missing], 3:05; MPS, 2017): 00:01-2:00 SW98TP ["VIW was robbed by unknown suspects whilst joining in the looting and rioting in Brixton"]; Transcript LON1710111306, 473-514 [participant]; Transcript LON2210110832, 83-90 [participant]; Transcript LON2510110109, 150 [witnessed buying of goods].

⁷⁶ (Marg Nicol, Aug. 7, 2011).

⁷⁷ (Transcript LON1211101908; *Tweet*: 231; Christofi, 2011).

used elsewhere, he made the decision to go to Brixton. Based on previous experience of policing the area, he initially deployed his team in Acre Lane/Brixton town centre as it was most likely to be the area of disorder, before moving round to Effra Road. As the commanding officer at the scene, he described the actions of the crowd as they first arrived:

A: Mostly young people. Cheeky pot shots throwing stuff at police but not a concerted effort at all. Not break police lines anything like that. More interested in what could be stolen. Enjoying the anarchy type atmosphere shouting ... and ... just knowing that level of tolerance on that particular night was high so you could get away with more. But you're focussing on arresting people for burglary and rioting.⁷⁸

By 01:30, Brixton Road was secured, with "four or five riot vans" (PSUs) keeping a cordon on at the section of shops where the main violence flared, keeping the crowd at bay.⁷⁹ Whilst small groups dispersed, some heading further down Brixton Hill, the significant body of the group continued down Effra Road.⁸⁰ The PSU Inspector described holding a line and progressing down Effra Road, Brixton Road having been secured by the police:

Very different feel there [from Enfield]. People making use of darkness. Quite residential really I know there's a bit around the town centre but actually most of it is residential. It isn't far away. ... We went left into Effra Road because as you go in there on the left hand side there's a lot of industrial estates in there. I think at that time there was a Currys and other large retail premises. And seeing people coming up and running around with televisions in their hands and large boxes etc. Then on the right hand side it used to have a waist high wall all the way up to the side of the road, and on the other side of that you've got an estate. I've policed those estates and the Borough before anyway so very aware of all that area and the problems what it's like there. On the top of the waist high wall had concrete slabs ... with slabs like this. They had all gone. All the way up and that's probably up to the traffic lights junction with Brixton Hill Road that's probably I dunno 500 metres? All of that had been ripped up. Now if you go there you'll see it's a black metal wrought iron type and you can see through it. On that night (laugh) a wall of bricks, people hiding behind throwing bricks over. ...

That was when the level of violence starts to raise then on that day and the whole road was just littered with bricks and parts of bricks all the way up and all the way across.

... You get to Effra Road and I was deploying my resources and you're holding a line and extending as much area as possible southbound which is up the hill and dealing with arresting people in there because as you've got shutters pulled down as you've got prised up etcetera

He went on to describe the progress down Effra Road:

⁷⁸ MPS Interview.

⁷⁹ (Nolan & O'Brien, 2011 [quote]; Reynolds, 2011b [00:50-01:30 perfectly in line with police taking 40 mins to arrive at Effra Road]) *Tweets*: 201, 205, 200.

⁸⁰ (Corfield, 2011; Nolan & O'Brien, 2011; intmensorg, 2011, 1:52-2:11]; Taylor, 2011).

So you hold it there. We went in and think we made maybe 10 11 12 perhaps arrests for burglary in there but it was just quite surreal watching people throwing stuff at you. Literally it's really difficult to walk without twisting your ankle cos there's so much rubble on the road. And it was dark and wearing a helmet with a steamed-up visor made it really difficult to actually see what's going on and running and jumping over fences and chasing people and having to carry your shield as well for personal protection.

The slowly advancing police line on Effra Road, and the looters around Currys, demonstrate that a battle was hard fought for this area. Bins were upended and set alight and pushed down the road towards the police.⁸¹ The initial arrival of two PSU carriers caused some of the crowd to leave.⁸² However, the throwing of rocks, and to a lesser extent of the contents of bins, seems to have been remarkably effective at keeping the police at bay.

However, in spite of the ferocity of the event, a participant described the scene at Currys thus:

I was with people. And they were going into Currys, holding up the shutters, because, the shutters, if you let go the people are gonna get stuck in, so they're holding the shutters so people can get in and out, then the police came, so they dropped the shutters, people got stuck in there. Then the police got pushed back. So everyone looted again. People got out. It was all happily going, enjoying, everyone was laughing, there wasn't no drama, no stress. Everyone had the power. Everyone had the strength. The police wasn't in control. The police cars got, bricks were thrown at the police cars. We had the power. And they didn't.⁸³

When the police began to advance at 01:30, a hail of missiles led to a quick retreat, provoking a resurgence in looting.⁸⁴ Still, within 15 minutes the police had made significant progress towards Currys, whilst looters backed away onto side streets.⁸⁵ The PSU commander described the tactics used by the police, including police dogs present at the scene:

Yeah over a period of time we were able to take ground and take control effectively try and make an area sterile. A safe area to work in. It extended that way and then also to, I think it was, Currys getting people from there. Putting the dogs in, burglars in there as well, flushed them out.⁸⁶

Rioters began leaving the area when it appeared that Currys had been emptied just after 02:00, until the crowd poured back in once entry was gained to the first floor ten minutes later.⁸⁷ Soon after, police reinforcements arrived, including a helicopter equipped with night-

⁸¹ (Marg Nicol, Aug. 10 2011).

⁸² Transcript LON281020111313.

⁸³ Transcript LON0510111302.

⁸⁴ (Ward, 2011; Corfield, 2011, *see* 01:37, 01:39, 01:49, 01:54 [video now deleted]; Younis, 2011, *see* 1:30, 1:45; Taylor, 2011; *Video*: LBC, 2011, [*Potentially incorrect*]); Tweet 200, 223.

⁸⁵ (Corfield, 2011, *see* 01:45).

⁸⁶ MPS interview.

⁸⁷ (Taylor, 2011; *see also*: Corfield, 2011; progression of crowd through Corfield, 2011g [02:14]; Corfield, 2011h, [02:22], Corfield, 2011i [02:26]).

sun lighting, scattering much of the crowd.⁸⁸ Within half an hour, Effra Road was clear of crowds, although Currys was still being looted in sight of the police.⁸⁹ Looting had finally stopped at Currys by 03:00.⁹⁰ The PSU Inspector credits the end of the Brixton disturbance to the lack of goods to loot:

The end of Brixton to me was whatever there was to be stolen had been stolen and it had got to the position where it had now been secured. There was not an opportunity for them to break into any of the premises there and it just had the appearance, you know, where TV film set where everything's smashed, all the things are smashed grilles are broken TVs are smashed, City TVs are smashed. Everything on the shelves is gone. Empty cardboard boxes on the floor, bins that have been set alight bins that have then melted into the pavement some still burning away. So eventually things just died down, crowds had dispersed.⁹¹

In summing up the events at Currys, the local Lambeth Borough Commander explained:

These were difficult times for us. I acknowledge that we took longer than anyone would wish to deal with the issue at Currys. There was a thought that you can't go in unprepared, otherwise you're in a worse position than if you had just waited. We chose to wait until we had enough officers to do it properly. It was an almost impossible situation to get right.⁹²

03:00 - Dying Down

After Currys was emptied, some looters began to steal goods from other looters, whilst some small groups were "running rings around the police".⁹³ Meanwhile, on the other side of the police lines, cut off from the main looting body, fast food outlet Nando's was set alight around 02:00, with another store looted, and two individuals were mugged.⁹⁴ Looting had also spread south between 02:00-03:00 to five other stores in the SW2 outcode area, one of which was torched, whilst two households were damaged.⁹⁵ Several stores, along with a café and a Royal Mail delivery van, were looted in disparate locations southwards (Figure 2, location 15).⁹⁶

⁸⁸ (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary [HMIC], 2011; Ward, 2011; *Video*: London riots spread to Brixton, 2011; Younis, 2011; Corfield, 2011, *see* 02:06, 02:10, 03:05, 03:15, 03:22, 03:27; Corfield, 2011k, [02:10].

⁸⁹ (Corfield, 2011, *see* 02:37).

⁹⁰ (Reynolds, 2011; Ward, 2011; Taylor, 2011; RCPV, 2011; *video*: jetblakink, 2011).

⁹¹ MPS Interview.

⁹² (Masters, 2011).

⁹³ (Corfield, 2011, *see* 03:05, 03:22, 03:37, 03:34, 03:49; MPS, 2017, 2:30 SW2 1BZ).

⁹⁴ (MPS, 2017, 02:02 SW9 9SP [assumed Nando's, may have been reported late]; 00:01-02:00 SW9 8TP (Loughborough Park), 01:22 SW9 9HR (Stockwell Road); LFB, *quoted in* Rogers & Sedghi, 2011) Windscreen damaged; 2:00-2:30 SW98QH.

⁹⁵ (MPS, 2017) 2:00-3:00 SW2 1QN (Convenience store, High Spirits) [20 to 25 males ransacked the shop and stole cigarettes, spirits and wine while the owner just had to stand back and watch.]; 2:00-3:00 SW2 1QW (potentially Kwik-stop); 2:29-3:00 SW2 4QY, Carphone Warehouse 10 + males, (also set *alight*: sfingleton, 2011, *c.f.* Transcript LON2210110832, line 62); 02:45 SW2 5TN (Potentially Ecclat Hair Salon); 01:45 SW2 2UB [private?], 2:00-2:04 SW2 3HN [private] (Younis, 2011) "2.25AM: Windows smashed in Streatham Hill independent computer store" (Note: Several stores match this description).

⁹⁶ (Corfield, 2011, *see* 03:34, 4:07; Rogers & Sedghi, 2011) (MPS, 2017, 03:05 SW2 1AH (suspected Ladbroke's); 03:08 SW9 8HE (potentially Brixton News); 03:43 SW2 4RU (potentially PC Planet); 04:10-04:30 SW2 5DB (Royal Mail)).

Furthermore, a large number of police officers were still sealing off the crossroads between Coldharbour Lane and Atlantic Road at 02:30, only fully clearing the area by 03:30.⁹⁷ The Fire Brigade was still active in the area until after 03:30.⁹⁸ It took until around 04:30 for looting to have completely ceased in the area.⁹⁹

Following days

Although there were some incidences of disorder during the evening of Monday 8th they did not compare to the disturbances of the previous night. Brixton Underground station was closed all day, and 30 youths were sealed in the neighbouring Loughborough Junction railway station in the evening.¹⁰⁰ The police presence increased throughout the day as groups were seen gathering throughout the district, until 22:00 when about 20 police officers, following a 26-hour shift in Brixton, moved to Croydon.¹⁰¹

By 22:00 on Monday evening, windows had been smashed in two houses and a vehicle, along with five incidents of looting by groups, two muggings, and three car-jackings.¹⁰² Between 22:00 and 00:30, two police cars were damaged, one purportedly by around 50 males, along with two muggings, four car jackings, and the looting of a pizza shop by 33 males.¹⁰³ Between 01:00 and 02:30, four more shops were looted, with Esso petrol station on Tulse Hill later having a police van stationed there.¹⁰⁴ However, these events appeared disparate, isolated, and groups were unable to find the traction and support in numbers they were probably looking for.

A riot clean-up organised by local volunteers started at 9:00 the next in the morning.¹⁰⁵ Stores remained closed all day on Tuesday 9th August on advice of the police, with a cinema screening evacuated, and a helicopter patrolling the area amidst rumours of another disturbance.¹⁰⁶ Outside of police recording that someone on a bike was chased by 40 youths at 20:45 on Tuesday night, we have no other data.¹⁰⁷

⁹⁷ (Corfield, 2011, see 02:39, 03:27).

⁹⁸ (BBC, 2011; Corfield, 2011, see 02:34, 02:39, 03:49; Corfield, 2011j [02:34]).

⁹⁹ South London Press.

¹⁰⁰ (MPS, 2012, p. 67), Tweets 230, 236, 258, 260, 261, 30 youths in train station: 268.

¹⁰¹ (MPS, 2012, p. 74; MPS officer interview) (*Police presence*: 261 [19:02], 262 [19:16], 269 [22:01]; *Lots of riot vans drive through Brixton*: 278 [16:35], 280 [17:02], 281 [17:05], 282 [17:07], 283 [17:07], 284 [17:08], 285 [17:13], 286 [17:36], 287 [17:40], 288 [18:09], 290 [18:46], 291 [18:48], 292 [18:59]; *Police and rioters*: 270 [22:07], 271 [23:13], 273 [1:07]).

¹⁰² (MPS, 2017, [property damage: 07:40 SW9 8HE, 16:00 SW2 1SW, 21:57-21:58 SW2 2TE; looting: 18:06 SW2 3BU, 20:00 SW9 Iceland, 20:00-20:59 SW2 1HP, 20:55-20:59 SW2 1HP (Bookies, William Hill?); muggings: 16:20-16:27 SW9 8LP SUS, 18:00-18:07 SW2 3BU; car robbery: 18:00 SW2 5NT, 21:30-21:53 SW2 2QP, 21:50 SW9 7LE])

¹⁰³ (MPS, 2017, [police cars: 22:40 SW2, 23:00-23:11 SW2 1BZ; muggings: 22:00-23:00 SW2 2TH, 18:00-18:07 SW2 3BU; car robbery: 22:15-22:36 SW2 2QD, 23:00 SW9 6SX, 23:00 SW9 7TH, 23:00 SW9 6SX (damage only); looting: 22:59-23:15 SW2 2TH]).

¹⁰⁴ (MPS, 2017, [01:00-01:07 SW2 2QB, 01:30-01:40 SW2 2TH, 02:00-02:15 SW2 4QY, 02:00-02:30 SW2 5UT]) (Younis, 2011, see 2:50).

¹⁰⁵ (RCVP, 2011, p. 23).

¹⁰⁶ (Urban75, 2011b).

¹⁰⁷ (MPS, 2017, 20:45 SW9 6NG).

4. Appendix

The following two maps are from a statistical analysis by Lambeth Council (2011), using data from the MPS Borough Intelligence Unit (BIU), the Lambeth Youth Offending Service (YOS) and the Community Safety Officers within the Community Safety Partnership (CSP). The first map below (Figure 8) features several looted properties, some of which we were not able to find in our wider analysis. They are not included in the above narrative as no data as to the time of their looting was available to us. The second two maps (Figure 9) below depict the intensity of offender housing by postcode, and the looted properties in each ward. The location with the most offender housing was also the main location of looted and damaged properties. Twenty-seven percent ($n = 19$) of offenders resided in the SW9 area. This is a similar result to our analysis of MPS arrest records.

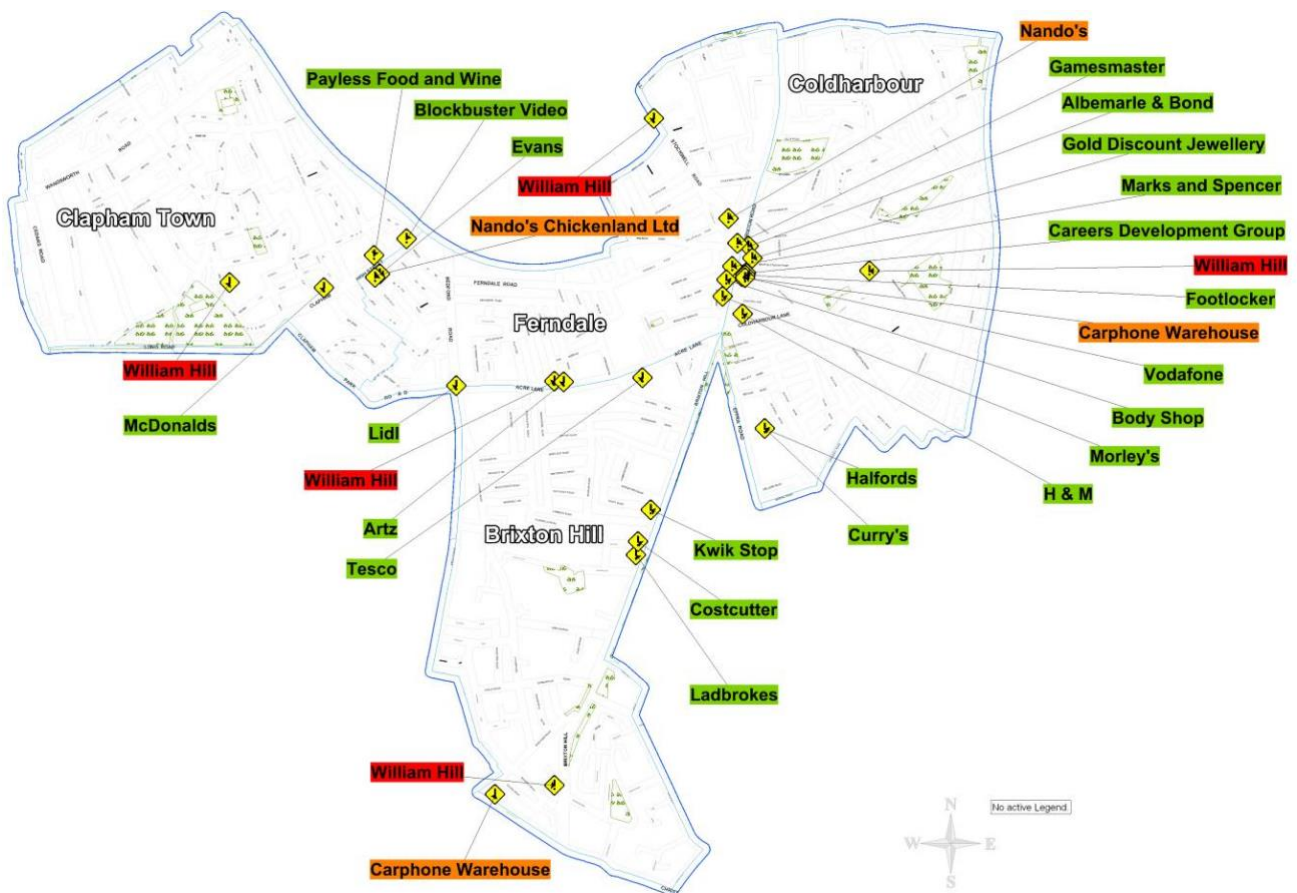


Figure 8: Affected premises in the four wards in Lambeth with the highest crime rates and property damage during the 2011 disturbances. Reprinted from Lambeth Council (2011).

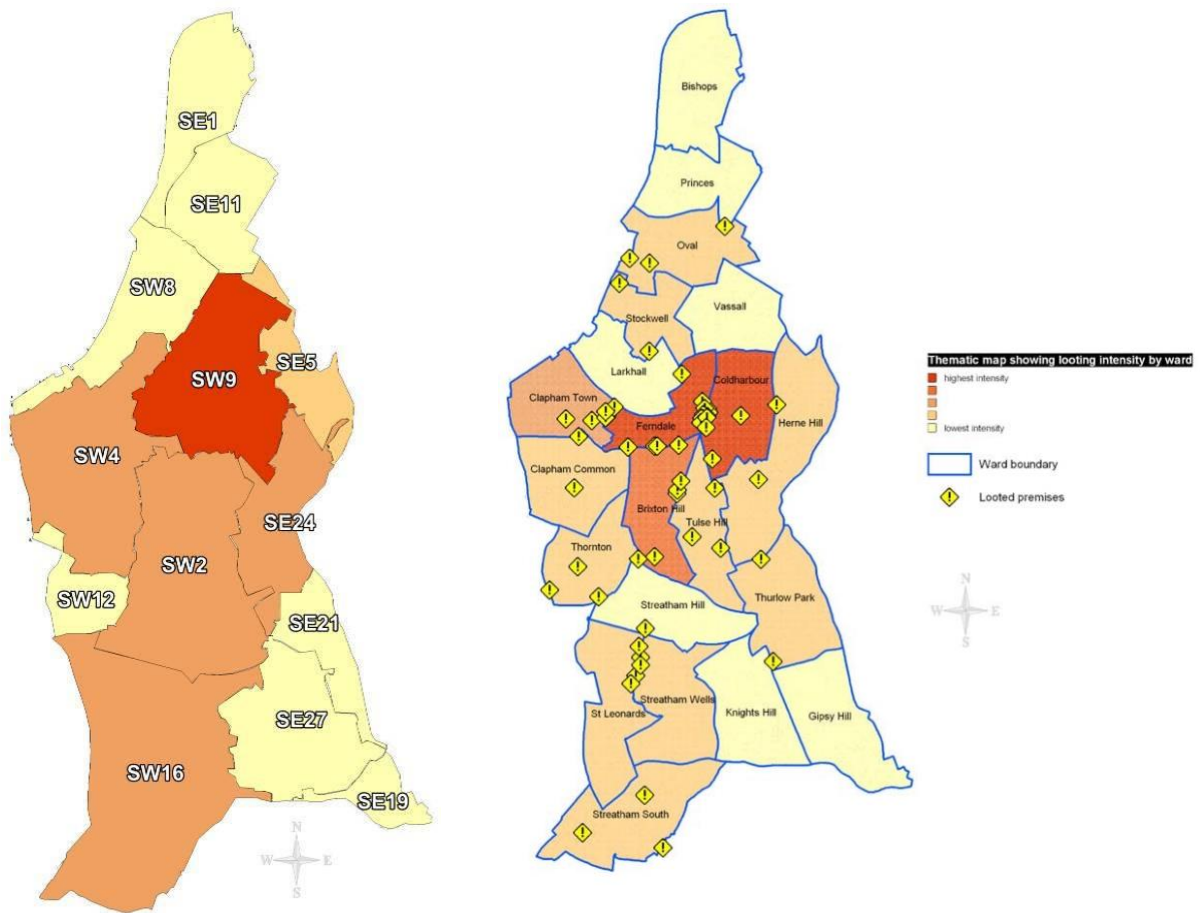


Figure 9: Amount of home locations of arrestees by postcode (left) and amount of damaged or looted properties (right) in Lambeth during the 2011 disturbances. Red depicts a higher number, and yellow a lower number. Reprinted from Lambeth Council (2011).

5. References

Guardian/LSE “Reading the Riots” transcripts

LON0211110206
 LON051011082
 LON1211101908
 LON1710111306
 LON2210110832
 LON2510110109
 LON2510110835
 LON2710110839
 LON2710110839
 LON2810110502
 LON2810110842
 LON281020111313

Twitter Data

No.	User	Date	Time	Comment
1.	@shiloh	6 th Aug	9:35 PM	“Brixton riot http://lockerz.com/s/127228114 ”
2.	@MsPiink	6 th Aug	9:43 PM	“RT @Life_Of_Igwe: Da Riot should cme 2 #Brixton,, I need someting 2 do am bored #DntJudgeMe-loool”
3.	@ChauXandria	6 th Aug	9:52 PM	“Should we be expecting a Brixton riot on September 28th?”
4.	@DarrylPdtKid	6 th Aug	10:05 PM	“KMT so my grown ass cuzin is going from Brixton to T for the riot. I wanna fight him so bad but he feel he's doing the right thing”
5.	@AmIAVictim	6 th Aug	10:58 PM	“I do hope there isn't a riot in Brixton tomorrow.”
6.	@RomellDawkins	6 th Aug	11:04 PM	“RT @Ironmikezz: I wonder if there will be a riot tomorrow at Brixton splash”
7.	@QueueKay	6 th Aug	11:20 PM	“@ChaleboyThePoet @kaekurd there's a Brixton riot?!?!? :-O”
8.	@gallikemichelle	6 th Aug	11:21 PM	“Omg there is a riot in brixton morleys just got broken into if u want shizzle get down there now!”
9.	@kemne	6 th Aug	11:26 PM	“RT @AmIAVictim: I do hope there isn't a riot in Brixton tomorrow.<< Brixtonnn Splashhhhhh”
10.	@YungenPlayDirty	6 th Aug	11:26 PM	“Riot In Brixton?? Who's Down?!!”
11.	@Mimi_GeeGee	6 th Aug	11:28 PM	“RT @ShoShoJordsz: RT @YungenM1st: Riot In Brixton?? Who's Down?!!”
12.	@JayeBird_	6 th Aug	11:35 PM	“If you're gonna riot in South London, please start at H&M in Brixton. That would be much appreciated :)”

No.	User	Date	Time	Comment
13.	@AnitaKoroma	6 th Aug	11:43 PM	"There should be a riot in brixton whooppp the remy&premium now i would jus walk out with hmmm !! New look&H&m would be my main target !"
14.	@ShanaineXo	7 th Aug	12:00 AM	"LMAOOOOO RT @NessZolanski: If there's a riot in Brixton tomorrow I'ma have to reach Footlocker, then KFC. Then I'm bless."
15.	@Suziie_jxx	7 th Aug	12:04 AM	""@SmoochDaCoochie: So people r tryna do a brixton riot 2mro X_X < it won't work"LOOL"
16.	@aystar	7 th Aug	12:07 AM	"RT @Michelle_Hung: Omg there is a riot in brixton morleys just got broken into if u want shizzle get down there now! «« Real ting??"
17.	@rikbarker	7 th Aug	12:08 AM	"Riot in tottenham? how very retro. St Pauls or Brixton next?"
18.	@David_CEO	7 th Aug	12:22 AM	"I hope there is a riot tomorrow at Brixton because of "Brixton Splash" I would just fly to H&M"
19.	@HowShantastic	7 th Aug	12:22 AM	"What am I missing ppl!! Who's having a riot in brixton..?"
20.	@OyaAskYoDaddy	7 th Aug	12:28 AM	"RT @ibathnaked: If brixton splash turns into a riot 2moro..I wanna knoq quickly so I can join lol « LOOL"
21.	@LondonFoodBuzz	7 th Aug	12:41 AM	"Buzz for KFC: http://sch.mp/0sMAMh - RT @NessZolanski NessZolanski: If there's a riot in Brixton tomorrow I'ma have to reach Footlocker, ..."
22.	@OriginalBabydoll	7 th Aug	12:43 AM	"how da bloody raas this #Tottenham riot coming to #Brixton? better not reach #Croydon, we need that like a hole in the head kmt"
23.	@OriginalBabydoll	7 th Aug	12:49 AM	"RT @Comfort75: Can someone please explain to me how a riot has kicked off in Acre Lane, Brixton?? I'm SO baffled right now!! >> madness"
24.	@CynthiaEriVo	7 th Aug	12:52 AM	"@pbennettwarner good there's a huge riot going on in tottenham and I think it's spread to Brixton twas on the news xx"
25.	@ItsFionaHall	7 th Aug	12:59 AM	""@BfashionMad: I think it's an exaggeration to think that the riot will spread across London :/" Lol, you sure? Brixton is going down lol"
26.	@OriginalBabydoll	7 th Aug	1:00 AM	"what ever these people were campaigning for is now null & void with this riot kmt #Tottenham and if twitter rumours are correct #Brixton too"
27.	@JournoDannyAero	7 th Aug	1:02 AM	"It seems like Brixton kicking off was fake. Someone created a fake RT of @SkyNewsBreak reporting a Brixton riot. #tottenhamriot"
28.	@SueF_63	7 th Aug	1:08 AM	"It looks like reports of a #riot in Brixton may be a bit premature. No one seems prepared to confirm that anything is going on there"
29.	@PoliticallyBrit	7 th Aug	1:13 AM	"BREAKING NEWS: Peckham, Croydon, Brixton, are reported to be #riot zones this evening. via #BBC R5"

No.	User	Date	Time	Comment
30.	@PoliticallyBrit	7 th Aug	1:19 AM	"RT @Dinno85: RT @VictizzleMusic: I'm hearing its popping off in #Brixton now...ppl get inspired by the wrong things... --> #london #riot"
31.	@RickyStutterz	7 th Aug	1:22 AM	"Ppl are acting like they never seen riot b4 KMT ! welcome to my town #BRIXTON !"
32.	@Bezkaaahhhh	7 th Aug	1:35 AM	"@JamieSkelton A riot is pretty tame for Brixton on a Saturday night. Might even improve it."
33.	@StefJose9	7 th Aug	1:43 AM	"Brixton riot tomorrow I'm hearing Jd sports Is 1st On the Agenda! @Jonesy_Selfmade. @APPLE_RAzZi. @Jayde_Khalifa @MrWays @GEElamorous"
34.	@IreneTTYA	7 th Aug	1:53 AM	"If the police cancel Brixton Splash tomorrow they will have another riot on their hands!"
35.	@MoeyStyles	7 th Aug	1:53 AM	"If this kind of riot took place in Brixton Slash...IT'S CURTAINS BRUVV!!!!"
36.	@BrixtonsBayo	7 th Aug	1:56 AM	"all this #brixton speculation completely unfounded, no riot here. newscasters get your shit together"
37.	@Abu_Idris_Umar	7 th Aug	2:08 AM	"RT @khalidkhan787: BREAKING NEWS: Peckham, Croydon, Brixton, are reported to be #riot zones this evening."
38.	@Jeeva_D	7 th Aug	2:19 AM	"shit journslism #BBC if you say there is a riot in #brixton base it on some sort if truth! just the usual sirons here"
39.	@beckburns	7 th Aug	2:31 AM	"rumours that #tottenham riot now moving to local area wood green seem more reliable than false brixton rumours earlier..."
40.	@young_pa1	7 th Aug	2:59 AM	"There needs to be a riot in brixton.. I'm going str8 for footlocker, jd's and every phone shop lol"
41.	@MoeyStyles	7 th Aug	3:02 AM	"All that's needed to trigger a riot in Brixton Slash tomorrow, is for Peckham or Tulse Hill breddas to attend"
42.	@DarrylPdtKid	7 th Aug	3:02 AM	""@BlockBoyYank: CAN SOUTH RIOT QUICK PLEASE MY PATIENCE IS RUNNING REAL LOW.. RIOT TOMORROW AT BRIXTON SPLASH !! I NEED THIS !!!"// Looool"
43.	@RXYFOREVER	7 th Aug	3:16 AM	"RT @BlockBoyYank: CAN SOUTH RIOT QUICK PLEASE MY PATIENCE IS RUNNING REAL LOW.. RIOT TOMORROW AT BRIXTON SPLASH !! ... http://tmi.me/e5OuF "
44.	@bobbyfriction	7 th Aug	3:18 AM	"So now the riot has allegedly spread to #woodgreen ! Not #brixton or #croydon #Tottenham #LondonRiots2011"
45.	@NicolaNickyNic	7 th Aug	3:46 AM	"RT @ZackMorris__: If there's a brixton riot omg footlocker jd and carphone warehouse and argos boy lol. < Omg morleys noooooo"

No.	User	Date	Time	Comment
46.	@meatsweet	7 th Aug	7:59 AM	"So while south London BBQed north London burnt. Lucky we were safe in Brixton. #weirdsayingthat #riot"
47.	@JadeMcClune1	7 th Aug	9:16 AM	"from the riot to the Revolution, we must sustain the Uprising! Rise up Brixton! Rise up ye wretched of the Earth!"
48.	@WavestaRodaz	7 th Aug	9:40 AM	"@_eemia LOOOOOOL if der was a riot in brixton h and m would u join"
49.	@dsgryme	7 th Aug	11:02 AM	"Might have to reach Brixton Splash today, but Imma be ready to breeze to curry's if a riot kicks of, there's a couple thing I need"
50.	@EnamPhotography	7 th Aug	11:34 AM	"I bet there's gona be one fool who's gona try start a 'riot' in Brixton after Brixton Splash.."
51.	@H_IMZ	7 th Aug	11:54 AM	"If there was a riot in brixton.. Mums wud rob from iceland .."
52.	@LovinaBaybee	7 th Aug	12:05 PM	"Its Bait Der Gonna Start Ah Riot At Brixton Splash .. So If You Are Going I Advise You NOT To Bring Children .. !!"
53.	@James_W09	7 th Aug	12:11 PM	"Riot in Brixton?...."
54.	@ChanIncognito	7 th Aug	12:19 PM	"Dese brikkky boys shud stop gassin ders nt gonna be a riot at brixton splash"
55.	@AntiOdeism	7 th Aug	12:22 PM	"Brixton Splash is a very small possibility for me - watch people riot there to *sigh*"
56.	@tislatoya	7 th Aug	12:24 PM	"So I don't know if the BC that I got on my phone is true but apparently people are planning to riot at Brixton splash"
57.	@ilonee	7 th Aug	12:26 PM	"So now I'm hearing of a brixton riot :/"
58.	@Capo_Mizz	7 th Aug	12:32 PM	"Why are dons in Brixton gonna riot!!! #DON'T makes no sense"
59.	@CallMeSJay	7 th Aug	12:35 PM	"RT @_taiwo: Need to meet my mum in Brixton later and I got no umbrella :(// deres meant to be riot there apprently."
60.	@missfili_	7 th Aug	12:37 PM	"People if your going brixton splash and you have kids with you mind yourself riot is guna start so keep the kids away bc this to warn others"
61.	@TheRoyalCMW	7 th Aug	1:18 PM	"So ppl are sending out bc on bb 2 say der gnna be a riot at Brixton splash 2day Pls ppl relax nw kmt"
62.	@AdzTweets	7 th Aug	1:19 PM	"I just a BC saying there is going to a riot in Brixton!! WTF"
63.	@RacksW	7 th Aug	1:29 PM	"Come 2 think of it u can't riot on brixton high rd da fedz station is dwn da bottom. An nuff ppl won't stand der ground So shut da f**k up"
64.	@ShaneMME	7 th Aug	1:30 PM	"If they riot in Brixton, I'm goin straight to footlocker and Tmobile lol, get my kicks game up and a new BB Bold lol"

No.	User	Date	Time	Comment
65.	@Dancehall_vybz	7 th Aug	1:33 PM	"People if your going brixton splash and you have kids with you mind yourself riot is guna start"
66.	@ShayHunni	7 th Aug	1:53 PM	"Chelsea to Brixton, hopefully by the time I reach the rain will have stopped and the splash won't have descended into a riot yet!"
67.	@FoxRoyalty	7 th Aug	2:33 PM	"RT @TamaraPorsher_x: I want there to be a riot in brixton!!! «Lou it. Fall back"
68.	@SunnyDarko	7 th Aug	2:35 PM	"Yes I am going Brixton Summer Splash with a lot of weapons. If a riot pops off' I'm hitting da belly! Jewels! Lool BMT .. Gone clear"
69.	@Anaforia	7 th Aug	2:38 PM	"Brixton splash was cancelled apparently and I still don't know why.. But I'm guessing they're scared a riot will start aswell? #shame"
70.	@MissCiCi_Kay	7 th Aug	2:53 PM	"I dnt mind if dey bring da riot to brixton, i dnt my stealing weave n sum burgers too 4real! Looool!"
71.	@Official_Workz	7 th Aug	5:36 PM	"Im hearing brixton next to riot and enfield just getting warmed up, its no longer for a cause, just jump on da band wagon & roll"
72.	@tasha_say	7 th Aug	5:45 PM	"My friends are telling me to come riot in Brixton x___X"
73.	@ThomJames	7 th Aug	6:08 PM	"I seem to be in the middle of a mini-riot in Brixton"
74.	@m_petal	7 th Aug	6:15 PM	"So apparently the riot has now escalated to Brixton after the escapade yesterday in Tottenham, these people need to get a life! Kmt?"
75.	@ShareefaEnergy	7 th Aug	6:17 PM	"Wasn't the start of a riot in Brixton, something minor"
76.	@sirfemionetouch	7 th Aug	6:17 PM	"RT @Ade_McLovinKing: RT @deejayjinglez: Riot in Brixton i'm hearing .. Someone confirm please<<street Parry« no riot just protest"
77.	@PaulStollery	7 th Aug	6:47 PM	"Bottles thrown and the riot gear is out in #Brixton...."
78.	@MsAbiDee	7 th Aug	6:49 PM	"#BrixtonSplash was actually calm! Apart from one small incident. Pssht "brixton riot" my behind. "/"
79.	@_NessArei	7 th Aug	6:52 PM	"Brixton splash is alright still.. only one minor mishap but no riot lol. Nuff mandem doe... peak"
80.	@daniellagraham	7 th Aug	6:53 PM	"Police have just got the riot gear out. Rioters lobbing rubbish from our recycling bin. Very glad our gates were fixed recently. #brixton"
81.	@johnbattiste	7 th Aug	6:56 PM	"The riot has started in Brixton!!!!!!"
82.	@oskmatz	7 th Aug	6:56 PM	"#Tottenham #Brixton #Enfield all with low-level skirmishes it seems. Riot cops out #LondonRiots"
83.	@Remiwest_	7 th Aug	6:56 PM	"LOL why am I hearing brixton is having a riot loooool"
84.	@MayhemSAS	7 th Aug	7:03 PM	"RT @WatchuSayYoungs: Its goin down just off my rd. Brixton http://bit.ly/rv1Xdb - THIS RIOT IS SPREADING EVERYWHERE FAST DOOZY!"

No.	User	Date	Time	Comment
85.	@MjOrekelewa	7 th Aug	7:04 PM	"Dere is no Riot in Brixton ooo ppl should allow spreading rumours init"
86.	@imBEZAthanyou	7 th Aug	7:07 PM	"RT @SocioClaudio: BRIXTON RIOT HAS NOT STARTED < TANKYOU."
87.	@MagicDon11	7 th Aug	7:08 PM	"They should just throw tear gas at these stupid brixton youts! Riot for WHAT??"
88.	@ChanIncognito	7 th Aug	7:12 PM	"Apparently ders a riot in brixton so I asked 3 ppl hu are currently in brixton n dey all said no - _ -"
89.	@imBEZAthanyou	7 th Aug	7:12 PM	"IF they do riot in brixton, pliz somone get the yardie hairdresser opposite the argos.. mi nuh like dem :("
90.	@SunshineNadiva	7 th Aug	7:12 PM	"RT @JasparBully: So there's riot in Brixton Coldharbour Lane too. Cool>>>This is getting crazy!"
91.	@AshleighMilan	7 th Aug	7:14 PM	"Lool Guys Dere iS No Riot In Brikky iJuss Spoke To Sum1 Who's iS In Brixton Now!"
92.	@AbouGehad	7 th Aug	7:15 PM	"PHOTO : Riot police deploy in #Brixton as unrest spreads to South #London #Tottenham #WoodGreen http://bit.ly/pHpCdU "
93.	@Adenixon	7 th Aug	7:16 PM	"I am in Brixton right now, there is nooo Riot. - _ -"
94.	@thesquinch	7 th Aug	7:18 PM	"@AbouGehad They're not riot police! Brixton splash is on today and there was a minor incident lasting a couple of minutes. #Brixton"
95.	@ChanIncognito	7 th Aug	7:20 PM	"There's no riot in brixton its jus peak..ppl gettin chased by fedz n sum1 let off a shot"
96.	@TJ_BassF1st	7 th Aug	7:21 PM	"O woowooooow there's a riot in Brixton http://lockerz.com/s/127528425 "
97.	@A8JH	7 th Aug	7:24 PM	"Heading towards Brixton in 20mins to see if there anything happening regarding the riot talks. Heard it is kicking off at #Enfield"
98.	@alexlovesgrime	7 th Aug	7:24 PM	"RT @MsAshleighJadee: Wow loads of police & people in Brixton boy... « Because Brixton are scrapping for a riot smh."
99.	@stuartgreen747	7 th Aug	7:24 PM	"There is no riot in #Brixton, just thousands of people partying peacefully in the street. Don't believe the hype."
100.	@TheTurnUpShow UK	7 th Aug	7:27 PM	"ders no riot in brixton man weres der evidence"
101.	@Team_Chuckie_	7 th Aug	7:33 PM	"There is not a riot in Brixton the police are there for Brixton splash....I just spoke to someone that is walking through Brixton"
102.	@JayeBird_	7 th Aug	7:34 PM	"The Brixton I'm in, there's no riot :s.."
103.	@pryerlee	7 th Aug	7:34 PM	"RT@AbouGehad Riot police deploy in #Brixton as unrest spreads to South #London #Tottenham #WoodGreen http://bit.ly/pHpCdU "

No.	User	Date	Time	Comment
104.	@eyaw_	7 th Aug	7:36 PM	"oh so there is a riot in brixton. LOL"
105.	@Liverbird_73	7 th Aug	7:38 PM	"What the hell is going on in Brixton tonight? Riot vans, hundreds of police cars! I predict a riot! Argh!"
106.	@MrPinero_	7 th Aug	7:39 PM	"But Really Tho Like Why Riot In Brixton? Brixton H&M Is Shit There's Only JD Sports And Phone Shops. Brixton Is As Run Down As It Is"
107.	@thesquinch	7 th Aug	7:39 PM	"The only riot in #Brixton so far is in the fevered imaginations of tweeters."
108.	@originalgchild	7 th Aug	7:40 PM	"Riot In Brixton Now They Wonna Do JD Sports Like wood Green hahahahahaha"
109.	@DitBerry	7 th Aug	7:45 PM	"Ppl tweeting smashed up police car pic and claiming it is from both #Enfield and #Brixton. Just Brixton Splash today, no evidence of a riot"
110.	@MrPlay	7 th Aug	7:49 PM	"THERE IS NO RIOT IN RA\$\$CLART BRIXTON!!! Police are there just for the Brixton Carnival Splash. STOP CHATTING SHIT!!!"
111.	@Samyaa_x	7 th Aug	7:50 PM	"RT @ReeceRavalier: A Brixton riot I'm hearing of now, this honestly makes no sense!!!< nah apparently it was just a fight"
112.	@MattDupuy	7 th Aug	7:51 PM	"Seems alleged Brixton riot is a noisy but good-natured festival. Apologies for confusion. Hard to tell from Dalston #riots #brixton #enfield"
113.	@thesquinch	7 th Aug	8:00 PM	"@Tanny107 I can confirm that they HAVE NOT MOVED TO #BRIXTON. There is no riot here. Just a festival finishing up."
114.	@samuelsedgman	7 th Aug	8:07 PM	"Twitter says there is and is not a riot in Brixton. I'd go outside and check but there might be a riot. It's Shrodinger's riot."
115.	@BCountessa	7 th Aug	8:10 PM	"Sigh.. What's wrong with this people tho? RT @balogz: So another riot has broken out in Brixton! Dey not as violent as d tottenham ones."
116.	@KeizaDS	7 th Aug	8:11 PM	"Ain't no riot in Brixton I just left dere. Bare myths."
117.	@MichaelOrmerod	7 th Aug	8:15 PM	"Hey it's #brixton splash, not a riot.#enfield on the other hand isn't looking great #hmv and a met squad car already smashed in."
118.	@chleacy	7 th Aug	8:22 PM	"The Riot Has Started In Brixton, 5 Minutes Away From My House - _ - Thanks."
119.	@theTHRONE_ent	7 th Aug	8:22 PM	"So I'm hearing brixton is gonna riot aswell"
120.	@bluesforthehorn	7 th Aug	8:23 PM	"Brixton riot right about now. Ouch."
121.	@SuavCampbell	7 th Aug	8:27 PM	"Here we go again brixton riots 2011 +_O"

No.	User	Date	Time	Comment
122.	@lacestrawberry	7 th Aug	8:28 PM	"so sum1 just told me theres a riot in brixton and they raided out footlocker...is this actually true?only answer if u are/wer there please"
123.	@Lucylousw	7 th Aug	8:30 PM	"London town is goin mad.its crazy.brixton is mad right now some1s been stabbed at brixton splash and a riot is kickin off#fixthefuckup"
124.	@angelkeyz	7 th Aug	8:35 PM	"Wow..so glad we didn't stay too long. Riot part two in Brixton?!?! Cc:@DeniseB_102"
125.	@brixtonjess	7 th Aug	8:43 PM	"When I visited Brixton Splash with my baby at five all was calm and atmosphere good. No evidence of a riot or the rumblings of one."
126.	@IChamberlain_	7 th Aug	8:44 PM	"Crazy riot in brixton I'm seeing gangs from all over London here WTF this place is a madness!"
127.	@RhysBants	7 th Aug	8:46 PM	"So there's a riot in brixton happening now.. Great stuff"
128.	@jojoldn	7 th Aug	8:48 PM	"Ps. Brixton Riot is happening now"
129.	@1MaisonDjon	7 th Aug	9:00 PM	"Riot in brixton!!!"
130.	@samanthabants	7 th Aug	9:00 PM	"When I heard that there was gonna be a riot in Brixton I didn't belive it was gonna happen, but now it really did"
131.	@tolueff	7 th Aug	9:00 PM	"So I've heard there's now a riot in brixton and another one in croydon? Next I'll be hearing that its hit wallington!"
132.	@leongreen	7 th Aug	9:08 PM	"Central #Brixton looking decidedly non #riot like http://yfrog.com/gyhgvi0j "
133.	@jkerrstevens	7 th Aug	9:10 PM	"Lots of police riot vans headed out of Brixton right now. Presume on way to North London."
134.	@EmmaInnes	7 th Aug	9:15 PM	"seriously, there is not even a hint of a riot in brixton"
135.	@RickyStutterz	7 th Aug	9:16 PM	"Just got back from Brixton I can give u the update there is no riot @ the MOMENT it's just the Brixton cranival !"
136.	@takaczapka	7 th Aug	9:16 PM	"Looking for riot on brixton, but still can't find any. #Brixton"
137.	@kris_cov	7 th Aug	9:17 PM	"I wonder if the Brixton riot tweets will become self-fulfilling? Everyone there saying no riot, but people keep tweeting it"
138.	@colinwiles	7 th Aug	9:19 PM	"Some trouble in Brixton according to my daughter. A stabbing and riot police in action on Coldharbour Lane."
139.	@danielrhamilton	7 th Aug	9:23 PM	"Another convoy of #Police vans just went through #Vauxhall on the road south to #Brixton. Hope it's a preventative measure, not a riot."
140.	@takaczapka	7 th Aug	9:23 PM	"Brixton Splash didn't convert to riot. What a shame, innit? Sorry, no breaking news tonite. #Brixton"

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141.	@OyaAskYoDaddy	7 th Aug	9:27 PM	"Brixton is dwn the road if there really was a riot everybody would know"
142.	@scouser_andy	7 th Aug	9:46 PM	"@BrianDurand56 I live in Brixton mate - doesn't seem to be much going on. There was a Bone Fide street party today but appears no riot"
143.	@Fxirytail	7 th Aug	10:00 PM	"sooooo many police sirens goin off, down brixton there's a riot and there throwing acid around, =/"
144.	@scouser_andy	7 th Aug	10:22 PM	"The view on Brixton High Street -There is no riot. #AllQuietOnTheWesternFront #Brixton #tottenham http://yfrog.com/kibc9ixj "
145.	@Jedshepherd	7 th Aug	10:34 PM	"Riot van in Brixton and 3 people injured. Might be a normal night though."
146.	@Joannacmassie	7 th Aug	11:07 PM	"Can hear a lot of sirens over here in Brixton. No idea if it's riot related or a general Sunday night."
147.	@Dazzler98	7 th Aug	11:09 PM	"Been on duty now 16hrs straight in full riot gear.,Reports of looting and trouble in Brixton, Enfield, Edmonton, Oxford Circus. Knackered."
148.	@ladyjazmana	7 th Aug	11:15 PM	"I can hear a lot of sirens outside this evening, hope the rumours of a riot in Brixton aren't true..."
149.	@RickyStutterz	7 th Aug	11:16 PM	"I don't think the riot in Brixton has started there trying to start it is just youth running up an down so FAR? ??"
150.	@TrippyTrinssSTP	7 th Aug	11:23 PM	"Brixton didn't riot, they broke into jd I swear -.-"
151.	@JermeelJB	7 th Aug	11:30 PM	"And they try a lil riot in brixton earlier lol"
152.	@andrew_hough	7 th Aug	11:38 PM	"At one stage we were caught between youths + riot police by accident. Genuinely scary. Youths have done runner now. #Brixton #riots"
153.	@sojournposseF8	7 th Aug	11:45 PM	"Shit, it's hitting south RT @andrew_hough @foto8 At least 200 youths pelting stones+bottles @police. Businesses told to shut #Brixton #riot"
154.	@steinsky	7 th Aug	11:45 PM	"Hmmm. If it's "all kicking off" in Brixton, those police chaps look a bit under-dressed and under-prepared. That doesn't look like a riot..."
155.	@clairegreenway	7 th Aug	11:47 PM	"Woah, actual riot happening outside my flat in Brixton. Fires in the middle of the road further up, police blockades, lots of sirens."
156.	@hendopolis	7 th Aug	11:50 PM	"People being urged to go home after Brixton Splash event - police donning riot equipment http://yfrog.com/h8926pij "
157.	@cmacaleese	7 th Aug	11:52 PM	"Went to see Morrissey at Brixton (amazing) didn't think we'd be fleeing a mini riot. Blimey."
158.	@GodsDarlinLeisa	7 th Aug	11:52 PM	"Who said there was riot in Brixton? Erm I just drove threw and it was peaceful mate..."
159.	@aheyarts	7 th Aug	11:54 PM	"i just went out to explore 'the riot in brixton' and it all seemed very tranquil to me..."

No.	User	Date	Time	Comment
160.	@RalphOntop	7 th Aug	11:56 PM	"Ok I'm In brixton coldharbour lane and deres BARE riot police and bare yardies ...whas happening ere?? Lool"
161.	@MillzIsMe	8 th Aug	12:00	"Big Brixton Riot. My uncle just left. He works in brixton n started running. People breaking JD Sports n H&M windows. I swear to God"
162.	@andrew_hough	8 th Aug	12:01 AM	"Officer injured. 2 police cars damaged. No arrests made. Riot police called in. #Brixton #riots"
163.	@johnpopham	8 th Aug	12:01 AM	"RT @clairegreenway: Woah, actual riot happening outside my flat in Brixton. Fires in the middle of road further up, police blockades, sirens"
164.	@RobbieTomkins	8 th Aug	12:03 AM	"Wow! Long day to come home to this - looks like Brixton had another riot! All this outside my flat, started at 7pm?? http://yfrog.com/gzq8mvhvj "
165.	@cristo_radio	8 th Aug	12:04 AM	"Just drove through #Brixton to be confronted by a small #riot"
166.	@reelyadam	8 th Aug	12:04 AM	"Brixton on lockdown as riot police prepare for battle http://www.blottr.com/crime/breaking-news/brixton-lockdown-riot-police-prepare-battle ... via @BlottrTweets"
167.	@jessicaewiles	8 th Aug	12:06 AM	"Coldharbour lane, Brixton, riot police barrier, bottles thrown, 5 bins alight in road. 999 state not sending fire brigade for police safety"
168.	@BradenF	8 th Aug	12:13 AM	"Tottenham's dying down, Walthamstow was blitzed, looted and is starting to slow, Brixton had a party not a riot earlier, but its changing.."
169.	@psibreaker	8 th Aug	12:14 AM	"I can confirm there's fuck all going on on Brixton highstreet. Riot police stand off against busses at Loughborough Junction. @McFarlo"
170.	@jwsal	8 th Aug	2:16 AM	"Happy anniversary #Brixton #riots 1981-2011. Then: racial discrimination, now: getting an iPod from Currys. timesRnotwhattheyused2b"
171.	@adam_freedman	8 th Aug	12:17 AM	"Turnpike Lane & Wood Green are latest confirmed London riot hotspots. Brixton & Edmonton now appear to be where most trouble is #enfield"
172.	@SofiyaaCoco	8 th Aug	12:19 AM	"Had to run! Brixton dun gone crazy #riot"
173.	@urban75	8 th Aug	12:21 AM	" http://bit.ly/p3G7PB Reports of scuffles, riot police and minor looting in Brixton coming in #brixton"
174.	@bitoclass	8 th Aug	12:24 AM	"Decided I'm going to have to apply the following rule to Twitter riot reports: pics or it didn't happen. Sadly appears #Brixton is happening"
175.	@PollyWilkins	8 th Aug	12:24 AM	"@adamgabbat @guardian more police cordoning off streets in #Brixton yet NOTHING happening. Are police looking to start a #riot?"
176.	@samuelsedgman	8 th Aug	12:25 AM	"Lying in bed listening to what might be a riot out the window in Brixton. Helicopters have gone but there's lots of shouting."

No.	User	Date	Time	Comment
177.	@KolHaolam	8 th Aug	12:27 AM	"LONDON: Riots spread to Brixton, over 200 people present, Officer injured, 2 police cars damaged, No arrests made - Riot police called in."
178.	@WilsonCloud	8 th Aug	12:27 AM	"Looters in #Brixton cleaned out Footlocker and are now apparently burning it down. http://twitpic.com/62o4e2 via @mrmattthewtaylor #London #Riot"
179.	@Sharontweet	8 th Aug	12:28 AM	"@ppixton twitter pics suggest footlocker & top of Brixton road full of riot police so it's all a way away from you. 500 yards from my home"
180.	@DivaAshUK	8 th Aug	12:29 AM	"Currently in Brixton - riot police out in force!"
181.	@studiopixie	8 th Aug	12:30 AM	"RT @JoyLibrary: Riot Police descend on Brixton....can't believe what I am seeing!!!!!! http://yfrog.com/gz3mpkpj "
182.	@AndyMW2602	8 th Aug	12:33 AM	"Anyone in Brixton stay indoors. Riot police everywhere. It's all kicking off #riots"
183.	@BrixtonRebel	8 th Aug	12:33 AM	"Simmering reaction 2 police presence at end #brixton Splash. Nothing more provocative then riot police. Who cares about a footlocker?"
184.	@HeshamZakai	8 th Aug	12:36 AM	"Riot police finally moved in to protect Footlocker. Place had been looted; M&S was smashed up. #brixton"
185.	@Cherrybooxx	8 th Aug	12:37 AM	"Step dad just got home, rode through Brixton. Said there's just a couple of idiot kids trying to smash Morleys n loot footlocker no riot!"
186.	@Anaforia	8 th Aug	12:38 AM	"Okay so now there IS a riot in brixton as someone's bbm pic confirms many teenage boys running into footlocker.. *cries* why? WHY?"
187.	@Balldinho	8 th Aug	12:38 AM	"I condone the Riot attacks on #Nandos... Bunch of overrated Shit Food... #TottenhamRiots #Enfield #Brixton #London #Tottenham #LondonRiots"
188.	@Ricky Stutterz	8 th Aug	12:41 AM	"The riot in Brixton is odd. it not da whole of Brixton involve. It's jus a large group of individuals using da opportunity to rob."
189.	@Ricky Stutterz	8 th Aug	12:43 AM	"The riot in brixton at the MOMENT ant that bad it a small group off ppl but as the night goes on it may get worse !!!"
190.	@Stanleyofc	8 th Aug	12:44 AM	"Oh no, this isn't just any riot it's now an M&S riot... #brixton #SaveThePercyPigs"
191.	@imkah	8 th Aug	12:45 AM	"This is important #Enfield #Brixton #riot RT: @metpoliceuk Police have not requested a #mediablackout and are continuing to provide updates"
192.	@SE15Fellow	8 th Aug	12:45 AM	"@IAMTols There is no Riot in #Brixton. I've just driven through. Its quiet no police copters vans or sirens. Its relaxed, not even tense."

No.	User	Date	Time	Comment
193.	@ElizaBerkery	8 th Aug	12:49 AM	"On riot-watch from bedroom window. Judging by the choppers, it would appear Brixton is in a spot of bother #londonriots"
194.	@AbouGehad	8 th Aug	12:54 AM	">>>> RT @superspesh: Heavy rain in Brixton achieving what riot police can't #brixton <<<<"
195.	@Alexia_Higgins	8 th Aug	1:05 AM	"Just heard the brixton riot on sky news ; 6 fire engines"
196.	@olivialeisk	8 th Aug	1:06 AM	"Everyone please stay off the streets, Brixton is on fire and this is awful! You wanna riot fine but stop looting its fucking idiotic..."
197.	@paraicobrien	8 th Aug	1:07 AM	"Riot police just charged Brixton High St. Prayers for rain answered"
198.	@Stanleyofc	8 th Aug	1:08 AM	"I'm going to bed, it's started to rain now and you can't riot with a brolly... #BritishSummer #Brixton #Enfield"
199.	@emmareyn	8 th Aug	1:10 AM	"It's pretty bad. Lots of riot police, just saw massive group of about 200 people attacking Currys #brixton"
200.	@mishmargherita	8 th Aug	1:14 AM	"Police vans blocking entry to Brixton High St have turned around & driven off with riot police inside. Guess the rain scared off the looters"
201.	@HarrietTolputt	8 th Aug	1:19 AM	"Police in riot gear blocking the main road through Brixton, south London. Officers say several shops on fire. #riots."
202.	@_TheConsigliere	8 th Aug	1:27 AM	"BRIXTON RIOT.... h&m, the game Shop, FOOtlocker, CARPhone Warehouse, CURRY's, M&S Mc D's all got licked"
203.	@DavidSparshott	8 th Aug	1:27 AM	"Looting h and m, kids with baseball bats and masks, riot police, lots of smoke. #Brixton"
204.	@SilverAgatka	8 th Aug	1:34 AM	"I took a picture of riot police next to M&S in #Brixton but my f**ked up phone won't let me upload it :(That t**t really broke it."
205.	@DeltaHeavyUK	8 th Aug	1:37 AM	"Route home blocked off by lines of Riot Police in Brixton, Footlocker & M&S set on fire, H&M looted - Madness!"
206.	@JessSmart	8 th Aug	1:37 AM	"Another riot happening in London right now in Brixton, ten minutes from my family home. Feel v far away. Thanks for updates @lukewaterfield"
207.	@subedited	8 th Aug	1:37 AM	"http://yfrog.com/kl4qh5j Employee of the month cleans tables in smashed up KFC as riot contiues outside #brixton"
208.	@distinctlyminty	8 th Aug	1:44 AM	"Brixton riot appears to be dying down. Not far from the police station - I was preparing to tool up and protect my property frontier style!"
209.	@Qclcokwork_	8 th Aug	1:50 AM	"Lol im hearing deres a riot after party tomorow in brixton"
210.	@LondonPRGuru	8 th Aug	1:53 AM	"Seen 2 mins ago in Brixton - lots of police officers in riot gear. But no rioters. High St closed."

No.	User	Date	Time	Comment
211.	@paulcat	8 th Aug	2:03 AM	"Rioting kicking off in Brixton, riot squad outside Tesco on Acre Lane. Pretty scary right now!"
212.	@mchachilleos	8 th Aug	2:04 AM	"Reports riot police have been sent away from Brixton. A Helicopter is landing by curry's #londonriots"
213.	@drsgachet	8 th Aug	2:19 AM	"Footlocker in #Brixton burnt out now so if you was hitting there today forget it ppl have really lost the plot now #riot #looting"
214.	@vca_wada7425	8 th Aug	2:20 AM	"Bed time ! Had enough of this riot ish.. Might pop down brixton tomorrow.. see if i can pick up some left over laces.. or suttin.. LOL..."
215.	@themattboland	8 th Aug	2:21 AM	"If you want to know where the police helicopter is it's directly over me.... Now! #Brixton riot"
216.	@jamesrbuk	8 th Aug	2:24 AM	"RT @lukewaterfield Much bigger line of riot police advancing up the road <- approaching Brixton Curry's."
217.	@21WIRE	8 th Aug	2:36 AM	"#BRIXTON #RIOTS 2011: MORE VIOLENCE BREAKS OUT IN LONDON http://21stcenturywire.com/2011/08/08/anarchy-rules-copycat-riots-and-violence-breaks-out-in-brixton-tonight/ ... #Tottenham #violence"
218.	@ar7w1n	8 th Aug	2:40 AM	"Detailed #riot timeline, lots of pics/links/video http://is.gd/9APPp2 Brixton, Edmonton, Enfield..."
219.	@MohamedIdle	8 th Aug	2:43 AM	"The #Brixton riot seems to be about robbing sneakers because bare mandems have been shown on camera running in and out of Footlockers."
220.	@GeraldSlater	8 th Aug	2:44 AM	"Brixton up in smoke! every shopped smashed and robbed. craziest thing i 've ever seen! everyone's hooded up, masked up! #Brixtonriot"
221.	@brand_kimani	8 th Aug	2:50 AM	"Man dem a burn down Brixton's Mark n Spencers di riot closer to home now smh* http://twitpic.com/62q7ik "
222.	@Tarek_k	8 th Aug	3:26 AM	"Brixton involved in this riot...why r u doing this!!! Not funny and aint proving anything. Footlocker burnt down now..."
223.	@NekzMusic [@jody... acc. Suspended]	8 th Aug	3:30 AM	"RT @jodymcintyre: Outside Currys in #Brixton, the police were chased away with stones and bricks. 3 riot vans fled ... http://tmi.me/e96yl "
224.	@WhosThatChaz	8 th Aug	3:33 AM	"Hearing nuffin but sirens.....! London is on red alert ...! #LondonRiots #BrixtonRiot"
225.	@Zhana21	8 th Aug	3:35 AM	"Brixton riot - Apparently, it started when a 16-year-old girl was assaulted by the police when she told them "we demand answers"."
226.	@Incognitomuni	8 th Aug	3:47 AM	"2 youths stabbed in brixton. Taken to kings college where a fight then broke out against rival gangs #brixtonriot"
227.	@zeeninetynine	8 th Aug	4:14 AM	"just back from the Brixton riot -- looks like a weak shadow of what happened in Tottenham -- the coppers were well prepared I guess"

No.	User	Date	Time	Comment
228.	@ChaabanRabih	8 th Aug	4:18 AM	"Blaze of fire at a Foot Locker shop in Brixton, south London, and witnesses saw riot police clash with looters at a Currys store nearby."
229.	@championere	8 th Aug	7:43 AM	"Riot in Brixton last night footlocker raided & burnt down mc d's smashed tescos raided war zone in south London first north now south"
230.	@MartaStu	8 th Aug	7:53 AM	"There was a riot, but small one I think. Currys is destroyed, too many police everywhere, rocks all over. Brixton station is closed, blocked"
231.	@Simonrugg	8 th Aug	8:09 AM	"Halfords - Brixton, the morning after the night before - Brixton Riot 2011 http://yfrog.com/hsh8egvj "
232.	@CiroLondon	8 th Aug	8:13 AM	"Apparently Nando was attacked in #Brixton riot angry&hungry"
233.	@psibreaker	8 th Aug	8:20 AM	"Comparing pictures of Tottenham with what I saw last night, Brixton didn't so much riot as have a knee jerk reaction and upset a table."
234.	@Brixton_Bugle	8 th Aug	8:25 AM	"RT @brixtonbuzz: http://bit.ly/p3G7PB Reports of scuffles, riot police and minor looting in Brixton coming in #brixton"
235.	@ESMKG	8 th Aug	8:36 AM	"Brixton Riots - Vodafone shop smashed and raided by looters. 8th August 2011 http://fb.me/DgSv191c "
236.	@makoto_inoue	8 th Aug	9:07 AM	"Bus stop window smashed. Brixton tube and roads closed. Riot impact?"
237.	@CHISELkids	8 th Aug	9:09 AM	"200 youth riot on Brixton join our BIG Community Campaign against Youth Violence http://www.chiselkids.org.uk NOW"
238.	@nickpickles	8 th Aug	9:31 AM	"Further Brixton riot info. Brixton Academy fine. Vodafone emptied. Nandos hit. Now - how do you loot a Nandos?!"
239.	@kris_cov	8 th Aug	9:38 AM	"Twitter is the flash crowd creator (see Larry Niven 1973) - Brixton riot a 'fact' on twitter hours before it happened"
240.	@KSegedin	8 th Aug	9:48 AM	"Oh, & my friend lives opposite the looted Currys in Brixton & had no idea there was even a riot!"
241.	@Raks_VIPHost	8 th Aug	10:09 AM	"Awesome pic of Brixton looters squaring up to riot police yesterday! http://mypict.me/IYvvH "
242.	@SupFan99	8 th Aug	10:09 AM	"Brixton is looking very sorry for itself this morning after last night's riot's. Walked past a smashed in bookies #LondonRiots"
243.	@juliangough	8 th Aug	10:11 AM	"Brixton looters reportedly stealing goods from each other now the shops are empty..." Riot roundup: http://thewestlondoner.wordpress.com/2011/08/07/breaking-riots-in-enfield-edmonton-walthamsto-brixton/ ... Via @SarahxHay"

No.	User	Date	Time	Comment
244.	@kipperlicker	8 th Aug	10:31 AM	"Afraid the old bill did an appalling job in Brixton last night. Riot police just standing around watching looting. http://tinypic.com/r/2mdgobk/7 "
245.	@CocoaCaribbean	8 th Aug	10:35 AM	"omg there is a riot..in brixton...the sneakers shop is burnt down..mc danolds is..smashed..kfc is smashhed...alot of damage in london...:O"
246.	@alexzandah	8 th Aug	10:48 AM	"Brixton stores looted amid clashes with riot police http://bbc.in/oQwExt - that's Gamesmaster getting robbed at the start ;_ ; #LondonRiots"
247.	@LauraSHarding	8 th Aug	10:29 AM	"One resident who lives opposite Currys said she saw a wheelie bin on fire pushed towards riot police #brixton #londonriots"
248.	@CelesteHoulker	8 th Aug	11:54 AM	"No riot stopped me& @zoom4you from coming in 2day. The whole of Brixton is locked off & i was interviewed by the gaurdian abt the riots #fb"
249.	@thenickstearn	8 th Aug	11:59 AM	"Just driven thru what's left of Brixton. The idiots destroyed everything in last nights riot. Just police tape & camera crews left."
250.	@rodstanley	8 th Aug	12:47 PM	"@kpunk99 a lot of twitter was just rumour, mind. i was watching the brixton tag, with loads saying there was a riot when all was still calm"
251.	@jamjackford	8 th Aug	12:48 PM	"Brixton Nandos closed due to riot damage. Talk about shooting ones self in the foot! #LondonRiots"
252.	@DJGlamzino	8 th Aug	2:17 PM	"The riot has caused some next diversion on the buses!!! Gotta go round the world to get to Brixton Hill!!"
253.	@subedited	8 th Aug	3:01 PM	"Reports of children of 12 in Brixton riot. http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/blog I saw boy of about that age being robbed by man for his looted TV."
254.	@ChileChips	8 th Aug	3:12 PM	"I still can't get over how fuming I am over the #LondonRiots I read in 1 article, da Brixton riot was 14-15yr old kids!!"
255.	@ArabGaucho	8 th Aug	3:48 PM	"Police Get Chase Out Of Brixton Check this video out -- The Brixton Riots - London (Sunday 7th August 2011) http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_R--rIMsRVM&feature=share ... via @youtube"
256.	@SP_Carlito	8 th Aug	4:42 PM	"So Police have killed another man yday in Brixton? Lol this aint gonna stop for a while boy, might be a riot summer!"
257.	@AsaWinstanley	8 th Aug	5:05 PM	"A mate: "Surveyed #brixton riot damage, looks quite well targetted, no small businesses damaged and currys absolutely totaled" #Londonriots"
258.	@KarenDTregaskin	8 th Aug	5:16 PM	"If the riot is in Hackney now, does that mean they'll let us back in the Brixton Tube station?"
259.	@wayneodell	8 th Aug	6:45 PM	"Just wandered through ' riot infested ' Brixton, all very lovely and friendly as usual esp as they didn't burn Iceland down!"

No.	User	Date	Time	Comment
260.	@Nadif	8 th Aug	6:58 PM	"The Victoria line has been suspended between Stockwell and Brixton "due to civil unrest" (source Guardian.co.uk) #London #riot"
261.	@atmoorehead	8 th Aug	7:02 PM	"Did something riot like happen in brixton today, noticed on my way home from london that brixton tube was closed with police presence"
262.	@Brixton_Bugle	8 th Aug	7:16 PM	"Just back from work an there's quite a lot of riot police and plain clothed on Coldharbour Lane. Seem to be expectant #Brixton"
263.	@grahamlehr	8 th Aug	7:47 PM	"So many shops closed all the way up to Brixton Hill. And riot vans heading at full pelt to streatham."
264.	@thecaspiansea	8 th Aug	8:02 PM	"RT @Emsey_D Riot vans flying up #Brixton hill & lots of groups of guys with hoods pulled tight. Oh dear. #LondonRiots"
265.	@katenevens	8 th Aug	8:09 PM	"Another set of siren-ing riot vans just went past window. At least the buses now have passengers too #Brixton"
266.	@lindsfaller	8 th Aug	8:14 PM	"#brixton completely quiet it's eerie. H&M, Morely's, JD Sports looted and now boarded. Ra ra riot!"
267.	@rosiecammell	8 th Aug	9:01 PM	"Went for a stroll down Brixton Rd at rush hour. Slower pace. Intrigued snappers outside FootLocker. Ppl chatting w/non-riot-police. Calm."
268.	@jamesrbuk	8 th Aug	9:38 PM	"Reports of trouble at Loughborough Junction in Brixton - group of 30 to 40 hooded youths sealed in the station by riot police."
269.	@amystill	8 th Aug	10:01 PM	"Lovely evening for a stroll through Brixton with caged riot vans and groups of gangs. Mood: very tense."
270.	@eleanorturney	8 th Aug	10:07 PM	"Friend in Brixton: "Gang of masked youths assembling outside shop below us. Police van turned up. Dozens of officers in riot gear Scared.""
271.	@Hannah_Ash_	8 th Aug	11:13 PM	"Oh my god, I've just seen rioters run through my front garden...about 10 riot vans past my house. It's come back to brixton #LondonRiots"
272.	@enjoli_	8 th Aug	11:44 PM	"@Clausaxon just went for a quick drive/walk in brixton, riot police at the market end of rushcroft look like they've arrested two/three ppl"
273.	@DavidSamFrancis	9 th Aug	1:07 AM	"Police and riot police are stationed outside the Ritzy, Brixton #LondonRiots yfrog.com/kk2aadej"
274.	@KatFlint	9 th Aug	10:29 AM	"6 riot vans just screamed through Brixton heading south. Ffs."
275.	@NicoleRenou	9 th Aug	11:28 AM	"Really concerned about family members living in riot torn Brixton. Shops barricaded, no transport - time for authorities to get a grip!"
276.	@AliceSalfield	9 th Aug	2:59 PM	"#brixton 4 riot police vans sirens on heading up brixton hill towards stretham #londonriots"

No.	User	Date	Time	Comment
277.	@clodonoghue	9 th Aug	4:06 PM	"Sent home early from my meeting in Tooting because of riot fears. Brixton all closed up too. Feels like the capital is in lockdown #staysafe"
278.	@freyapascall	9 th Aug	4:35 PM	"3 riot vans, an ambulance and a police car with sirens blaring heading in direction of #Brixton \ #Clapham #LondonRiots"
279.	@vickiwebber	9 th Aug	4:47 PM	"4pm in Noho & it's like nothing's going on. 4.30 in Brixton & all the shops are shut & riot police on the move http://twitpic.com/63hlzh "
280.	@stripysocksrock	9 th Aug	5:02 PM	"If there's nothing happening in Brixton where were all the riot vans I saw going? Loads of sirens going past now. But where to? #londonriots"
281.	@TrygveSorvaag	9 th Aug	5:05 PM	"Armed riot olice (new cars) driving up Brixton Hill with sirens"
282.	@u_strasse	9 th Aug	5:07 PM	"RT @adamchidell: Convoy of 16+ riot vans - each full of police - heading south on #Brixton road. #londonriots"
283.	@danielsamson	9 th Aug	5:07 PM	"About twelve riot vans and riot cars just going south through Brixton just now... Where are they going?"
284.	@ishmatt	9 th Aug	5:08 PM	"Siren level: high. About 5 riot vans on the way towards Brixton. Though some tweeting it was 10-12. Exaggeration? Surely not..."
285.	@anielamurphey	9 th Aug	5:13 PM	"Just saw about 11 riot vans whizz past down kennington rd in the direction of brixton/stockwell.."
286.	@KrustyAllslopp	9 th Aug	5:36 PM	"in last 15 mins... armoured Police Vans (dark Blue, no windows) plus riot vans racing up Brixton Hill."
287.	@kimcatcheside	9 th Aug	5:40 PM	"RT @AndrewLegon: Thirteen riot vans, one looking like a wheel was burning, just hurtled up #brixton hill. #riots http://myloc.me/mfWzm "
288.	@funky_banana	9 th Aug	6:09 PM	"thinking its all about to kick off again in london, friend of mine jus sed on FB that 19 riot vans went past her flat on way to brixton"
289.	@Dayes	9 th Aug	6:40 PM	"Cycled home from work today... took a #riot route... Elephant, Stockwell, Camberwell, Brixton. NO RIOTS! Just sunshine and Closed shops!!!"
290.	@cjgrinbergs	9 th Aug	6:46 PM	"From Friend in Streatham: Convoy of Riot Vehicles heading towards Brixton/Clapham at speed. #LondonRiots"
291.	@JHoppard	9 th Aug	6:48 PM	"Just seen maybe 12 heavy-duty riot police vans heading up #Streatham High Road towards #Brixton. Streatham peaceful though shops closed."
292.	@Charlheathcote	9 th Aug	6:59 PM	"6 riot vans & 10 police vans just zoomed past on Brixton Rd, sirens blaring. Feel like an extra in a film I'd never go and see. #LondonRiots"
293.	@TanktheTories	9 th Aug	10:30 PM	"There is some sort of live jazz fusion jam going on in Windrush Square. Is this a Brixton Jazz Riot? #Brixton #ukriots #londonriots"

No.	User	Date	Time	Comment
294.	@DivaAshUK	9 th Aug	10:48 PM	"@FunnyTummy i was at the brixton riot, i saw the ppl who were looting - 40% were adults, of all races, not just 'fatherless, hooded thugs'"
295.	@arbolio	9 th Aug	11:17 PM	"Cool jazz gathering on Ritzy Sq, Brixton. Too cool for any riot hot-heads tonite it seems http://yfrog.com/h3rhxpcj "
296.	@Ovulab	10 th Aug	2:48 AM	"Visited riot spots today - Brixton like ghost town tho lots of police. Oxford Circus patrolled by nice Norfolk bobbies looking a little lost"

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- a. [Image] <https://ceasefiremagazine.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/IMG-20110808-WA0017.jpg>
 - b. [Image] <https://ceasefiremagazine.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/IMG-20110808-WA0018.jpg>
 - c. [Image] <https://ceasefiremagazine.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/IMG-20110808-WA0020.jpg>

Full triangulated account for the 2011 “riots” in Croydon Beyond Contagion

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The Croydon “riots”

Sunday 7th – Tuesday 9th August 2011

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List of abbreviations

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BBM	BlackBerry Messenger
CCTV	Closed Circuit Television
CBC	Croydon Borough Council
CTC	Croydon Town Centre
IPCC	Independent Police Complaints Commission
MEU	Mobile Enforcement Unit
MPS	Metropolitan Police Service
NEO	Neighbourhood Enforcement Officer
PCSO	Police Community Support Officer
PSU	Police Support Unit
SNT	Safer Neighbourhood Team
TSG	Territorial Support Group
UTC	Universal Time Coordinated

1. Methodology

The methodological approach used to analyse the disturbances in the London borough of Croydon in early August 2011 in this paper essentially follows that outlined by Stott, Drury, and Reicher (2017) in their examination of disorders in Tottenham and Hackney over the same period.¹ The main feature of this method is the use of triangulation to substantiate the veracity of the timing, location and content of a particular incident within an event. There are essentially three types of information that make up the triangle: *post-event* accounts by participants and eye-witnesses, real-time media recorded *during* the events, and *physical* evidence of the actions of the crowd. Through directly cross-referencing these forms of evidence and indirectly making reasoned assessments of the quantity and quality of the sources a level of confidence can be determined in a particular incident having occurred and when and where it happened. Validating each incident in this manner generates a solid evidential base for the latter assessment of patterns in the physical movements, actions and reactions of the protagonists in complex group interactions such as urban “rioting”.

Central to the process of understanding complex features of urban disturbance is the creation of a triangulated timeline of incidents within the overall event. This can be constructed from the collection, collation and cross-referencing of discrete pieces of evidence or, as in this particular case, by adding evidence to existing timelines to substantiate, question or enhance their content. The essentially collinear nature of the timeline was overcome to a degree by creating coded parallel paths to account for the decomposition of crowds into smaller independent units and, conversely, intersection of these paths to cover re-composition of groups into larger bodies. The timeline also functions on a spatial level by interacting with two and three dimensional maps, opening an additional perspective on the events.

2. Data Sources

The structure of the event timeline that underlies this account of the disturbances that occurred in the borough of Croydon on 7-9th August 2011 was based on two published reports. The first was a “Croydon” case study, a special section of the overall Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) assessment of the unrest in August 2011 which contained a textual and schematic timeline.² The second timeline, appeared in a report by the Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, set up Croydon Borough Council (CBC) to investigate the disturbances.³ Both of these reports were published in 2012, within a few months of the incidents in August the previous year. Combining these two timelines provided the initial chronological structure which was then populated and triangulated with additional evidence from a number of sources.

¹ Stott, C., Drury, J., & Reicher, S. (2017). On the role of a social identity analysis in articulating structure and collective action: The 2011 riots in Tottenham and Hackney. *British Journal of Criminology*, 57(4), 964-981. doi: 10.1093/bjc/azw036

² (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, pp. 69-79).

³ (Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012). The timeline in this report was based on more detailed information, particularly from CCTV operators, Neighbourhood Enforcement Officers (NEOs) and Mobile Enforcement Units (MEUs), supplied by CBC in a “Public Disorder Evidence Pack” (London Borough of Croydon, 2011).

Outside of the two specific case-studies a number of other police, government and independent reports reference the disturbances in Croydon but do not cover them in any great detail.⁴ A survey of more than 130 academic papers and articles produced only six with limited references to the disturbances in Croydon. However, two books, *Riot City: Protest and Rebellion in the Capital* and *Mad Mobs and Englishmen? Myths and realities of the 2011 riots* do carry partial narratives of the events.⁵

Local and national newspaper searches yielded more than 20 sources which provided not only objective information as to the location, timing and content of incidents but also some eye-witness testimony. Forty-three online videos were obtained which vary from post-event news reports to CCTV footage and real-time video taken by participants in or eye-witnesses to the unrest.⁶ Along with photographic sources, these were cross referenced using Google Street View to determine their exact locations and, by examining other time-stamped evidence, chronologically catalogued. Timelines and real-time reporting on blogs that were created during the unrest to track events provided additional temporal and spatial evidence.

A database of 2.6 million “riot-related” tweets collected during the August 2011 disturbances by the *Guardian* & London School of Economics “Reading the Riots” project⁷ was filtered for all instances where the word “Croydon” was present producing a subset of approximately 53,500 relevant tweets. These items were analysed to collect relevant images, to provide evidence for timing of events and to determine prevalence of particular images in social media.⁸

The bulk of participant testimonies of the disturbances were obtained from the *Guardian* & London School of Economics “Reading the Riots” project and comprised 19 relevant interviews.⁹ The project researcher conducted two field trips to the borough of Croydon to gather observational data on the layout sites of disorder including Croydon town centre¹⁰ (CTC), the outlying estate of New Addington and the satellite towns of Addington, Selsdon and Purley.¹¹ Informal interviews were undertaken with two long-term residents of the borough in order to gather perceptions of the socio-economic geography of the area.

⁴ These included (Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary, 2011; Riots, Communities and Victims Panel, 2011; Nwabuzo, 2012).

⁵ (Bloom, 2012, pp. 78-81; Reicher, S., & Stott, C. (2011). *Mad mobs and Englishmen? Myths and realities of the 2011 riots*. London: Constable and Robinson.).

⁶ These videos can be found on the YouTube *Beyond Contagion* channel on the play list *Croydon Case Study*: https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL2E_2-O169cqD_C-4II_hx8WZwArReppY.

⁷ (Procter, 2011).

⁸ Selections from the Twitter database were supplied to the Beyond Contagion project in 2017 in collaboration with Warwick University. In the following account these are referenced as the *Reading the Riots Twitter Database* (*Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011a). Individual tweets are delineated by the author and a Universal Time Coordinated (UTC) time stamp. It should be noted that British Summer Time is UTC + 1 hour, so all tweets were corrected to take this into account in the timeline.

⁹ (*Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011b)

¹⁰ Croydon town centre, or CTC as it will be referred to in the rest of this text, is loosely defined as the area bounded by the railway stations of West, East and South Croydon and the A236 thoroughfare. This delineation has been made to avoid confusion with the borough of Croydon and to allow sites of disturbances to be more clearly defined.

¹¹ Field trips to the borough of Croydon were conducted in January and December 2017.

Finally, comprehensive data on sites, times and types of crimes related to the disorders in the borough of Enfield provided by the MPS were of particular use in locating events that were less well-reported in other media. In addition, data on arrestees including age, gender, ethnicity and home location allowed demographic surveys of samples of the crowds.¹²

These various data sources were used to flesh out the skeleton timeline and, through the process of triangulation of the original and new material, errors in the MPS and CBC reports were isolated and corrected. In addition, existing incidents were further corroborated, new events added to the timeline and others called into question. This process of evidential enhancement, triangulation and rationalisation allowed a more definitive and comprehensive timeline of the events of Sunday 7th to Tuesday 9th August 2011 in Croydon borough to be produced. It was this improved timeline that formed the basis of the detailed chronology presented in this account.

3. Analysis

Introduction

Amongst the numerous disturbances in Britain in early August 2011 those that occurred in the South London borough of Croydon have the dubious distinction of having the highest number of disorder-related crimes (430) of any lower-tier local authority. In addition, of arguably the 15 most “riotous” local authority areas in Britain in August 2011, Croydon had the *highest* percentage of acquisitive crimes (75%) and the *lowest* fractions of offences of criminal damage (17%) and violence against the person (3%).¹³ These figures suggest that Croydon was the “biggest riot” in August 2011 and from a typological perspective was, of the major disorders, the most akin to the “commodity riot” form. This kind of “riot” is characterised by the primary desire of the participants to appropriate goods, rather than attack the police or engage in expressive actions. According to one commentator it was marked in August 2011 by:

...pre-meditated target selection and organisation...aimed at large concentrations of commercial outlets (such as shopping centres, malls and retail parks), involved significant crowd mobility (including the use of bikes and vehicles to transport “booty”) and avoided contact with opposing superior forces (of police)...Looters operated in numerous but smaller groups than in “community riots”, often travelled significant distances to “hit” selected targets and were not spatially tied to their home locales.¹⁴

¹² This information was provided in Excel spreadsheet form as part of a Research Information Sharing Agreement between the MPS and the Beyond Contagion research team (February 9, 2017). In the following account it is referenced as *MPS August 2011 Disorders Crime Data* (Metropolitan Police Service, 2017) and the location of specific reported crimes determined by postcode is added to the citation.

¹³ According to statistics released by the Home Office in October 2011, the London borough of Croydon topped the national figures with 430 disorder-related recorded crimes, finishing above the cities of Manchester (386) in second place and Birmingham (363) in third (Home Office, 2011) p. 11 Table 2. These figures were incomplete at the time of publishing as arrests for disorder-related offences continued after this point. However, as Ball and Drury noted in 2012, by mid-September 2011 before the Home Office report had been published, the majority of suspects had been apprehended (Ball & Drury, 2012, p. 8).

¹⁴ (“Intakes: Communities, commodities and class,” 2011, p. 6).

By implication this typological characterisation of the Croydon riot via figures for the whole borough assumes spatial, temporal and behavioural homogeneity. However, from a spatial perspective, analysis of the distribution of crime locations and associated arrestees demonstrates that rather than one large riot Croydon borough saw a series of related but essentially discrete disorder events. These were primarily located in and around Croydon town centre but also in the retail parks to the west and southwest on Purley Way, the districts of Thornton Heath and Norbury to the north and the outlying estate of New Addington to the southeast (see Figure 1). Similarly, from a temporal viewpoint, the disturbances did not occur in one discrete period but were spread over several days, with disturbances ebbing and flowing on the evening of Sunday 7th August through to the early hours of Monday 8th August and again from the Monday afternoon through to the morning of Tuesday 9th August.

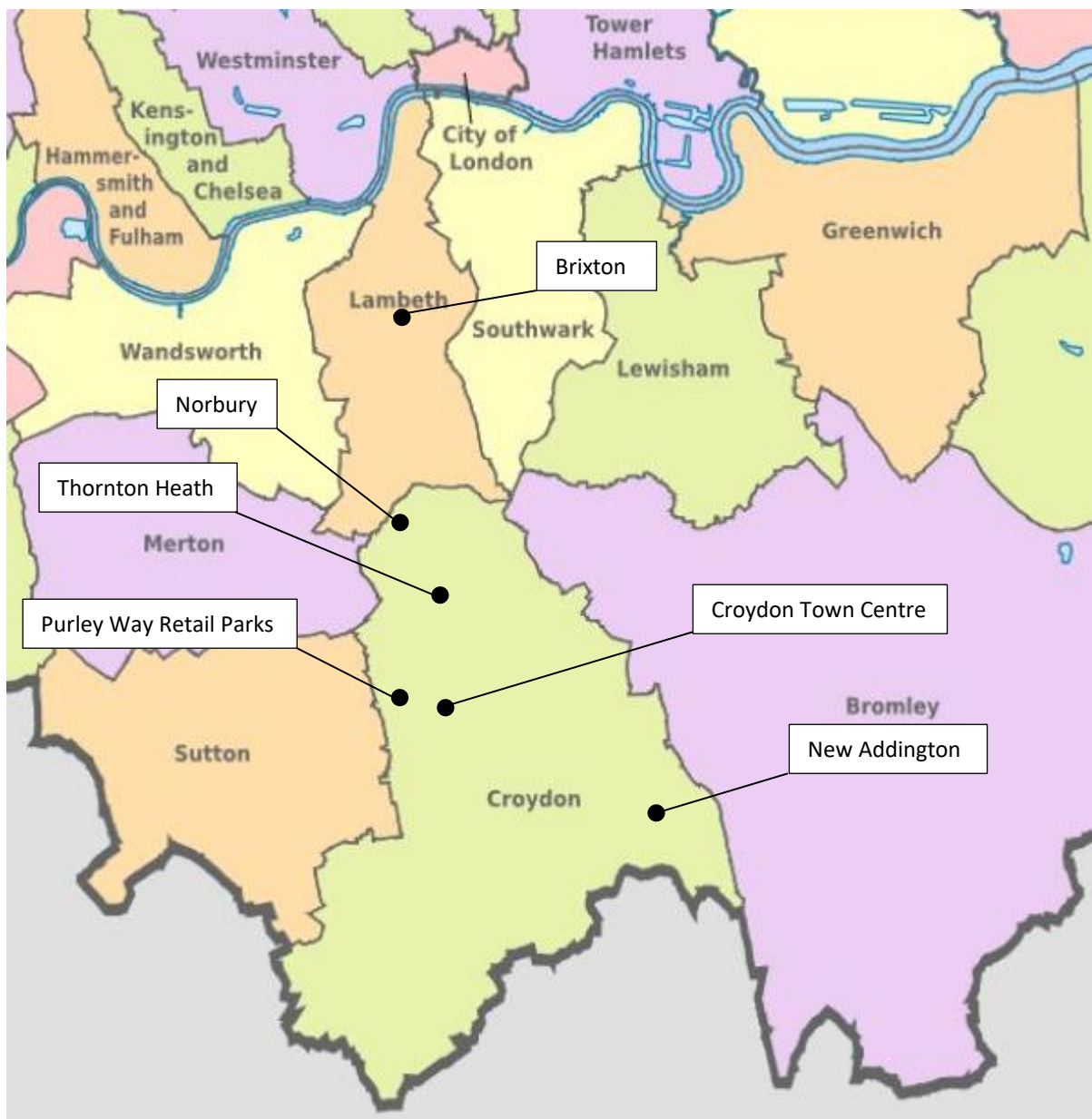


Figure 1: Borough of Croydon showing locations of disturbances on 7-9 August 2011

Precursors to the Croydon “riots”

The death of a mixed-heritage man, Mark Duggan, at the hands of a Metropolitan Police firearms team on Thursday 4th August 2011 in Tottenham Hale, in the North London borough of Haringey, is generally considered to be the precipitating incident for a wave of riots that spread first in the capital and then across some of the major cities in England. In the immediate aftermath of Duggan’s death the unsatisfactory responses of the Metropolitan Police and the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC) led to a march and demonstration by Duggan’s friends and family at Tottenham Police Station on the afternoon of Saturday 6th August. In the course of the evening this protest developed into serious collective violence aimed at police officers, arson of public and private properties and, subsequently, looting of major nearby retail centres in Tottenham Hale and Wood Green.¹⁵

The following Sunday afternoon and evening, disturbances broke out in boroughs adjacent to Haringey, notably in Enfield (Enfield Town, Ponders End and Edmonton), Waltham Forest (Walthamstow, Chingford Mount) and Islington. The most serious incidents were in the borough of Enfield. These were characterised by pre-meditated targeting of Enfield Town on social media, large numbers of participants travelling several kilometres from their home locales to take part, and a series of behaviours exhibited including anti-police violence and both expressive and acquisitive crimes.¹⁶ Further afield there were minor incidents in Oxford Circus in the West End of the city and to the north in Waltham Cross in Hertfordshire.¹⁷

The first sign of the unrest spreading across the river Thames occurred late on the Sunday afternoon with reports of outbreaks of violence as crowds dispersed from the annual reggae street festival “Brixton Splash” in the South London borough of Lambeth. Over the course of the evening and into the early hours of Monday 8th August, Brixton experienced anti-police collective violence and incidents of mass looting of retail outlets in the area. At around 20:00, as the disturbance developed in Lambeth, the MPS received the first intelligence reports that the neighbouring borough of Croydon was being targeted on social media networks. At 20:13 a BlackBerry Messenger¹⁸ (BBM) text intercepted by police made reference to a “call to arms in Croydon tonight” and this was followed at 20:30 by a more specific message stating “meeting Croydon 10pm; let’s burn it down”.¹⁹ At 20:45 CCTV operators informed CBC that BBM communications were indicating that they “were expecting some trouble in Croydon”.²⁰

¹⁵ An abridged account of these disturbances can be found in (Stott et al., 2018). The full account is available online (Ball, 2018a).

¹⁶ A full account of these disturbances is available online:

<http://www.sussex.ac.uk/beyondcontagion/projects/enfieldriot2011>

¹⁷ (*Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011b, p. 16; BBC, 2011).

¹⁸ BlackBerry Messenger, also known as BBM, is an internet-based instant messenger application included on BlackBerry devices that allows secure messaging between multiple users. It was used widely by participants during the unrest of 2011 as other forms of communication by social media such as Facebook or Twitter were regarded as insecure.

¹⁹ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 72).

²⁰ (London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 7).

The first night (Sunday 7th to Monday 8th August, 2011)

As the MPS were becoming aware of a potential threat to Croydon town centre (CTC) they began to receive a number of reports of crimes. These ranged from a group of youths robbing an off-licence in Norbury to police officers being attacked by missiles in Thornton Heath. Despite these incidents, at 22:00 the MPS Duty Inspector:

conducted a local assessment of the situation and, mindful of the backdrop of events across London, nevertheless reported the current situation to be more or less ‘business as usual’ for a busy borough such as Croydon.²¹

About an hour later, a group of 40-50 “IC3 [African-Caribbean] males all wearing hoods and masks” were spotted in CTC by CCTV operators who directed a police unit to the scene. On arrival some of the crowd physically attacked the police car, whilst others scattered. Several arrests were made.²²

According to the MPS, as a result of this incident, Section 60 powers were authorised by the Duty Inspector for the borough of Croydon and police reinforcements were requested from the adjacent boroughs of Merton and Sutton (see Figure 1).²³ Almost immediately police officers began to use the Section 60 powers, stopping and searching “numerous small groups” in CTC and making several arrests in the process. It was at this point that CCTV operators monitoring these activities overheard on police radios that “youths may be armed with hand grenades and will use them against the police”.²⁴ However, by around 23:30 it appeared that any significant threat to CTC had been suppressed and the decision was taken to stand down any non-Croydon police units. This decision was also influenced by the multiple requests for assistance from police in the neighbouring borough of Lambeth where the disturbances in Brixton were becoming more serious.²⁵

As far as the MPS were concerned the events in Croydon (at least) were at an end, but as with many incidents during the unrest in August 2011 this was an optimistic view, underestimating the resolve of the rioters to communicate and reassemble at new times and places. The first sign that something was awry in “pacified” Croydon came at about 02:00 when the MPS received information that the message “everyone out to Croydon for

²¹ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 72).

²² (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 72; London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 7, 18).

²³ Section 60 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 allows police officers to order the removal of facial coverings and to stop and search pedestrians and vehicles at will (HM Government; Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 72; London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 7).

²⁴ (London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 7). A (false) rumour “that police stations were to be attacked with hand grenades” circulated widely amongst the MPS on Sunday 7th and Monday 8th August 2011. It first appeared at 19:45 on the Sunday during the disturbances in Enfield, with the MPS stating “a disturbing call was received reporting that an individual had been heard to say ‘Tottenham is just the tip of the iceberg and there are two grenades in circulation for attacking a police station.’ Further information from a different source added corroboration to this intelligence stating that ‘Holloway and Enfield police stations are going to be targeted’”. The rumour spread through the MPS from north to south London and was used to justify the enactment of Section 60 powers in Wandsworth in the early hours of the Monday morning (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 59, 84).

²⁵ (London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 7; Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 72).

looting” was again circulating through social media networks.²⁶ Immediately after this intelligence was received reports came in of “ten armed males wearing masks in London Road, cars turning up with groups of people and an attempted car-jacking” (Figure 2 Location 1).²⁷ The succeeding hours were described by CCTV operators thus:

From 2.00am to 04.30am we constantly had what seemed to be highly organised groups turning up in convoys of cars of anything from 3 to 7 cars and large numbers of groups on foot anything from 4 to 20+...Groups of cars seemed to meet in 3 locations Derby Rd, Drummond Rd and somewhere in West Croydon possibly Oakfield Rd before coming into Croydon on foot (Figure 2 Locations 2-4).²⁸

The aim of these interlopers became clear within minutes when a group of 20 smashed the windows of an electrical goods shop in the shopping centre close to West Croydon Station before being chased by police (Figure 2 Location 5). Numerous attempts to smash and loot shops in and around CTC led to a game of “cat and mouse” with CCTV operators directing police and security guards to apprehend the many small groups who had arrived in the area.²⁹

By 03:00 it was estimated that 200 youths were in CTC, a situation which led to the MPS making the decision to retain on duty all the police officers present and call for further reinforcements.³⁰ Over the next hour or so the police were largely able to protect the shopping malls in CTC by chasing off groups of would be looters. However, there were reports of sporadic looting on London Road and other thoroughfares on the periphery which could not be adequately policed with the available resources.³¹ This would be a portent of what was to come the following day.

At 04:00, five carriers of Territorial Support Group³² (TSG) reinforcements arrived along with dog handlers. This was just in time for them to engage with two large groups of 20 and 30 rioters who had arrived in CTC (Figure 2 Location 6). The rioters threw missiles at the police before being chased out of the shopping centre by the police dogs. Several rioters were apprehended by the dogs and were arrested.³³ Whilst the CCTV operators and the MPS units had been concerned with securing CTC, other looters had targeted the retail parks situated along the Purley Way, less than kilometre away to the west (see Figure 1).³⁴

²⁶ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 72). Participants also noted a second phase of the targeting of Croydon on electronic media, see for example transcript LON281020111313 514-529.

²⁷ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 72; Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7, 9).

²⁸ (London Borough of Croydon, 2011, pp. 7-8). Derby Road and Oakfield Road lie respectively to the east and west of West Croydon railway station; itself, just to the north of CTC. Drummond Road lies to the west of CTC and connects Reeves corner to shopping centre, see Figure 2.

²⁹ (London Borough of Croydon, 2011, pp. 7-8; LIVE UPDATES: Riot fallout hits south London, Croydon, 2011).

³⁰ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 72).

³¹ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 72; Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7, 9; "Update: Police on standby for copycat "riots" in Croydon," 2011; London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 8).

³² A Territorial Support Group (TSG) is a specialized police support unit within the MPS trained to Level 1 PSU to deal with serious incidents of public disorder. A typical TSG unit consists of three carriers (vans), 18 constables and three sergeants reporting to an Inspector (College of Policing, b).

³³ (London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 8).

³⁴ The main shopping centres on the Purley Way close to CTC are the Trafalgar Way and Valley retail parks.

Premises at these locations were largely unprotected and at approximately 04:30 the Best Buy computer shop was robbed of laptops, smartphones and similar devices by about thirty people for nearly half an hour (Figure 2 Location 7).³⁵

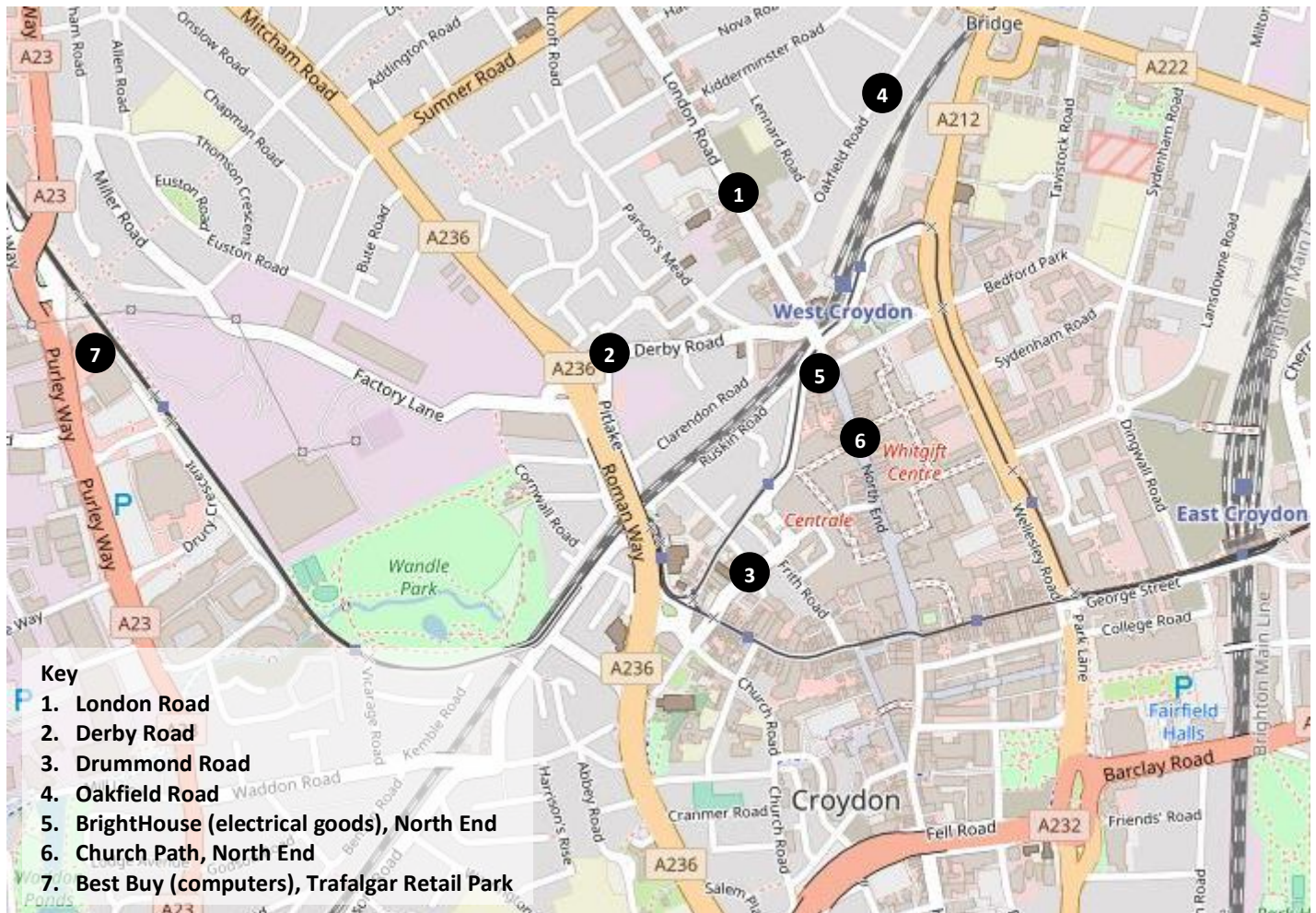


Figure 2: Croydon town centre and Purley Way, Sunday 7th - Monday 8th August 2011

In the aftermath of the Croydon events, the MPS stated that “Croydon Borough [police] thus largely controlled the threats of serious disorder taking place on the Sunday night”.³⁶ This assessment was broadly correct. However, the experience of the first night of the Croydon riots had also demonstrated that the MPS, with the limited resources available, had been barely capable of protecting the town centre, let alone the peripheral commercial thoroughfares and nearby retail parks. On the Sunday evening there had been only one major site of disorder in South London (Brixton). The next day was to see many more disturbances and consequently a much greater strain on police resources both local to

³⁵ (“LIVE UPDATES: Riot fallout,” 2011; Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7, 9; London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 8, 18; Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CRO 4XT; “Update: Police on standby for copycat “riots” in Croydon”, 2011).

³⁶ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 72).

Croydon and throughout the MPS as a whole. This was compounded the following evening in Croydon by the involvement of much larger numbers of rioters and a greater resolve by them to achieve their objectives, over a longer period of time.

The second day (Monday 8th August, 2011)

At 08:00 on the Monday morning a “Gold Group” meeting³⁷ was called by the Croydon division of the MPS in response to the events the previous night and in order to plan for potential disturbances later that day. An hour later, representatives of CBC and Croydon police met to discuss and make decisions on a range of disorder-related issues.³⁸ Of primary importance was intelligence information concerning the targeting of locations in the borough. The MPS were monitoring social networks, including BBM, and stated later that:

the common theme was that disorder was being planned in Croydon around the town centre from 1600hrs that day. The suggested meeting points were JD Sports, North End and later Valley Park at 2100hrs to target the trading estates on Purley Way (Figure 3 Locations 1-2)³⁹

In response to the perceived threat it was agreed by the Gold Group meeting that:

messages of public reassurance be given and that a visible Police presence be maintained in the Town Centre. Arrangements also began to be made to ensure that Police Officers had their “personal protective equipment” with them and that there were enough Police shields available for officers within the Borough.⁴⁰

However, a key issue which was to influence events later that day was the demand by the MPS for borough-level police resources. It was noted in the Gold Group meeting that already “a number of abstractions of Croydon police had taken place... to support the London wide response”.⁴¹ In fact, whilst the meeting was underway Territorial Policing central command, the MPS organisation that deals with day-to-day resourcing, ordered that “local boroughs were to take ownership of a police response to events in London over the past two days”.⁴² The Croydon division of the MPS were now effectively on their own, with the added problem of already depleted resources.

³⁷ According to CBC, “‘Gold’ meetings are given this name by public sector plans for civil emergencies and are so called because they consider the highest level strategic issues. Gold group meetings are attended by the people in charge of public services to plan for or respond to emergencies” (Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 9).

³⁸ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 72; London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 8; Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7, 9).

³⁹ JD Sports, a sports-fashion retail company, was based along the main shopping street (North End) in CTC. Valley Park (or Valley Retail Park) is one of two major retail centres situated along Purley Way about a kilometre to the west of CTC (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 72; O'Mahony, 2016; “Croydon's summer riots: One year on”, 2012; Bazargan, 2013). Another source states that at the meeting “there was significant intelligence to suggest that there would be further disturbances later that day – 3pm in the Town Centre was considered the most viable threat” (London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 8).

⁴⁰ (Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 9).

⁴¹ (London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 8).

⁴² (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 72).

Throughout the morning the decisions of the Gold Group meeting were implemented. At 10:30, based on the intelligence information, police units (MEUs and NEOs) were deployed to CTC and the Purley Way retail parks (Figure 3 Locations 2-3) whilst CCTV operators were advised to monitor the entry points to CTC and be extra vigilant.⁴³ There were signs that their potential adversaries were also preparing. Earlier in the morning police had recovered cans of petrol that had been secreted by two youths and around midday reports filtered in of “gatherings of young people and young adults” in CTC. It is probable that these reports influenced the decision by the MPS at 12:15 to activate Section 60 powers for the borough of Croydon once again.⁴⁴ A few minutes later, police received calls saying that “messages were circulating for 500 people to ‘gather at JD Sports’ to ‘F**k the Feds’”.⁴⁵ Coincidentally, about the same time the authorities, in the form of CBC, issued their own public threat to “looters”, via a press release to the local news outlet *The Croydon Guardian*:

STAY AWAY FROM CROYDON OR FACE THE CONSEQUENCES, LOOTERS WARNED
Croydon Council is calling for anyone caught carrying out copy-cat looting attacks in the borough to be met with the full force of the law.⁴⁶

A few minutes after the release of the statement, reports were received by police of “looting and disorder” at the Footlocker store, a sportswear and footwear retailer in the Whitgift shopping centre in CTC (Figure 3 Location 4).⁴⁷ Although this was actually a minor incident, it marked the first sign that the threats circulating on social media that morning might be realised.

At 13:00, with the threat level increasing, a second Gold Group meeting took place with additional representation from the emergency services, British Transport Police and the Surrey Constabulary. Decisions were taken to retain all Croydon police officers on duty, to undertake high visibility patrols in CTC and for petrol stations in the area be contacted to ask them not to sell fuel in containers. In addition, Safer Neighbourhood Team (SNT) police officers were deployed to key locations and instructed to warn local retailers.⁴⁸ At 14:54 CBC issued an e-mail to update some of its principal officers with the latest developments. It stated:

...details of intelligence reports of further disturbances in central Croydon this afternoon – between 3-4pm. The Clocktower (Figure 3 Location 5) being mentioned as congregating point. JD Sports has also been mentioned as a possible target. Police are monitoring the social network sites and the rumours are developing quickly. The intelligence network is being coordinated by police.

⁴³ (London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 8).

⁴⁴ (Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7).

⁴⁵ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 73). “Feds” is a slang term for police.

⁴⁶ Ironically, after issuing a public threat to the looters CBC went on to circulate a “message of reassurance” to Croydon Councillors (London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 8; Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7).

⁴⁷ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 73).

⁴⁸ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 73; “LIVE UPDATES: Riot fallout,” 2011; Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7, 10; London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 9).

Locally at Croydon and centrally at New Scotland Yard. There are rumours of further disturbances across all London so police will be stretched.⁴⁹

Along with visits to retailers by SNT officers, at 15:30 Croydon police circulated a letter via a subscription-based alert system to businesses in North End and the Whitgift shopping centre in CTC. This warned them of the threat of looting and encouraged them to be “extra vigilant that evening, to make sure their premises are fully locked and alarmed after closure and that extra security staff have been drafted in as a precaution”. The letter also added that the “shopping centre would remain open to public and staff as normal”.⁵⁰ However, many retailers were already fully aware of the potential for looting that day and the immediate reaction of some to the police letter confirming the threat was to usher customers out of their stores and close their businesses early. By 16:00, several major outlets including a bank in the North End had either closed or had deployed their shutters. Around 50 police officers in high-visibility clothing were present in the area and were exercising Section 60 powers by stopping and searching people.⁵¹

For many people in CTC, the unusual presence and actions of the police in North End, police helicopters hovering overhead combined with the closing of some major stores indicated that the rumours of “trouble in Croydon” were real. Although there had been hardly any incidents of disorder so far that day, the evident actions of police and retailers intensified the feeling amongst eyewitnesses that “something was going to happen”.⁵² Although the police presence in CTC was certainly impressive, it hid a significant weakness in the capability of Croydon division of the MPS. According to the CBC post-event report, by Monday afternoon:

All level two public order trained Police officers had already been redeployed from Croydon to other areas in London, either during the course of the weekend or earlier that day... It follows that the Police officers present in Croydon Town Centre were not level two public order trained officers at this stage.⁵³

Despite this known issue (or perhaps because of it) Croydon police maintained a confident face to the public. The Deputy Borough Commander stated to local news outlets that they had “an appropriate policing plan to tackle any disorder and deal with normal policing across the borough as well”.⁵⁴ A few minutes after this, at 16:32, an e-mail was circulated by Croydon police to the “community stating that it is ‘business as usual’ in Croydon and that

⁴⁹ The Clocktower, a well-known landmark, is part of an arts and museum complex located next to the Town Hall on Katharine Street in CTC (London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 9).

⁵⁰ A photograph of the letter is provided in (“LIVE UPDATES: Riot fallout,” 2011; O’Mahony, 2016).

⁵¹ (“LIVE UPDATES: Riot fallout,” 2011; Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 10; Corfield, 2011; *Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011a, Gareth_Davies09 UTC 14:47:23, JohnLoony UTC 17:06:27).

⁵² This was reflected on Twitter after approximately 15:30 with numerous tweets and retweets referring to the unusual actions of police and retail outlets and CTC apparently being in “lockdown” (*Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011a).

⁵³ The report states that: “‘Level two public order trained’ refers to Police Officers that have undertaken a higher level of training on how to deal with public order incidents” (Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 10).

⁵⁴ (“LIVE UPDATES: Riot fallout,” 2011).

significant numbers of Police were available in the event of any unrest".⁵⁵ According to the MPS case-study of the Croydon event it was at this precise time that "the picture quickly changed and the disorder and violence was to escalate at an alarming rate".⁵⁶

As the police intelligence information had predicted, from about 16:00 large groups of people had begun to gather in North End. A local newspaper reporter described the scene:

A boy rides a bicycle "at" passers-by in North End in an intimidating manner. There is a heavy police presence. At around 4.30pm, an officer runs out in front of the bicycle and searches the boy. The mood in North End sours. Youngsters with empty gym bags on their backs stand in large groups watching police officers.⁵⁷

The uneasy stand-off continued for over an hour as the numbers gathering in the vicinity of North End grew.⁵⁸ News also began to reach police of attacks on five shops on London Road (Figure 3 Location 6) to the north of West Croydon station, though it appears there was little attempt to try to stop these crimes.⁵⁹ At 17:18 members of the public reported that a group of about 40 youths were putting masks on in a side street close to West Croydon station (Figure 3 Location 7) and that three minibuses "containing groups of youths" had just arrived in Surrey Street market in CTC (Figure 3 Location 8).⁶⁰ By 17:30 most of the shops in North End had been closed early and consequently the majority of shoppers were leaving the area.⁶¹

The problem of police resource in the borough of Croydon was exemplified at 17:26 when information was received from a resident of New Addington, a large outlying housing estate five miles to the south east of CTC (see Figure 1), that their area would be the target of rioters that evening. As a result vehicular patrols on the estate were increased however, due to the situation in CTC, no other police officers were available for foot patrols.⁶²

⁵⁵ (Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7).

⁵⁶ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 73).

⁵⁷ ("Croydon's summer riots: One year on," 2012).

⁵⁸ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, pp. 70-71; Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7; Corfield, 2011).

⁵⁹ (Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7, 10).

⁶⁰ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 73).

⁶¹ ("LIVE UPDATES: Riot fallout," 2011).

⁶² (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, pp. 70-71, 73; Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7, 11; London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 5).

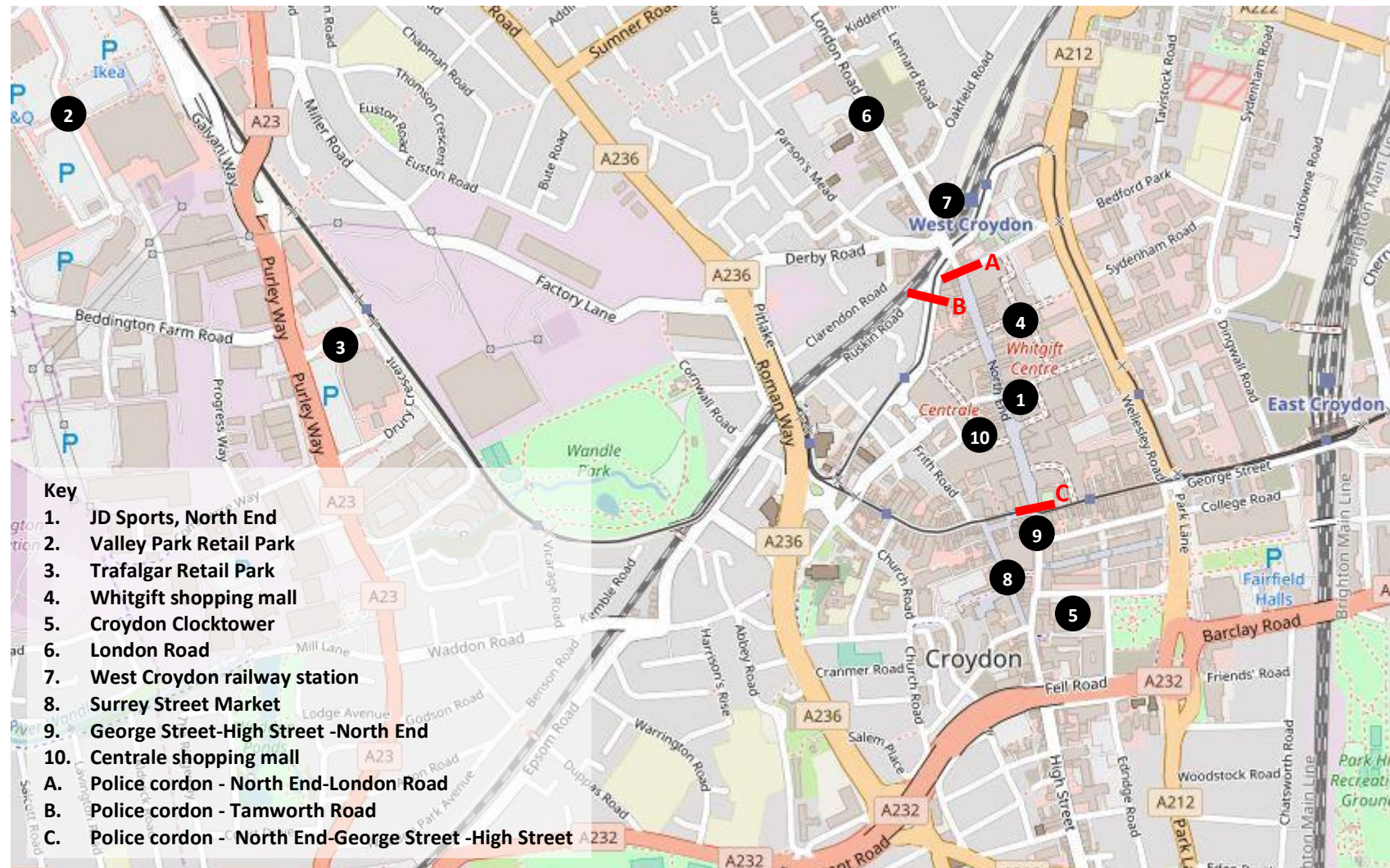


Figure 3: Croydon town centre and Purley Way, Monday 8th August 2011

At 18:15, MEU officers in CTC, reported that there was now a large crowd of youths at the North End-West Croydon station area (Figure 3 Location 7) and that a second group was gathering at the George Street-High Street junction (Figure 3 Location 9). A decision was taken by Croydon MPS to protect the main shopping street by closing it off to the public. Using the available police officers and dog handlers a cordon was formed at the junction of North End and London Road, a second nearby on Tamworth Road and the third to the south at the junction of North End, George Street and High Street (see A, B and C, Figure 3). Crowds began to build up at both cordons as the main pedestrian thoroughfare in CTC was now blocked.⁶³ As police were trying to seal off North End a group of about 15 masked youths ran into the Whitgift shopping centre (Figure 3 Location 4). As they were chased out by police and security guards, shoppers were ushered from the complex and it was hastily shut down.⁶⁴ With most of the shops and retail centres on North End now closed, the cordons in place and hostile crowds of several hundred goading the police lines with shouts of “we’re going to run your town tonight”, a clear delineation between adversaries had been made.⁶⁵ The stage was set for a confrontation.

The second night (Monday 8th to Tuesday 9th August, 2011)

The northern cordon

Police and local authority sources agree that at about 18:25 “large scale disorder” broke out in the North End-London Road area with police officers coming under attack with “makeshift weapons and projectiles”.⁶⁶ It appears, however, that the disorder was initiated by sections of the crowd attacking an electrical goods retailer and a bookmaker on the junction of North End and Station Road (Figure 4 Location 1).⁶⁷ These two businesses were in full view of the police cordons protecting the shopping centre at North End and Tamworth Road (Figure 4 Cordons A and B), though it appears they did not react to this provocation. At the same time a bus was brought to a halt on Station Road by some of the crowd and the driver was robbed.⁶⁸ A few minutes later a Police Community Support Officer (PCSO), close to the cordons at the North End and Tamworth Road, was hospitalised after he had been “assaulted by a group of youths... wearing hoods who attacked him with bricks”.⁶⁹

⁶³ (Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7, 10; London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 16, 19; “Croydon riots three years on,” 2014; “Update: Police on standby for copycat “riots” in Croydon”, 2011; *Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011a, greysm0ke UTC 17:27:53).

⁶⁴ (LIVE UPDATES: Riot fallout hits south London, Croydon, 2011; O'Mahony, 2016; “Croydon's summer riots: One year on,” 2012; *Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011a, Gareth_Davies09 UTC 17:07:27).

⁶⁵ A number of sources reference members of the crowd taunting police officers (“LIVE UPDATES: Riot fallout,” 2011; “Croydon riots three years on,” 2014; *Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011a, Gareth_Davies09 UTC 17:58:50). One even stated “from the flats...a man spat onto a police officer. ‘You're all murdering scum’, he shouted” (Croydon riots three years on: How our correspondents reported the mayhem, 2014).

⁶⁶ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, pp. 70-71, 73; Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7, 10).

⁶⁷ (“LIVE UPDATES: Riot fallout,” 2011; croydonriots, 2011b; *Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011a, babycokes UTC 18:10:40; Williamson & Truman, 2011; Gorm, 2011).

⁶⁸ (croydonriots, 2011b; Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CR0 2RB).

⁶⁹ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 73; Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 10; Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CR0 1TP).

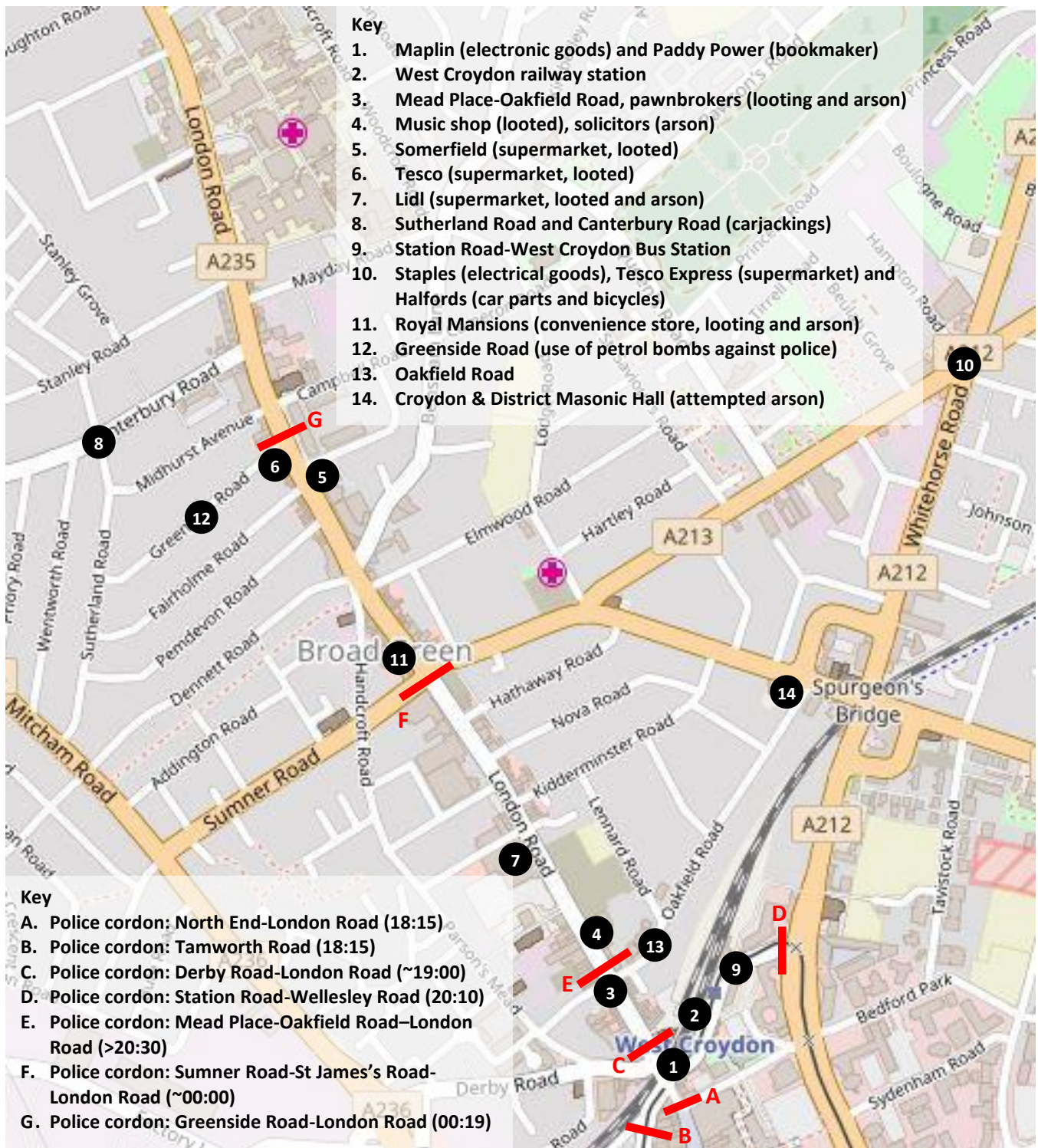


Figure 4: Incidents on London Road, Croydon and environs Monday 8th August 2011

Eight British Transport Police officers were guarding the nearby West Croydon railway station (Figure 4 Location 2). Despite being “heavily outnumbered”, at about 18:50 they charged the crowd with batons drawn, driving them from the junction at Station Road northwards along the London Road. However, this left the entrance to the station between the police lines and the missile throwing crowd, thereby endangering commuters. As a result, just before 19:00, trains were cancelled and the station was hurriedly shut by staff,

trapping around 70 commuters inside.⁷⁰ After the charge by the Transport Police unit, about 20 officers from the North End cordon, a few with large riot shields, moved onto the London Road forming a line across the street at the junction with Derby Road (Figure 4 Cordon C). By this stage the majority of the crowd of several hundred had retreated about 100m north along the London Road, close to the junction with Mead Place and Oakfield Road (Figure 4 Location 3).⁷¹

After the outbreak of violence and injury to the unprotected PCSO, Croydon MPS recognised the gravity of the situation. There was an immediate callout made to all local police stations to obtain more officers and for additional public order equipment to be gathered from across the borough and brought to CTC. At 19:01 a request for public order reinforcements was made to Metropolitan Police Central Command, who activated approximately 90 officers to aid the borough.⁷² However, the police currently on the ground in CTC were largely outnumbered, and few had public order equipment or the training to deal with the situation that was developing at pace.

The southern cordon

Up to this point there had been little violence at the police cordon protecting the southern end of the main shopping street in CTC (Figure 5 Cordon A). Over 100 people had gathered close to the George Street-High Street junction but had not attempted to penetrate the police line and enter North End. However at 19:00, a second large group appeared from Frith Road at the bottom of Crown Hill, and signalled to the former, before heading towards Surrey Street (Figure 5 Location 1). A large section of the first crowd responded. Bypassing the police cordon, they ran down Crown Hill and joined their associates, breaking into a supermarket, jewellery shops and other retailers on Surrey Street.⁷³ A local newspaper journalist, who was an eye-witness, described the scene:

As hundreds of youths smashed their way into a supermarket, I sprinted towards a stationary line of police officers and realised something was seriously wrong. Reaching a dog-handler I pleaded for him and his colleagues, who had formed a line across North End...to intervene...I was stunned by his answer. "We can't," he explained. "There are too many of them." I gave up on persuading the police to help and ran back down the hill...As we turned the corner, cameras in hand, we filmed the looters, many of whom were wearing face masks or bandanas, clambering in and out of stores, carrying away alcohol, food and jewellery. The frenzy was only halted by a burglar alarm, leading to a stampede down Surrey

⁷⁰ (Corfield, 2011; "Update: Police on standby for copycat "riots" in Croydon," 2011; "Croydon was vulnerable," 2011). The testimony of two of the British Transport police at West Croydon Station is given in (Bazargan, 2013).

⁷¹ (Silla, 2011a).

⁷² (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 73; Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7, 10).

⁷³ (London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 16, 19; Gorm, 2011) and transcript LON171020111307 122-231, 529-559. An analysis of those arrested for looting shops on Surrey Street in this time period ($N = 24$) showed that 8% were female, and by self-classed ethnicity, 36% were White, 38% Black, 17% Mixed, 4% Asian and 8% Other or Not Given. The median age was 18, the age range 13-27 and 71% of the sample had home addresses in the borough of Croydon (Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CR0 1RG).

Street before the youths turned back when it became clear the police were not reacting.⁷⁴

The journalist and his colleague then followed a crowd of about 100 looters, male and female and of mixed ethnicity,⁷⁵ who collectively proceeded to break into the catalogue retailer Argos on Church Street (Figure 5 Location 2), using a large metal trolley to force open the shutters.⁷⁶ Police officers at the North End cordon 150m further up Crown Hill looked on at the looting, apparently powerless to intervene. At this point, some of the crowd grew wary of the reporter and his colleague and attacked them with bottles, fists and kicks, demanding to know who they were.⁷⁷ The reporter was robbed of his wallet, phone and camera before one of his attackers intervened and returned his phone:

He even tried to get my camera back before telling me to “run before you get murdered”. I fled round the corner into Old Palace Road with blood pouring from my nose. I passed a pair of young girls who I warned not to go into Church Street but they just laughed. By this point the looters were attacking Lidl.⁷⁸

At about 19:45 some of the reinforcements requested from MPS Central Command earlier in the evening arrived in the form of a TSG unit. Three carriers drew up at the police cordon on the George Street-High Street junction with North End (Figure 5 Cordon A). Their occupants immediately disembarked and ran down Crown Hill, driving the looters down Church Street towards Reeves Corner (Figure 5 Location 3).⁷⁹ However, the TSG officers did not proceed beyond the junction of Old Place Road and Church Street (Figure 5 Cordon B). Out of sight of Reeves Corner, they halted, formed a cordon across the street and awaited further orders.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ ("Croydon riots three years on," 2014).

⁷⁵ An analysis of those arrested ($N = 17$) for the first phase of looting of Argos on Church Street, CTC showed: 47% were female, and by self-classed ethnicity, 41% were White, 41% Black, 12% Mixed and 6% Asian. The median age was 17, the age range 13-27 and 71% of the sample had home addresses in the borough of Croydon (Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CR0 1RH).

⁷⁶ ("LIVE UPDATES: Riot fallout," 2011; Bushaway, 2011b; Bushaway, 2011a; London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 10, 16; "Croydon riots three years on," 2014; Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CR0 1RH; *Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011a, _beckk_ UTC 18:37:41; Gorm, 2011; South London riots, 2011) and transcript LON171020111307 559-647.

⁷⁷ (*Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011a, Gareth_Davies09 UTC 18:42:14; Bould, 2011).

⁷⁸ ("Croydon riots three years on," 2014).

⁷⁹ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 74; London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 16, 19).

⁸⁰ (*Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011a, Dazzle3009 UTC 19:38:07).

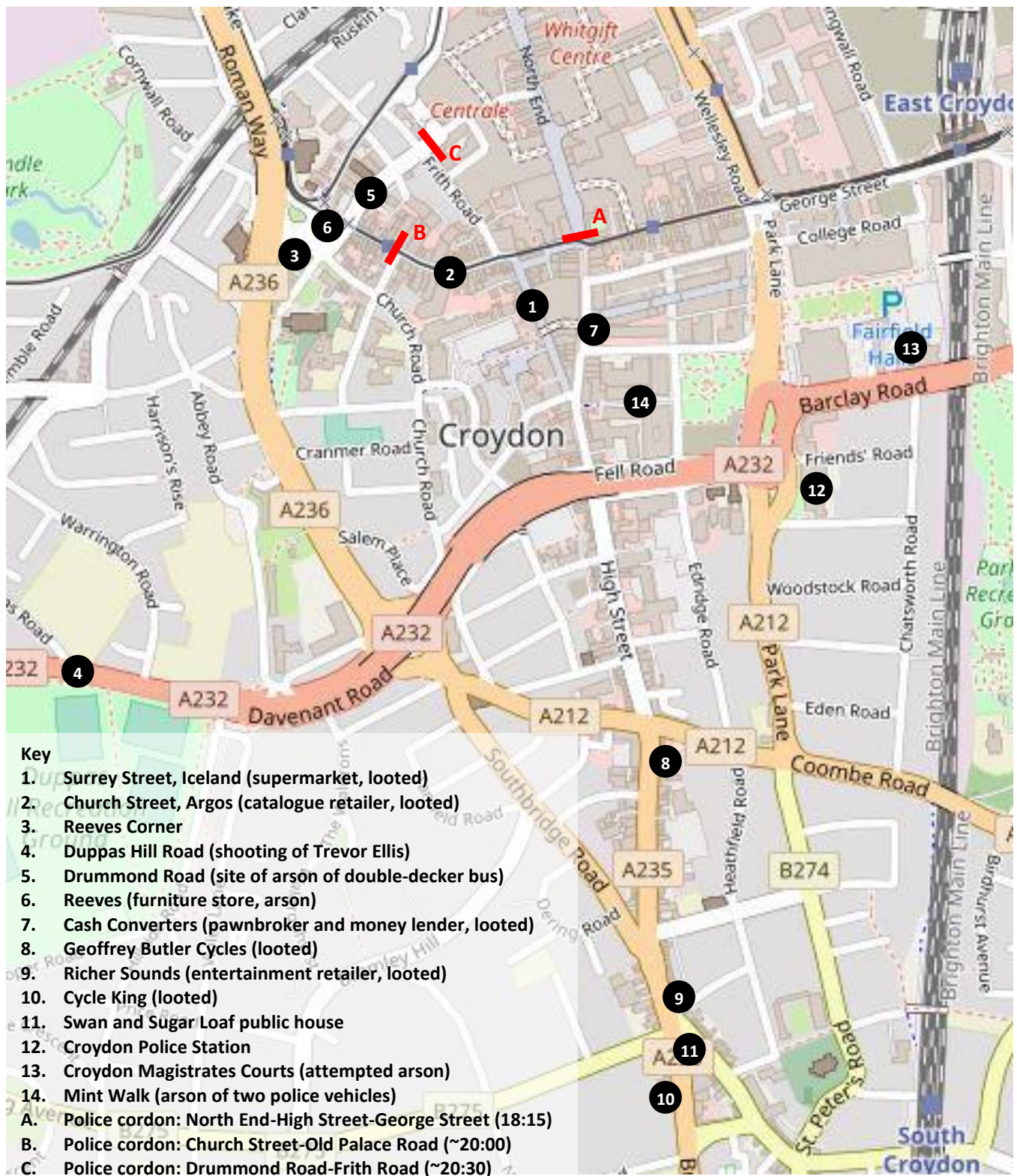


Figure 5: Reeves Corner and South End-Brighton Road, Croydon Monday 8th August 2011

North End – London Road

On London Road, the retreat of the crowd after the initial confrontations around North End and West Croydon station between 18:30 and 19:00 did not signal the end of the disturbance, in fact the very opposite. Although some vehicular traffic, including buses, were still passing through the crowd on London Road, more than 200 rioters were clearly in control of several hundred metres of the thoroughfare. Whilst some sporadically advanced towards the police line at the Derby Road junction (Figure 4 Cordon C) throwing missiles, others smashed the windows of selected shops including a recruitment office, a post office and a newsagent or dragged boxes and bins into the road. Throughout this period, shoppers, including a disabled man riding a mobility scooter and a man on crutches, passed unmolested through the milling crowds.

Eventually, a bus drew to a halt because of debris in the road, part of a makeshift barricade. As it tried to drive off, several windows were smashed by missiles, forcing it to stop.⁸¹ The driver and passengers disembarked, whilst rioters attempted to commandeer it. The driver then attempted to stop them by returning to the cab and, despite taking some blows in a scuffle, apparently drove the bus to safety.⁸² A few moments later several members of the crowd pulled the rider of a scooter off his bike at speed, whilst another seized the vehicle and drove away.⁸³ The attempts to acquire vehicles had a more malevolent purpose than mere theft, as two of the British Transport Police in the cordon at London Road recalled:

At first there was a couple of young lads on a moped and they came right up to the police lines. In my opinion they were counting us. They stood there for a few seconds counted us...span round, went back into the crowd at the bottom of the hill and then the whole crowd began marching up the road with his four-door saloon car as a figurehead. As it approached it came through at full speed, straight at police lines. There's no intention to scare us, they were basically trying to run us over. That was absolutely without a shadow of doubt attempted murder. If we had not jumped when we did, it would have killed us.⁸⁴

After the car had run through the police lines it sped off along the Tamworth Road.⁸⁵

Whilst some of the crowd were attacking the police lines with missiles, smaller groups began to systematically loot selected targets on London Road in the vicinity of Mead Place and Oakfield Road (Figure 4 Location 3). One of the first shops to be robbed was a specialised music store, which lost half a million pounds worth of guitars and amplifiers. Looters wandered nonchalantly up London Road with musical instruments, some playing them, whilst others made a failed attempt to set the store on fire.⁸⁶ Around 19:30, few

⁸¹ (Silla, 2011a).

⁸² (Silla, 2011d).

⁸³ (Silla, 2011e).

⁸⁴ (Bazargan, 2013).

⁸⁵ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, pp. 70-71, 74; London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 19; "Croydon riots three years on," 2014; Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CR0 2RE).

⁸⁶ ("LIVE UPDATES: Riot fallout," 2011; Silla, 2011b; ballad anna, 2011a; Jamieson, 2011; Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CR0 2TB; *Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011a jamb0n UTC 19:12:28; mewzoned, 2011; croydonriots, 2011a).

doors up from the music shop a solicitors office was broken into and was successfully set alight, the first major fire of the evening (Figure 4 Location 4).⁸⁷

At 19:22, as the violence and looting on London Road intensified, the Croydon Police Deputy Borough Commander sent an e-mail to key Gold Group contacts "requesting immediate assistance".⁸⁸ The desperation of the situation was palpable in the message:

We are having serious problems currently and need you to implement all of the contingencies and plans as discussed at the Gold Group - and maybe even more. We currently have numerous people causing disorder in the town centre...We have asked for re-enforcements but this is not getting here as quickly as we would like - if at all, with the issues across the MPS...One of my officers has been injured and needs to be taken by ambulance. Bricks are being thrown and a bus has been vandalised. I have just briefed night duty who have come on early. I need you to help in any way you can please.⁸⁹

Fortuitously for Croydon Police, twenty minutes later a Chief Inspector arrived to take control of the policing of the disturbance in the role of Silver Command⁹⁰ along with the first of the requested MPS public order trained reinforcements.⁹¹ This was a TSG unit with three carriers, twenty officers and a commander. The unit was split, with a third of the officers deployed to London Road and the rest, with the carriers, sent to the severely shorthanded cordon at the George Street-High Street junction with North End (see p. 19).⁹² The group deployed to London Road joined up with the 20 or so police officers already present to confront a "hostile crowd of over 200 with a further 30-50 in Station Road" to their rear.⁹³ At about 20:00 the situation was described by one journalist on the scene:

Swarms of youths in hoods and masks are confronting the police from every junction to London Road. Bricks, bottles and sticks were thrown at the police line....buses across London Road have been stopped and London Tramlink is suspended between Reeves Corner and East Croydon.⁹⁴

It was here that MPS sources claim that petrol bombs were thrown at police lines for the first time.⁹⁵

⁸⁷ (Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7, 10; "London riots: The third night," 2011; Silla, 2011f; Commissioner for Fire and Emergency Planning, 2011, p. 4).

⁸⁸ (Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7).

⁸⁹ (London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 10).

⁹⁰ The Silver Commander develops, commands and coordinates the overall tactical response of an operation, in accordance with the strategic objectives set by Gold (College of Policing, a).

⁹¹ (Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7, 10).

⁹² (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, pp. 70-71, 74). The assessment of the division of the TSG unit was based upon a count of the police officers in full public order equipment at each location in the following video (Kakeeto, 2011) and image (*Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011a, Dazzle3009 UTC 19:38:07).

⁹³ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 74).

⁹⁴ ("LIVE UPDATES: Riot fallout," 2011).

⁹⁵ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 74).

Up to this point and taking into account their limited resources, the strategy of Croydon Police had been solely focused on protecting the main shopping street (North End) in CTC and its associated shopping centres, the Whitgift and Centrale (Figure 3 Locations 4 and 10). This had left most of the periphery of CTC, London Road to the north, Reeves Corner to the West and Brighton Road to the south, without sufficient warning of the potential unrest and completely undefended.⁹⁶ The majority of retailers in these areas were small businesses, often with their owners living on the premises, unlike those in CTC which were typically large corporate-owned chain stores with little or no residential accommodation. Also, particularly on the London and Brighton Roads, many of the shops were owned by ethnic minorities who would bear the brunt of the looting, arson and in some cases violence.⁹⁷

Although Croydon police had decided to protect the major commercial interests in CTC rather than the smaller shops on the peripheral thoroughfares, this did not deter all of the looters. Despite the police cordons, there were several concerted efforts to reach the more lucrative targets on North End. Just after the TSG reinforcements arrived at 19:45, around 50 people,⁹⁸ broke into the rear of the Centrale shopping mall (Figure 3 Location 10) and proceeded to loot a major department store and a mobile phone and computer outlet. The Centrale security team and two MEU officers confronted the looters carrying goods out of the stores, making several arrests whilst the rest of the group rapidly dispersed.⁹⁹ Less than an hour later, just before 21:00, a more “professional” group of 30 hooded and masked youths stormed the rear entrance of the Whitgift shopping centre (Figure 3 Location 4) and headed towards the jewellery shops inside the complex.¹⁰⁰ Games of “cat and mouse” between security guards, police and would-be looters around the Whitgift and Centrale shopping centres would continue until the early hours.

London Road

On London Road, whilst some rioters continued to attack the police lines at Derby Road (Figure 4 Cordon C), other groups robbed with apparent impunity. Around 50 hooded and masked looters worked persistently and collectively to break through the shutters of a pawnbroker on the corner of Oakfield Road which was later set alight and destroyed by fire (Figure 4 Location 3).¹⁰¹ Others had already begun to head north towards the Broad Green

⁹⁶ This decision was heavily criticised after the event and the feeling by shop owners that these areas had been abandoned by the authorities was exemplified in the difficulty in obtaining the “promised” riot damage compensation payments from the government in the aftermath of the disturbances (O'Mahony, 2016; “Bankruptcy, ruin and broken promises,” 2013; Randall, 2011).

⁹⁷ (Jamieson, 2011).

⁹⁸ An analysis of those arrested ($N = 21$) for the looting of House of Fraser and the Orange shops in the Centrale Centre shopping centre in CTC showed: 43% were female, and by self-classed ethnicity, 48% were White, 28% Black and 24% Mixed. The median age was 18, the age range 16-33 and 62% of the sample had home addresses in the borough of Croydon (Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CR0 1TY).

⁹⁹ (London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 16; Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CR0 1TY; *Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011a, Dazzle3009 UTC 19:46:16).

¹⁰⁰ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CR0 1UU; “Croydon burns as looters storm the Whitgift centre”, 2011). Of those arrested in this incident the majority came from south-east London.

¹⁰¹ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 70-71; Mitcham, Colliers Wood looting.2011; Silla, 2015; Silla, 2011c; ballad anna, 2011a; “London riots: The third night,” 2011; Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7, 10; ballad anna, 2011b; “Croydon burns as looters storm the Whitgift centre,” 2011; *Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011a, babycokes UTC 19:33:04, KennySkyNews UTC 19:56:20, siobhanmb UTC 19:57:48, CPO4OFC UTC 19:54:17; mewzoned, 2011).

area to find more targets for looting. From approximately 20:00 two small supermarkets, an electrical goods shop and a beauty salon were looted in the vicinity of Broad Green Avenue (Figure 4 Locations 5 and 6).¹⁰² At 20:15 another supermarket on the corner of Montague Road was ransacked and then set on fire (Figure 4 Location 7).¹⁰³ A non-participant eyewitness described the latter incident:

The store was just torn apart. It was unrecognisable...And they were stealing alcohol, that was the main thing, so the food and that kind of thing was still there. Kind of left untouched. Loads of the booze and everything was just ransacked...The irony, you take what you value and a lot of people just took what they thought would keep the party going... It could almost be looked at as a kind of street party I guess, in a funny sort of way.¹⁰⁴

After the initial “smash and grab” for alcohol and cigarettes by groups who had broken into the shops, others wandered in to take more mundane items such as large bags of rice and packs of toilet rolls.¹⁰⁵ Apart from supermarkets the main targets for looting on London Road were convenience stores, pawnbrokers, jewellers, solicitors and motor vehicle shops.¹⁰⁶

Groups of looters were now strung out over more than a kilometre of London Road. They had been in control of this long stretch of the thoroughfare for more than an hour and had not seen any response from the police. The level of control and time this situation presented to participants was reflected in the kinds of activities that were undertaken. According to one eyewitness after breaking into a supermarket one group of looters spent:

about two-and-a-half hours trying to break into the cashpoint outside. Looters were armed with hammers, metal poles, a mallet and what looked like a small axe. Later in the evening they started dragging stock and items out of the store to build a bonfire against a nearby building and set alight an industrial wheelie bin and pushed it into the middle of the main road.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, pp. 70-71, 74; Sadface8210, 2011a; Sadface8210, 2011b; Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 10; “Croydon riots three years on,” 2014; whotube1111, 2011; *Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011a, DennisTweety UTC 19:10:22). An analysis of those arrested ($N = 11$) for the looting of the Somerfield supermarket showed: 28% were female, and by self-classed ethnicity, 45% were White, 18% Black, 18% Mixed, 9% Asian and 9% Other. The median age was 17, the age range 13-40 and 73% of the sample had home addresses in the borough of Croydon (Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CR0 2SW).

¹⁰³ (Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7, 10; Jamieson, 2011; Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CR0 2RF; *Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011a, BishopWeston UTC 19:23:01; Commissioner for Fire and Emergency Planning, 2011, p. 4).

¹⁰⁴ (Stroh, 2015).

¹⁰⁵ (“Croydon riots three years on,” 2014; *Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011a, OrignalBabydoll UTC 19:06:42).

¹⁰⁶ A survey of a sample of properties ($N = 21$) directly damaged and/or looted on the London Road gave the following results: supermarkets (3), convenience stores (3), pawnbrokers (2), jewellers (2), solicitors (2), motor vehicle shops (2), electrical goods (1), hair salons (1), music shop (1), post office (1), tailor (1), charity shop (1), bank (1). In this case ‘directly’ excludes undamaged properties suffering collateral damage due to arson in a different location.

¹⁰⁷ (“Croydon riots three years on,” 2014).

Chain stores on London Road such as the supermarkets, bookmakers and pawnbrokers were closed and empty of staff, thus the break-ins and looting were unopposed. However, small independent businesses often with owner-occupiers were a different matter; in these cases a number of shop workers and proprietors who attempted to stop the looting were assaulted.¹⁰⁸ The wife of one shop owner, who was confronted by looters at their convenience store on London Road, described her experience to a journalist:

The shop owner...and his wife...a nurse, persuaded the looters to leave and pulled down the shutters. They then tried to flee the scene in their...van but only got as far as traffic lights at the end of the street when they were carjacked. Looters threatened to burn them alive if they did not hand over the keys to the vehicle, which was later torched. "A woman punched my husband and left him bleeding. They wanted the van to drive away what they had stolen. He refused so she punched him and screamed 'burn them, burn them'. They stole the £1,000 takings we had with us and my NHS badge. They took my handbag, emptied it and threw it back to me."¹⁰⁹

From 20:30-21:30 there was a spate of armed carjackings by groups of youths in the London Road area, in particular the Sutherland and Canterbury Roads in Broad Green close to Croydon University Hospital (Figure 4 Location 8).¹¹⁰ As the previous eyewitness noted, this was probably to obtain untraceable vehicles to engage in looting and to carry stolen goods away from the scene. Although there were apparently no serious injuries to the attackers¹¹¹ or victims of these robberies, news of these incidents soon reached social media, adding to the fears of some Croydon residents.¹¹²

The use of threats and violence by some rioters and looters was not only directed at the police, intransigent shop owners or motorists in order to steal their property. As the evening wore on a new kind of internecine robbery began to appear with the arrival of predatory criminals. These groups decided not to steal from shops themselves but instead to rob looters of the goods they were carrying, particularly those who were alone or in smaller numbers than theirs.¹¹³ It was such an incident that led to the only death in the Croydon riots. After taking part in the looting of a pawnbroker on High Street (see p. 28), three men

¹⁰⁸ (Jamieson, 2011).

¹⁰⁹ (Jamieson, 2011). The van was abandoned, and burned out on London Road at the junction with Sumner Road (Hamel, 2011a; Hamel, 2011c). Around the corner on St James's Road, a second vehicle was abandoned and torched (Ceasefire Magazine, 2011; *Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011a, mrmatthewtaylor UTC 21:13:39).

¹¹⁰ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CR0 3PE, CR0 3PU, CR0 3PY, CR0 3QG, CR0 3QJ; BBC Radio London News, 2011). Carjackers used a firearm and a petrol bomb to threaten motorists.

¹¹¹ At least one driver when faced with the threat of a carjacking drove directly at the perpetrators. (Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CR0 3QG; BBC Radio London News, 2011).

¹¹² (*Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011a, ZebedeeSue UTC 19:56:30).

¹¹³ The logic of these robberies was that the perpetrators would not have to enter shops or businesses to steal goods, thereby avoiding CCTV surveillance/witnesses and technically committing the crime of theft. In addition as the "victim" of the robbery was a looter they would be unable to report the crime to the police, making the thefts effectively invisible. The main danger, as several respondents allude to, was the possibility that the victim might not be alone, so making a judgement about the right choice of target was crucial. Transcripts LON1210111908 340-369, LON1510110822 372-404, LON2210110830 20-43, 121-136.

including Trevor Ellis, were involved in “an altercation over stolen loot” with nine others on Scarbrook Road, close to Surrey Street market. At about 21:15 this led to a three car high-speed chase which ended with the shooting and death of Ellis on Duppas Hill Road about a kilometre south west of CTC (Figure 5 Location 4).¹¹⁴

At 20:10, at the police cordons at the southern end of London Road (Figure 4 Cordons B and C), the decision was taken to expand the “sterile zone” that had been created between Derby Road and North End. Using short shield advances, a group of TSG officers supported by about 20 Croydon police, forced a small group of rioters down Station Road out of West Croydon Bus Station and into Wellesley Road (Figure 4 Location 9 and Cordon D). Under a hail of missiles from rioters a similar advance was then made north along London Road close to the junction with Mead Place where smoke was pouring from the burning pawnbrokers on the corner.¹¹⁵ Local residents between the rioters and the police lines knocked on the doors to the flats above the pawnbroker to warn them of the impending danger from the fire. The rioters ceased launching missiles at the police lines to allow a group of residents from the flats and their children to cross the road. One or two rioters even assisted residents in trying to put out the flames using fire extinguishers, whilst others around them sporadically launched missiles at the police lines. A few minutes later the TSG officers charged, followed by their colleagues, forcing the rioters back and taking control of the junction with Mead Place-Oakfield Road junction (Figure 4 Cordon E).¹¹⁶

Reeves Corner

The crowd that had originally assembled at the police cordon at the George Street-North End junction had now been split into two parts. The larger group had taken part in the looting on Surrey Street and Church Street before being driven by some of the TSG unit towards Reeves Corner. The failure of the police to advance any further than Old Palace Road (Figure 5 Cordon B), probably because of their lack of numbers, would have significant consequences. At 20:20 an empty double-decker bus was set on fire on Drummond Road, less than 150m from the police line, though out of their direct line of sight (Figure 5 Location 5). A local newspaper journalist at the scene reported that a “large gathering of youths” were watching it burn. About 20 minutes later, at dusk, the fuel tank exploded.¹¹⁷ Whilst the bus was burning, others headed down Drummond Road towards a row of shops and a complex of large furniture stores on Church Street (Figure 5 Locations 3 and 6). An eyewitness recalled the scene:

There were not many people wandering around. Some of them were smiling and cheering, some were scared. I saw small groups of covered-up rioters. A bus was set on fire and more people were attracted to the smoke. 90 per cent of the crowd were watching in confusion, but some of these were happy at how the situation was developing. Soon after, really active rioters appeared and started

¹¹⁴ (Williamson, 2012; “Suspected looter shot dead,” 2011).

¹¹⁵ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, pp. 70-71, 74; madtea, 2011; Kakeeto, 2011).

¹¹⁶ (ballad anna, 2011b).

¹¹⁷ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 74; “LIVE UPDATES: Riot fallout,” 2011; tlustyblant, 2012; RT, 2011; “Shock and anger as city awakes,” 2011; “Croydon riots five years on,” 2016; Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7, 10; London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 19; whotube1111, 2011; *Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011a, Gareth_Davies09 UTC 19:37:13; Davies, 2011a; Davies, 2011b; Stroh, 2015).

an undisturbed attack on the furniture store. The situation was really confusing...There were by far more spectators than active rioters around the furniture store.¹¹⁸

The eye witness described the rioters as being mostly youths but with some disabled people also involved.¹¹⁹ Some of the crowd began smashing the windows of the furniture store, others entered the shop and a couple of armchairs were pulled into the street. There was little attempt to loot the store, probably because the items inside the store were too unwieldy to carry on foot. At 20:50 an individual set light to a sofa through the broken window and within minutes a fierce blaze had begun. As darkness fell, the first of ten fire engines arrived without police protection. The fire brigade vehicle and personnel were unmolested by a crowd, many of whom watched the blaze develop through the late evening into a major fire, which eventually destroyed the whole block.¹²⁰

All of this activity had been carried out for over an hour in the vicinity of police lines. The furniture store (Figure 5 Location 6) destroyed by arson was less than 100m from part of a TSG unit on Church Street and, in full view of the burning bus (Figure 5 Cordon B), a second police line protecting the rear of the Centrale shopping centre on Frith Road was only 150m distant (Figure 5 Cordon C).¹²¹ The difficulties for Silver Command in Croydon were not just the lack of public order trained personnel on the ground, but also the logistical problems the MPS as a whole were facing due to the outbreak of numerous disturbances elsewhere in London. An MPS report in the aftermath stated:

Numerous officers were being sent to Croydon from other parts of London but the time taken to arrive at Croydon varied, depending on distance of travel and ability to extract from other disorders across London.¹²²

By the time the fire near Reeves Corner had taken hold, nearly two hours had passed since reinforcements had been requested. However, the only unit to make it to Croydon in that time had been the three rapid-response TSG carriers. At 20:34 it was confirmed that:

an advanced public order trained senior commander was resourced from Central London to attend Croydon and a further 4 public order serials (approximately 100 officers) were re-deployed from Lewisham to Croydon.¹²³

To add to the logistic delays, according to one account three Police Support Units (PSUs)¹²⁴ which had been sent to Croydon borough from the Hampshire and Thames Valley police

¹¹⁸ ("New footage shows start of Croydon furniture store fire," 2011).

¹¹⁹ A man on crutches can be seen using one of them to break the windows of the Reeves furniture store in (tlustyblant, 2012).

¹²⁰ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, pp. 70-71, 74; "LIVE UPDATES: Riot fallout," 2011; tlustyblant, 2012; RT, 2011; Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7, 10; *Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011a, Gareth_Davies09 UTC 20:03:51; Davies, 2012; Commissioner for Fire and Emergency Planning, 2011, p. 4; Stroh, 2015; "New footage shows start of Croydon furniture store fire," 2011).

¹²¹ (tlustyblant, 2012).

¹²² (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 74).

¹²³ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, pp. 70-71, 74).

forces were turned away from attending by an MPS supervisor because they weren't MPS units. One of the occupants recalled that they could see the furniture store at Reeves Corner on fire when they were ordered to return home.¹²⁵ To compound these difficulties for the Croydon police, from about 20:00 the disturbances in the environs of CTC escalated and the sites of disorder multiplied in the borough.

High Street-South End-Brighton Road

The manner in which London Road had been apparently abandoned to the looters by the authorities in order to protect the principal shopping centres, was replicated to the south of CTC. One of the first targets was a pawnbroker and money lender less than 100m from, and in full view of, the police cordon at the High Street-George Street junction (Figure 5 Location 7).¹²⁶ Just after 21:00 the store was attacked by a crowd, as one participant recalled:

Cash Converters was right there and someone started trying to pull up...the shutter in front of the Cash Converters, they got the shutter open but it wouldn't go all the way up, so they had two people holding it up, this is right in front of the...line of police. Me and my friend were just like I can't...the, the level of like no respect for the police, like they were right there and yet it had no, no impact on their actions...They had two people holding up the shutter, they rolled it up, someone else started kicking the door, kicking the door, and then the crowd started forming around, the door broke and then it was just a train of people in, out. Coming out with guitars, they were coming out with DVD players, the TV's were coming out...this is all right in front of the police...and they,...all they could do was watch because they...they've obviously got to hold their line I'd imagine.¹²⁷

The inaction of the police spurred looters to head on to other potential targets along High Street towards South End and Brighton Road. This thoroughfare was lined with a mix of specialist retailers and small businesses, including cafes, convenience stores and fast-food outlets. It was the former, however, that were specifically targeted and by two different types of looters. The first signs that South End was under threat came at about 20:00 when a specialist bicycle shop was looted (Figure 5 Location 8).¹²⁸ Half an hour later, around 400m further south on Brighton Road, the systematic robbery of a high-end home entertainment retailer and another specialist bicycle shop took place (Figure 5 Locations 9 and 10).¹²⁹ These thefts were marked by the intervention of "organised criminals" who arrived in vehicles and

¹²⁴ A police support unit is a mobile group of police officers who have undergone public order tactical training to Level 2 PSU. A typical PSU consists of three carriers (vans) containing an inspector, three sergeants and 18 constables plus three drivers (College of Policing, b).

¹²⁵ (Hitchens, 2012).

¹²⁶ (skynewsyourvideos, 2011).

¹²⁷ Transcript LON2110110105 78-95.

¹²⁸ (Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 8, 11; Randall, 2011; Kirk, 2011).

¹²⁹ (London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 20; "Pictures: Most wanted UK riots looters," 2011; Jamey's Videos, 2011; *Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011a, englishtom UTC 20:45:48, SamMason UTC 21:14:12, lizardlion UTC 21:28:20, Lorna_Wall UTC 21:48:41; Lamy, 2011; DPMANLA, 2011; *The Guardian*, 2012; "'Clean up Croydon' will need more than a dustpan and brush", 2011) and transcripts LON2110110105 112-146 and LON3010111911 91-154.

mingled with those who were already on the street because of the disturbances, as described by one eye-witness:

At about 8.30pm, a red van pulled up, a man got out, unscrewed the number plate, and several people started to try to break into Richer Sounds. As the would-be burglars struggled with the shop's shutters, [the witness] took a photograph. Its flash alerted them and they took off. Some 45 minutes or so later, a larger number of people arrived and this time made a successful entry. "For the next hour and a half it was like watching ants carrying eggs as people scurried in and out of the store and bore away televisions, hi-fi equipment, etc," he says. The thieves included a number of young white women, and a man who seemed to have trouble carrying a large boxed television. He asked for help. None came, so he took his booty from its cumbersome box. As he did so, the scarf around his face slipped, showing him to be, in [the witnesses] words, "50 if he was a day". Only much later did police finally arrive. It was less "looting", more a leisurely burglary.¹³⁰

One participant in the robbery, part of an organised group of mobile looters, explained how their operation worked:

There was [Richer Sounds] that got [taken] like speakers and TVs...We had to stash it you know. We had to stash it in a graveyard...we can't be walking on the road with this so we left it there and basically come back for it in the van...there was three different vans. My uncle was in one with like four of his mates. And they were doing shop crawls and raiding bare [lots of] shops...And then there was another van that was coming back and forth to pick up shit that was getting looted [and had been stashed].¹³¹

The owner of a restaurant close to these incidents and his daughter described the situation on the Brighton Road as the looting was underway:

[Owner] We found it quite intimidating, there was a lot of people...70-80 youths running in and around all this area going back and forth with bikes and TVs and stereos and stuff. It was quite intimidating but after about an hour-and-a-half we realized that they weren't here to harm any locals any other people so long as we didn't we didn't confront them with taking the goods and stuff.

[Daughter] That's what made me angry like people are like animals, that the real animals within people showed that night but then [smiles] young people actually got along, like that feud that exists disappeared. How can that make sense? How can it be that on a negative day people come together rather than on a good day?

[Owner] The most disturbing thing was that we did see parents actually dropping kids off on the main road and...parking around the corner and waiting

¹³⁰ (Randall, 2011).

¹³¹ Transcript LON3010111911 118-138.

for them to pick up TV than the cycles and going to put them in the boot and going home I suppose.¹³²

By 22:00 a large crowd had gathered by *Swan and Sugar Loaf* pub (Figure 5 Location 11), effectively controlling the South End-Brighton Road-Selsdon Road junction with no apparent response from the police.¹³³

New Addington, Thornton Heath and Norbury

The warnings earlier in the afternoon about the potential for unrest in the outlying estate of New Addington (see Figure 6) became more prescient at 20:00 when the first reports reached police of “sporadic incidents of disorder” in the area.¹³⁴ Just under an hour later at 20:50, a small shopping precinct, the Forestdale, about three kilometres from the centre of New Addington (Figure 6 Location 1) was raided by a group of looters in vehicles. An analysis of the arrestees ($N = 16$) showed that they were all male, White by self-classed ethnicity and they all came from the New Addington estate.¹³⁵ About an hour later, the same group attacked and robbed shops in the town of Selsdon about two kilometres further along the Addington Road.¹³⁶ From about 23:30 through to 04:30 the following day, New Addington’s central parade shopping area was subjected to unopposed looting, culminating in arson at a small supermarket.¹³⁷

Outbreaks of looting, both spontaneous and more organised, in areas in the wider borough of Croydon were mirrored in Thornton Heath and Norbury (see Figure 1). In the former, the period 20:00 to 23:15 was marked by a number of incidents of looting, attacks on police vehicles and street robberies of individuals. Targets for looting included a post office, supermarket, jewellers and an electrical goods shop.¹³⁸ In the latter, from about 21:30 till about midnight a similar pattern of crime types took place, with the addition of several attempted and successful carjackings. Targets for looting included a bank, petrol station, an off licence, a computer shop and a post office which was subject to a ram raid.¹³⁹ In Thornton Heath and Norbury sporadic incidents of looting continued until dawn, and it was only in the early hours of Tuesday morning that Croydon police could spare any vehicular units to investigate these crimes.¹⁴⁰

¹³² (The *Guardian*, 2012).

¹³³ (“Croydon burns as looters storm the Whitgift centre,” 2011).

¹³⁴ (Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7, 11).

¹³⁵ The median age of the looters was 20 and the age range 17-29 (Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CR0 9AS).

¹³⁶ An analysis of the arrestees for this incident ($N = 7$) showed they were all from the same group that had attacked the Forestdale precinct (Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CR2 8LH).

¹³⁷ (Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 8, 11; “Croydon riots five years on,” 2016; London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 20; “Croydon’s summer riots: One year on,” 2012). An analysis of arrestees ($N = 8$) showed that they were all male, White by self-classed ethnicity and all from the New Addington area. The median age of the sample was 20 and the age range 16-29 (Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CR0 OJB).

¹³⁸ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, pp. 70-71, 74; Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CR7).

¹³⁹ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, pp. 70-71, 75; Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, SW16 3,4,5).

¹⁴⁰ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, pp. 70-71, 75).

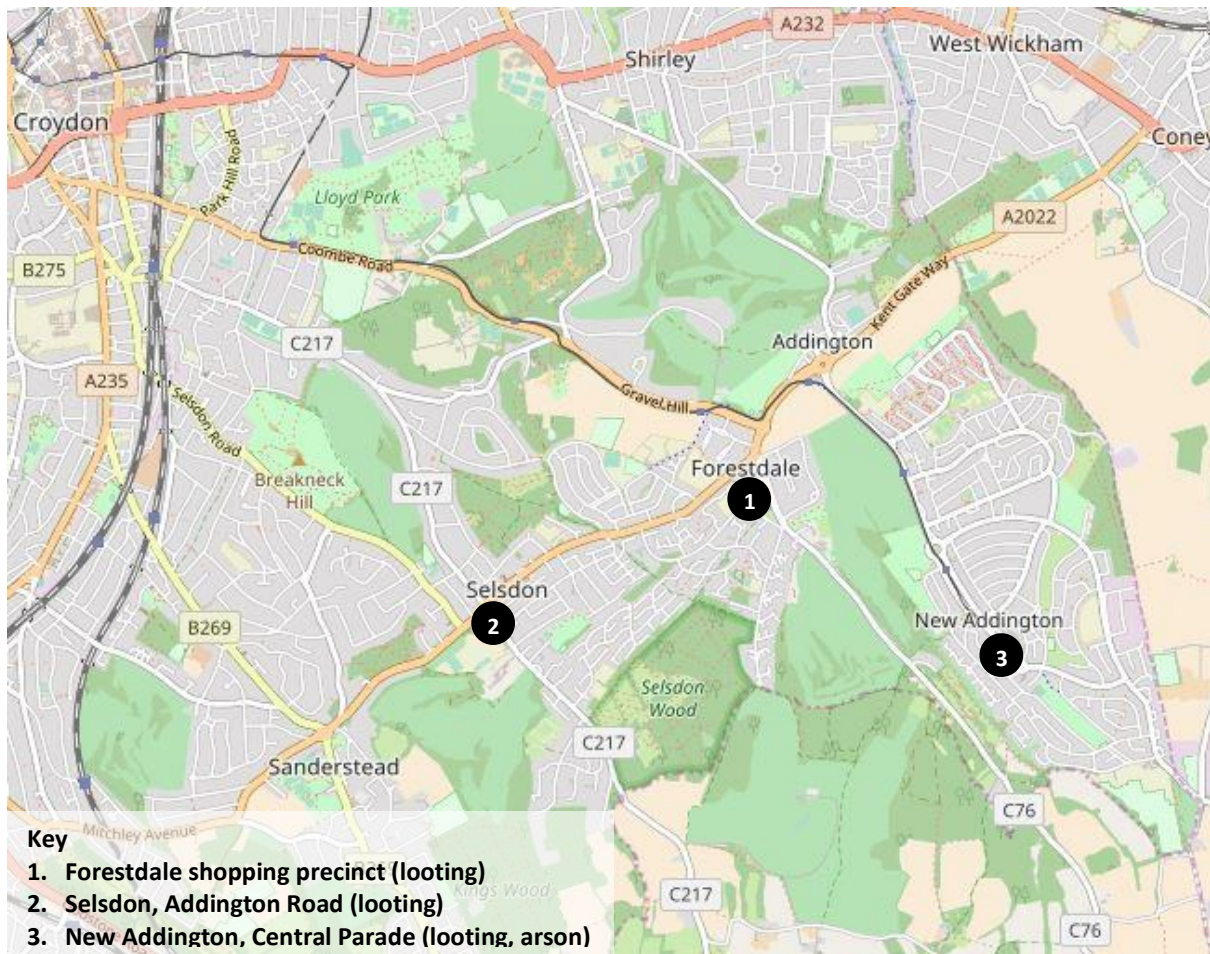


Figure 6: New Addington, Forestdale and Selsdon Monday 8th - Tuesday 9th August 2011

Purley Way Retail Parks

Although the incidents of looting on London and Brighton Roads and those peripheral to CTC in New Addington, Thornton Heath and Norbury were serious, an even greater loss of commodities was to occur in the retail parks on Purley Way. These had already been targeted in the early hours of morning, and it was not long into Monday evening before they once again became the focus of groups of looters. The first reports appear at 20:21 on Twitter as motorists driving along Purley Way noticed unusual activity in the Trafalgar retail park (Figure 3 Location 3).¹⁴¹ One eye witness recalled the scene:

Unfortunately, a few minutes later as I was approaching Comet store, I could walk no further. Traffic on Purley Way had stopped, there were hundreds of people (mostly children and young adults) in hoodies and masks breaking in stores and carrying stolen goods.¹⁴²

The initial targets were Best Buy (consumer electronics), John Lewis (department store) and Sainsbury's (supermarket), followed by Comet (consumer electronics and white goods).¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ (*Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011a, WannabeYummy UTC 19:21:14, Celia_Dixon UTC 19:35:33).

¹⁴² (Ven Bella, 2012).

¹⁴³ (London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 10; Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CR0 4XG, CR0 4XT).

The largely unopposed looting lasted until 21:00 when a six to eight riot police arrived at the Comet store, causing looters to scatter. However, they just ran about several hundred metres to PC World (computers) and Currys (consumer electronics and white goods), which, along with TK Maxx (clothing), were broken into soon after.¹⁴⁴ It was clear to the police (and the looters) that they lacked the numbers to stop hundreds of determined people from raiding large retail outlets that were spread over a wide area.¹⁴⁵ For nearly two more hours the looting continued relentlessly, until 22:47, when some police officers were dispatched to Comet. They managed to clear the store of looters, making 12 arrests.¹⁴⁶ However, about 45 minutes later new reports came in that Carphone Warehouse, a mobile phone retailer opposite the Comet store, had been broken into and was being plundered.¹⁴⁷ This pattern of action and (under)reaction continued into the early hours of Tuesday morning, with previously robbed targets being revisited by looters. The sporadic looting finally petered out just before dawn.¹⁴⁸

Crisis point

At 21:15 a Chief Superintendent, a member of the Metropolitan Police Senior Public Order Cadre, arrived in Croydon to take over Silver Command of the policing of the disorder.¹⁴⁹ The situation facing the Chief Constable at this point was dire. Reeves Corner was ablaze and there was widespread looting underway on both London and Brighton Roads and in the retail parks on Purley Way. Several properties were burning on London Road in areas still controlled by rioters, so the fire brigade was unable to attend. Reports were starting to come in of disorder and looting in New Addington, Thornton Heath, Norbury and from northeast Croydon where a breakaway group had left London Road and was raiding properties on St James's and Whitehorse Roads (Figure 4 Location 10).¹⁵⁰ News of the shooting of Trevor Ellis in Duppas Hill also came in at around 21:15, making the threat of the use of firearms in the disturbances a reality. An MPS report summed the situation up as darkness fell:

¹⁴⁴ ("LIVE UPDATES: Riot fallout," 2011; "Shock and anger as city awakes," 2011; London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 20; "Pictures: Most wanted UK riots looters," 2011; Ven Bella, 2012; Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CR0 4XU, CR0 4XL; *Guardian* & London School of Economics, 2011a, DuncanFry UTC 21:03:06, josephcorr UTC 21:12:19; "Father and son looters caught in Purley Way," 2011) and Transcripts LON2110110105 19-26 and LON281020111313 588-607.

¹⁴⁵ A survey of arrestees ($N = 51$) involved in the looting in the Purley Way retail centres, showed 14% were female and by self-classed ethnicity 22% were White, 63% Black, 8% Asian, 6% Mixed and 2% Other. The median age was 20, the age range 13-50 and 75% had home addresses in the borough of Croydon (Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CR0 4XT, CR0 4XG, CR0 4XL, CR0 4XJ).

¹⁴⁶ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, pp. 70-71, 74).

¹⁴⁷ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, pp. 70-71, 74; Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CR0 4XJ).

¹⁴⁸ The last recorded crimes of theft and burglary in the Purley Way retail parks were timed at between 04:00 and 05:00 (Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CR0 4XJ, CR0 4AA).

¹⁴⁹ (Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7, 11).

¹⁵⁰ Consistent rioting and looting spread east of London Road, in the area north of St James's Road/Lower Addiscombe Road along White Horse Road from 21.00, with incidents continuing until around 03.00 the following morning. Targets raided at the junction of Whitehorse Rd and Windmill Rd included Staples (electrical goods), Tesco Express (supermarket) and Halfords (car parts and bicycles); (Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7, 11; Khan, 2011).

Hundreds of calls [were] being received via the 999 system. Assistance was still being requested but such was the scale of disorder that the officers on the ground were simply overwhelmed.¹⁵¹

To make matters worse, although some public order trained reinforcements in the form of PSUs had arrived with the Chief Superintendent, the majority had not yet appeared on the scene.¹⁵²

In response to this desperate situation, and after reports were received of people being trapped in burning buildings at Reeves Corner, Silver Command made the decision to send police officers from CTC to “repel crowd and facilitate access for London Fire Brigade”. This was one of the first actions that marked a different emphasis by the MPS, from the protection of commodities to the protection of “life”. At 21:54 Silver Command issued an instruction “that addressing fires is to take priority over looting”, formally confirming this change in policy. To back up this order, a local ground commander was sent to Reeves Corner and a PSU was deployed to London Road to help facilitate access by the Fire Brigade. In addition, a police helicopter was deployed to Croydon.¹⁵³

Despite the arrival of some public order reinforcements, the resource situation was still dismal. An MPS report noted after the event that:

By this time resources on the ground were becoming rapidly depleted through officers having made arrests, sustaining injuries and maintaining cordons to ensure crime scene management.¹⁵⁴

To compound these problems, groups of rioters and looters were roaming around CTC choosing targets almost at will. At 22:09 CCTV operators spotted a group of rioters armed with fire bombs separate from a crowd in CTC and head towards Croydon Police Station (Figure 5 Location 12). A unit of TSG reinforcements that had just arrived in the borough were sent to intercept them, which they achieved, just before the group launched an attack on the nearby Croydon Magistrates Court (Figure 5 Location 13).¹⁵⁵ As this was happening:

CCTV operators noticed two police cars that were parked and unattended on Mint Walk next to Croydon Town Hall (Figure 5 Location 14). These police cars were set on fire by rioters. With no police officers or fire engines available to assist, CCTV supervisors...left the control room during the shift change period and ran over to the town hall to extinguish the burning police cars with the control room’s fire extinguishers.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵¹ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 74).

¹⁵² According to the MPS account at 20:34 “a further 4 public order serials [PSUs] (approximately 100 officers) were re-deployed from Lewisham to Croydon” (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 74). It is unclear if they all arrived at 21:15. According to the CBC account “The first level two public order trained police reinforcements began to arrive in Croydon from 9.15pm”, suggested that at least some had arrived (Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 7, 11).

¹⁵³ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, pp. 70-71, 74).

¹⁵⁴ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 74).

¹⁵⁵ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, pp. 70-71, 74; London Borough of Croydon, 2011 p. 20).

¹⁵⁶ (London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 20).

On the junction of Oakfield Road and St James's Road (Figure 4 Location 14), a petrol bomb was thrown at the front of the Croydon & District Masonic Hall, though the resulting fire was extinguished. Soon after, a second attack was made which again failed to set the building alight.¹⁵⁷ Even areas of CTC that had been previously "secured" were being revisited by looters. At 22:21 in Church Street, Argos, which had been ransacked three hours earlier, was reported to be under attack by a crowd once again.¹⁵⁸

Although earlier in the evening the TSG unit and other police officers had obtained a foothold on London Road, they were still being actively opposed by rioters. Consequently, in conjunction with the constant resource problems, they had made little further progress in securing a significant stretch of the thoroughfare from the rioters. One group that had managed to infiltrate into the parts of London Road that were "controlled" by the rioters and looters were some reporters from the BBC and Sky News. However, just before 23:00, travelling together in a van and another vehicle they were attacked by rioters with missiles, which broke some of the windows, forcing them to retreat down Sumner Road to relative safety. The reporters were withdrawn from Croydon shortly afterwards.¹⁵⁹

A few minutes after this incident, at about 23:00, on the opposite corner (London Road-St James's Road, Figure 4 Location 11) in a block of shops and residences known as Royal Mansions, a fire was set in a looted convenience store. Within 30 minutes the shop was fully ablaze and the fire had begun to spread to the flats above. The MPS public order units on London Road were still several hundred metres away to the south. They were busy dealing with the remaining rioters and the fires set earlier in the evening in the solicitors, pawnshop and supermarket between Mead Place and Montague Road (Figure 4 Locations 3, 4 and 7). At 23:34, the London Fire Brigade asked Silver Command for a police escort but no units were available.¹⁶⁰ The fire in Royal Mansions spread over the next half an hour, destroying a dry cleaner, a motorcycle dealer and a laundry.¹⁶¹ At midnight the danger posed by this particular blaze was recognised by Silver Command who issued an order to commit all available resources to London Road.¹⁶² A fire brigade tender and an MPS public order unit did manage to reach the scene, but by then it was too late to save a large section of Royal Mansions.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁷ (whotube1111, 2011).

¹⁵⁸ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, pp. 70-71, 74; Metropolitan Police Service, 2017, CRO 1RH). A survey of arrestees ($N = 11$) involved in the second phase of looting (22:30-22:45) of Argos in Church Street, showed 36% were female and by self-classed ethnicity 45% were White and 55% Black. The median age was 21, the age range 17-41 and 73% had home addresses in the borough of Croydon.

¹⁵⁹ ("Shock and anger as city awakes," 2011; "Croydon riots five years on," 2016; Corfield, 2011; *Guardian & London School of Economics*, 2011a, JHDavisUK UTC 22:47:19).

¹⁶⁰ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, pp. 70-71, 75).

¹⁶¹ ("Croydon riots five years on," 2016; Jamieson, 2011; Ceasefire, 2011; Commissioner for Fire and Emergency Planning, 2011, p. 4; Gorm, 2011; "Bankruptcy, ruin and broken promises," 2013; Hamel, 2011a; Hamel, 2011b; Hamel, 2011c; Ceasefire Magazine, 2011).

¹⁶² (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, pp. 70-71, 75).

¹⁶³ (*Guardian & London School of Economics*, 2011a, bobwalker01 UTC 23:02:53, bobwalker01 UTC 23:16:16). The whole block, including seven shops and businesses as well as a number of residences, was eventually demolished.

The beginning of the end

According to a CBC timeline of the events, after 23:15 on the Monday evening:

Disorder in Croydon Town Centre is brought under control, with looting and rioting becoming more sporadic.¹⁶⁴

It is unclear whether this was as a result of the policing operation or the withdrawal of the rioters from CTC, or both. The CCTV operators on the scene probably described the situation more accurately in stating:

By around midnight, the rioters began to break up into lots of smaller groups and spread over a much larger area. As the night progressed incidents gradually slowed down with sporadic incidents across the borough reported until morning.¹⁶⁵

This, however, did not mean the policing operation could be relaxed. As the MPS report points out, as far as they were concerned “there was no sign that the disorder was abating”. Incidents of rioting and looting continued in the early hours.¹⁶⁶ Despite the best efforts of police and security guards through the evening to protect the shopping malls in CTC, in the early hours of the morning:

small numbers of rioters were able to break into the Whitgift Centre via the Wellesley Road entrance and into Centrale via the Tamworth Road entrance. Police officers and council dog handlers entered Centrale and arrested a number of looters (Figure 3 Locations 4 and 10).¹⁶⁷

Similarly, on Church Street in CTC (Figure 5 Location 2), groups of looters returned several times after midnight to plunder another supermarket and a jewellery shop, before being dispersed by police.¹⁶⁸ The slow northward advance of public order units on London Road did not go unopposed either. At 00:19, police officers came under attack from petrol bombs on Greenside Road just off London Road in Broad Green (Figure 4 Location 12). Earlier in the evening the breakaway group of looters that had headed towards Selhurst, northeast of CTC were now engaged in largely unopposed looting. A vehicle was driven into the front of a supermarket and there were reports of a firearm being seen amongst the looters (Figure 4 Location 10).¹⁶⁹

Between 03:00 and 04:00 additional PSUs from Sussex and South Wales Police arrived in the borough. These resources allowed Silver Command to relieve local officers. However, there were still reports of over 200 people in the area and a large group congregating in Oakfield Road, just off the London Road (Figure 4 Location 13). According to the MPS these groups

¹⁶⁴ (Croydon Independent Local Review Panel, 2012, p. 8).

¹⁶⁵ (London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 20).

¹⁶⁶ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 75).

¹⁶⁷ (O'Mahony, 2016; London Borough of Croydon, 2011, p. 20).

¹⁶⁸ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, pp. 75-76).

¹⁶⁹ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, pp. 70-71, 75).

were eventually dispersed “with the help of fresh police resources and control was finally regained” around 04:00.¹⁷⁰

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LON1110110817_1
 LON1110110817_2
 LON11101110501
 LON1211101908
 LON1310110102
 LON1410110103
 LON1510110822
 LON171020111307
 LON1910110825
 LON1910110826
 LON2110110105
 LON2110110828
 LON2210110830
 LON2210110832
 LON2410110106
 LON2510110110
 LON2710110837
 LON281020111313
 LON2910111912
 LON3010111911

Twitter data

No	User name	Date (2011)	Time ¹⁷¹	Comment
1	Gareth_Davies09	8 th August	14:47:23 [15:47]	#croydon busy at the moment. reasonably big police presence in north end
2	JohnLoony	8 th August	17:06:27 [18:06]	#Croydon North End / High Street full of bored plods standing around not doing anything. Baa-Klee-Zbank closed at 4pm, just in case of riots
3	greysm0ke	8 th August	17:27:53 [18:27]	can confirm shops enforcing early closures.. visible police presence round West Croydon, Maccy D's North End, Whitgift & George st. #croydon
4	Gareth_Davies09	8 th August	17:07:27 [18:07]	Whitgift Centre in #croydon locked down after security n cops chase youths

¹⁷⁰ (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012, p. 76).

¹⁷¹ The listed time is UTC. The time in parentheses is corrected for British Summer Time (UTC + 1 hour) and is the actual time the tweet was sent.

No	User name	Date (2011)	Time ¹⁷¹	Comment
5	Gareth_Davies09	8 th August	17:58:50 [18:58]	large number of youths taunting police in #croydon town centre
6	babycokes	8 th August	18:10:40 [19:10]	croydon the maplin electronic shop windows cracked can't get any photos as police are in the way #Londonriots
7	_beckk_	8 th August	18:37:41 [19:37]	my brother said alders, mcdonalds and argos have been smahed in already in croydon, its getting worse #londonriots
8	Gareth_Davies09	8 th August	18:42:14 [19:42]	absolute chaos in #croydon .ive just been assaulted
9	Dazzle3009	8 th August	19:38:07 [20:38]	Croydon town centre #londonriots http://twitpic.com/6331wu
10	jamb0n	8 th August	19:12:28 [20:12]	People looting shops on London Road, Greyhound motors and the music shop. AMPS and guitars being thrown at cars/shops. #croydon
11	Dazzle3009	8 th August	19:46:16 [20:46]	Croydon main shopping centre broken into #londonriots http://twitpic.com/6334zw
12	babycokes	8 th August	19:33:04 [20:33]	Pawnbrokers got into #croydon #Londonriot
13	KennySkyNews	8 th August	19:56:20 [20:56]	Jewellers/pawn shop on London Road, West Croydon on fire. #croydon #londonriots
14	siobhanmb	8 th August	19:57:48 [20:57]	Cheque and Pawn shop in Croydon in blaze now #londonriots
15	CPO4OFC	8 th August	19:54:17 [20:54]	Wow here we go! Here's Croydons turn! @Official_CPFC #londonriots http://twitpic.com/6338cf
16	DennisTweety	8 th August	19:10:22 [20:10]	Right, shit has started in #Croydon. Somerfield on London Road being looted and coppers being pelted with missiles in Croydon town centre.
17	BishopWeston	8 th August	19:23:01 [20:23]	Picked bad day 2 go to #Croydon fires & looting West to South lidl Iceland shops now on way 2 purley way suddenly I see a need for army
18	OrignalBabydoll	8 th August	19:06:42 [20:06]	kids knicking rice from Asian food shops on London Road #Croydon smdh http://twitpic.com/632oq3
19	mrmatthewtaylor	8 th August	21:13:39 [22:13]	http://twitpic.com/6346ak - Car burning in #croydon. Trouble started at 7 and has stopped since according to locals.

No	User name	Date (2011)	Time ¹⁷¹	Comment
20	ZebedeeSue	8 th August	19:56:30 [20:56]	Now my old neighbourhood of West Croydon is apparently in flames, with reports of carjacking. Bunch of violent tossers! #londonriots
21	Gareth_Davies09	8 th August	19:37:13 [20:37]	a bus has been set alight and has exploded near me next to church street #croydon
22	Gareth_Davies09	8 th August	20:03:51 [21:03]	building now on fire near reeves corner #croydon. explosions hear
23	englishtom	8 th August	20:45:48 [21:45]	I hear richer sounds in south #croydon is getting raided right now via @tin_tuna #londonriots who works right by it :(
24	SamMason	8 th August	21:14:12 [22:14]	I can see people braking in to like a richersound or something. Loading tvs in to cars #south #Croydon #londonriots
25	lizardlion	8 th August	21:28:20 [22:28]	You can tell what's been done in in #Croydon kids with massive TVs=Richer Sounds. Fleet of kids on sparkly new bikes=bike shop.
26	Lorna_Wall	8 th August	21:48:41 [22:48]	They've made it south :-("@bagelwelt: #croydon can we have some police in south croydon they Are attacking richer sounds and cycle king!"
27	WannabeYummy	8 th August	19:21:14 [20:21]	Just driven past looters john Lewis sainsburys and bestbuy...#croydon #riots #Wtf
28	Celia_Dixon	8 th August	19:35:33 [20:35]	Looters are in comet Croydon retail park #croydonriots
29	DuncanFry	8 th August	21:03:06 [22:03]	PC World Looted #croydon
30	josephcorr	8 th August	21:12:19 [22:12]	PC World, Curry's and other retail outlets being looted in Croydon at the moment. @lbc973 #londonriots
31	bobwalker01	9 th August	23:02:53 [00:02]	Croydon burning #Croydon http://twitpic.com/635ht4
32	bobwalker01	9 th August	23:16:16 [00:16]	Fires in #Croydon #5live http://twitpic.com/635ns6

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Full triangulated account for the 2011 “riots” in Clapham Beyond Contagion

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The Clapham Junction “riots” Sunday 7th – Tuesday 9th August 2011

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List of abbreviations

CCTV	Closed Circuit Television
IMD	Indices of Multiple Deprivation
LSE	London School of Economics
MPS	Metropolitan Police Service
PSU	Police Support Unit
RtR	Reading the Riots
RVP	Rendezvous Point
TSG	Territorial Support Group
UK	United Kingdom

1. Methodology

The methodological approach used to analyse the disturbances in the vicinity of Clapham Junction in early August 2011 essentially follows that outlined by Stott, Drury, and Reicher (2017) in their examination of disorders in Tottenham and Hackney.¹ The main feature of the method is the use of triangulation to substantiate the veracity of the time, location and content of a particular incident within an event. This comprised of the use of official reports and literature; conventional and social media taken at the time; and retrospective accounts by participants and eye-witnesses. This process of analysis of the reliability of reported events was utilised to form a detailed, corroborated analysis and timeline of actions and movements of the crowds, and police responses.

2. Data Sources

The event timeline for the disturbances that underlies this narrative account was based on a wide variety of sources. A literature search of over 185 documents related to the August 2011 riots revealed eight journal articles and 11 reports containing significant references to the Clapham disturbances. However, the structure of the timeline from Sunday 7th to Tuesday 9th August 2011 came from three principal sources. The Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) report “4 Days in August”, contained a detailed timeline of the disturbances from Monday 8th to Tuesday 9th August in Wandsworth (the London borough in which Clapham Junction is situated).² Similarly, Wandsworth Council commissioned an independent review, “Disorder in Wandsworth”, which also contained a timeline of the occurrences in Clapham Junction, based on evidence from the MPS, local stakeholders and CCTV footage.³ In addition, crime data obtained from the MPS was useful for locating sites of disorder and corroborating other sources.⁴ These three sources were trusted as they had specific time recording. Clearly there was a need to be cautious of the perspective from one side of the events; however, these accounts gave us a generally reliable overview of the proceedings.

The majority of participants’ testimonies were obtained through the Guardian and LSE⁵ “Reading the Riots” (RtR) project, comprising 41 transcripts of interviews carried out within a few months of the disturbances. They were particularly important for describing events from the participants point of view, the crowd response to police actions and thus provided an example of “history from below”.⁶ However, the time recording of events in the transcripts was often vague and occasionally there were seemingly false, uncorroborated reports. Thus, notwithstanding the undoubted value of these accounts, this data source was used more as a corroborative tool than an initial indicator of events.

¹ (Stott, C., Drury, J., & Reicher, S. (2017). On the role of a social identity analysis in articulating structure and collective action: The 2011 riots in Tottenham and Hackney. *British Journal of Criminology*, 57(4), 964-981. doi: 10.1093/bjc/azw036).

² (MPS, 2012, p. 82-88).

³ (Kinghan, 2011, p. 6-7).

⁴ This information was provided in Excel spreadsheet form as part of a Research Information Sharing Agreement between the MPS and the Beyond Contagion research team (February 9, 2017). In the following account the data is referenced as (MPS, 2017) with specific crimes referred to by their unique Record ID.

⁵ (2011)

⁶ (Rudé, 1964).

National and local newspaper searches yielded 32, mostly national, accounts providing information on the location, timing and content of incidents. Sixty-eight *YouTube* videos were sourced which included real-time footage by participants, conventional media coverage and eye-witness recordings of the unrest. These were saved on to a *YouTube* playlist⁷ for the Clapham Junction occurrences and, along with photographic material, used as corroborative evidence giving more in-depth context and understanding. Eleven tweets collated from *Twitter.com* at the time of the event were included in the analysis as part of a wider search of 200 tweets. These were used corroboratively, mostly to confirm the timing of events. These various sources were cross-referenced alongside *Google Maps* and *StreetView* with the emphasis placed on determining accurate timing and locations. A project researcher also undertook a field visit. This process enabled an enhanced and more definitive timeline, with new events added and corrections made to the original MPS and Wandsworth reports.



Figure 1: South London Boroughs.⁸

⁷ (Beyond Contagion; Biddlestone, Lovell & Bell, 2017).

⁸ (Nilfanion, 2011).

3. Analysis

Introduction

As a result of the controversial killing of Mark Duggan by an MPS firearms team on Thursday 4th August, “riots” broke out following a demonstration against the unsatisfactory police response to events at Tottenham Police Station on Saturday 6th August. That evening, anti-police violence, property damage and looting occurred in Tottenham Hale and Wood Green. On Sunday 7th August riots spread to the districts of Enfield, Waltham Forest and Islington. That evening and night further disturbances broke out on the other side of the River Thames in South London, most notably in Brixton following a local community music festival, and in Croydon. It was in the early hours of Monday 8th August that sporadic looting first arose at Clapham Junction in Wandsworth (see Figure 1).

A major feature of the Clapham area is the presence of one of the busiest railway stations in Europe, at Clapham Junction. There is a socio-economically deprived area comprising the Winstanley Estate and its environs that is situated to the north side of the railway junction (see Figure 2). To the south are the main retail thoroughfares of St John’s Road and Lavender Hill, with the former leading to Northcote Road and the much more affluent district to the west of Clapham Common. Accordingly, the main thoroughfares contain different types of retail premises, with the big chain stores situated on St John’s Road and Lavender Hill and designer “boutique” type shops on Northcote Road. Northcote Road and the surrounding area are sometimes referred to as “Nappy Valley” due to the number of young, wealthy families who are resident.⁹ Compared to other outbreaks of “rioting” in London, the Clapham Junction disturbances are notable for their lack of spread, with the bulk of incidents clustered around the two short main streets, St John’s Road and Lavender Hill.

Evidence from the Indices of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) demonstrates that the main sites of disturbance were located in or on the periphery of the more deprived areas in the borough (see Figure 2). However, as with many parts of London, these deprived areas (such as the Winstanley and Patmore estates) lie adjacent to some of the most affluent parts of Wandsworth such as Northcote Road, Lavender Hill and St John’s Road. Furthermore, the majority of arrestees connected to the disturbances lived relatively close to the location of their crimes, with a clear majority coming from the Winstanley Estate, followed by other lower socio-economic areas nearby to the north such as the Patmore Estate and South Lambeth, and also south-east including locations adjacent to Streatham and Brixton (see Figure 3 and Figure 4). It can be seen that there were few participants travelling from north of the river to the riot areas (see Figure 5). Figures 6 and 7 demonstrate that the majority of the arrestees were young (67.7% 21 or under), male (81.7%) and black (40.6% vs 35.4% white). This proportion of white to black is greater than that demonstrated by earlier reports.¹⁰

⁹ (Self, 2010).

¹⁰ Kinghan (2011) reported that 66% of arrestees were of Afro-Caribbean ethnicity, suggesting a higher proportion of black arrestees than the current analysis, but his report was completed just a few weeks after the event. This may be due to the grouping of ethnicities, with the current analysis combining White Western and

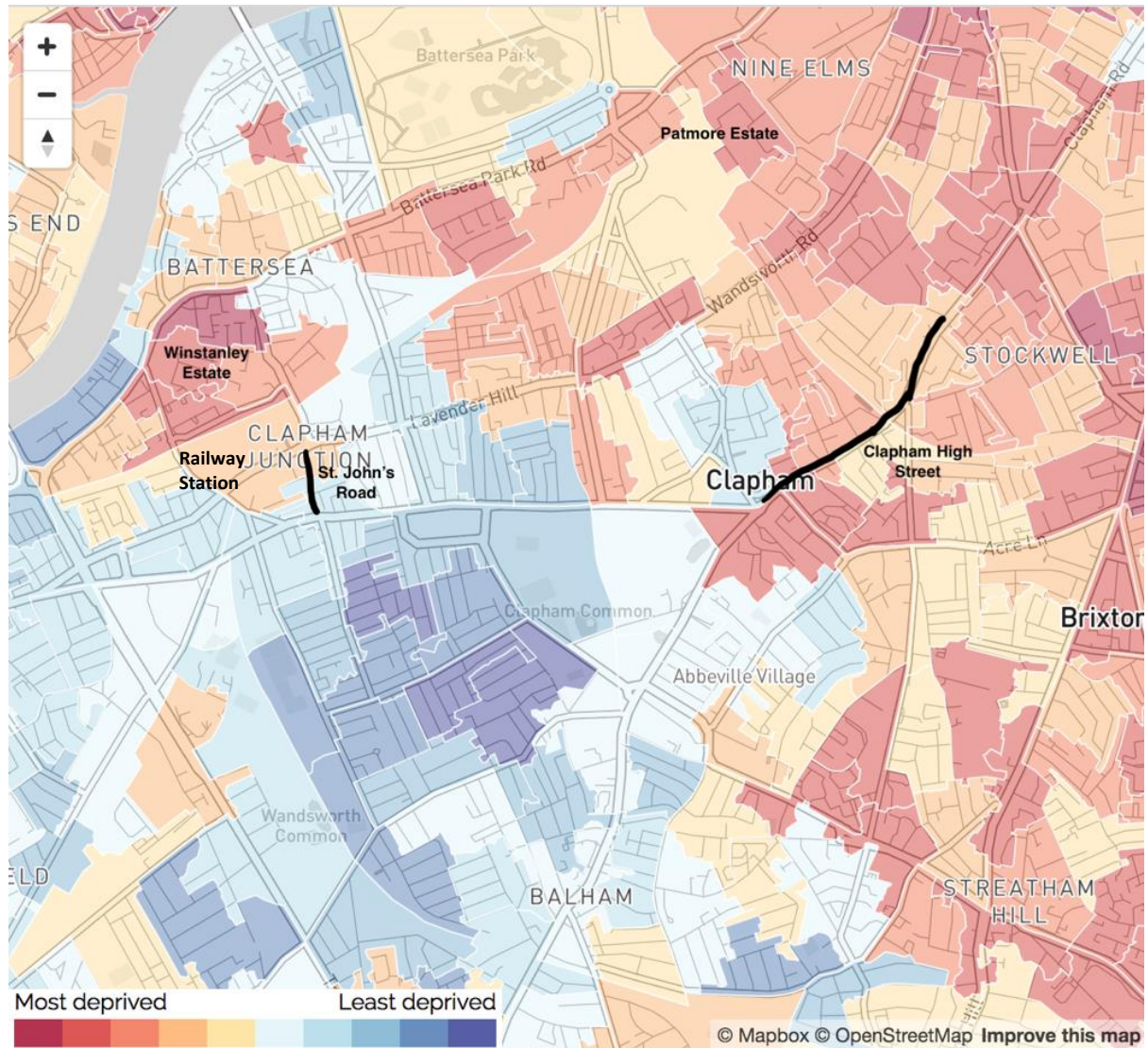


Figure 2: Indices of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) heat map for Wandsworth (2010).¹¹ Central areas of the disturbances labelled.

Eastern Europeans into the 'White' ethnicity category; alternatively, Kinghan only reported White Western European ethnicities. It also suggests the effects of initial arrest bias; (see Ball & Drury, 2012).

¹¹ The Indices of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) is a UK government qualitative study at the level of Lower Super Output Area considering income, employment, health deprivation and disability, education skills and training, barriers to housing and services, crime and living environment. The mapped data is from Trimble (2015).

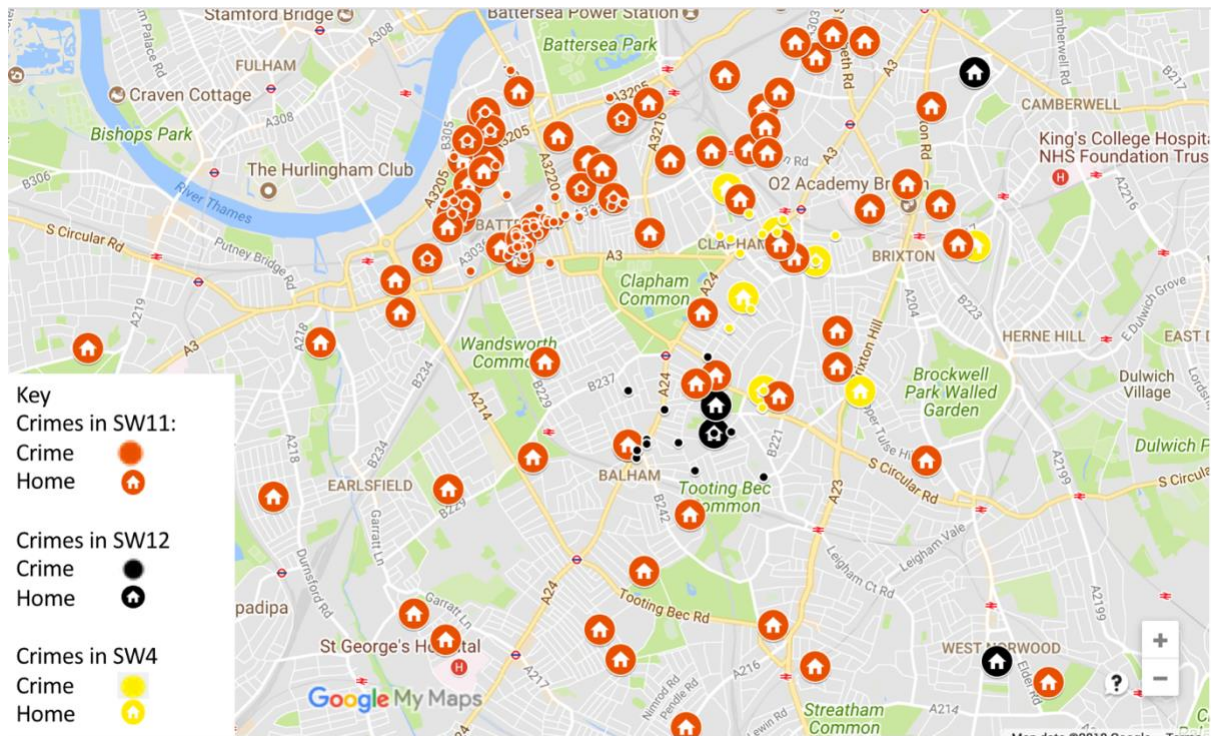


Figure 3: Disorder-related crime and arrestee home locations in the Wandsworth area



Figure 4: Frequency of arrestee home locations in all crime locations, SW4 (towards Clapham High Street and Brixton), SW11 (Lavender Hill and surrounding area), and SW12 (Balham and surrounding area).

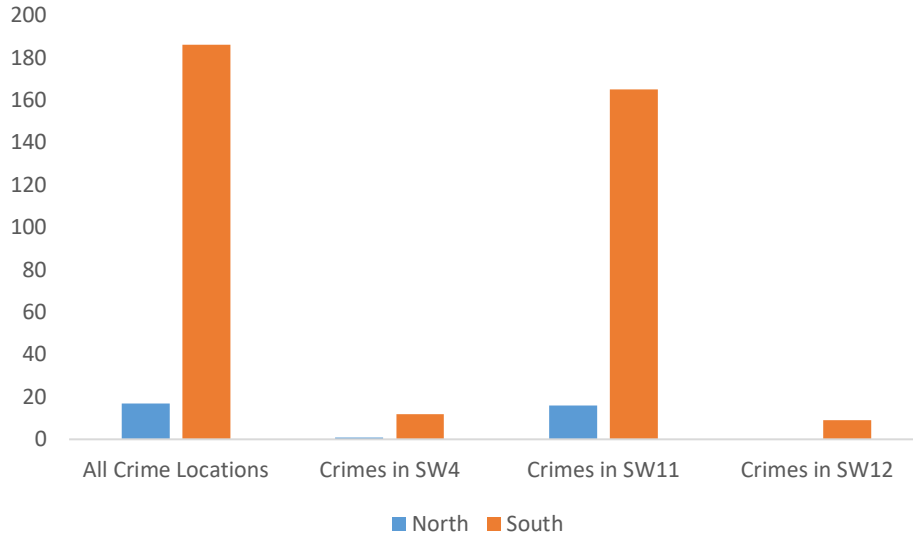


Figure 5: Frequency of arrestee home locations North and South of the River Thames in all crime Locations, SW4 (towards Clapham High Street and Brixton), SW11 (Lavender Hill and surrounding area), and SW12 (Balham and surrounding area).

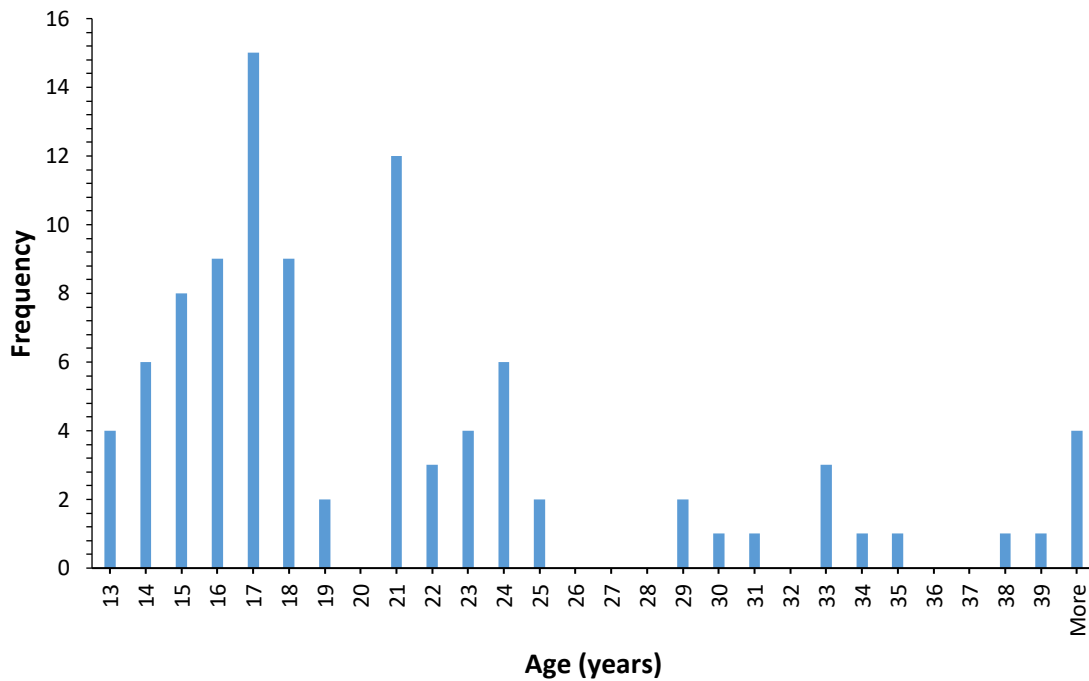


Figure 6: Frequency distribution by age for all arrestees.

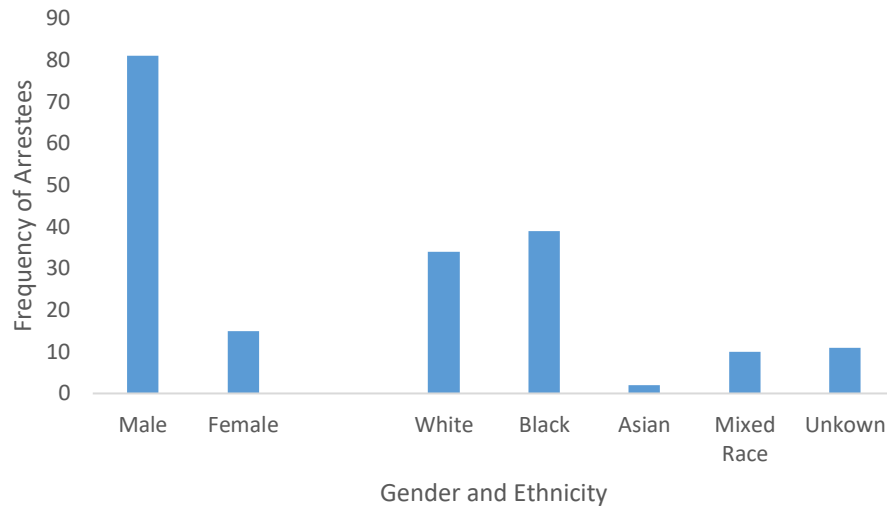


Figure 7: Gender and ethnicity demographics for all arrestees.

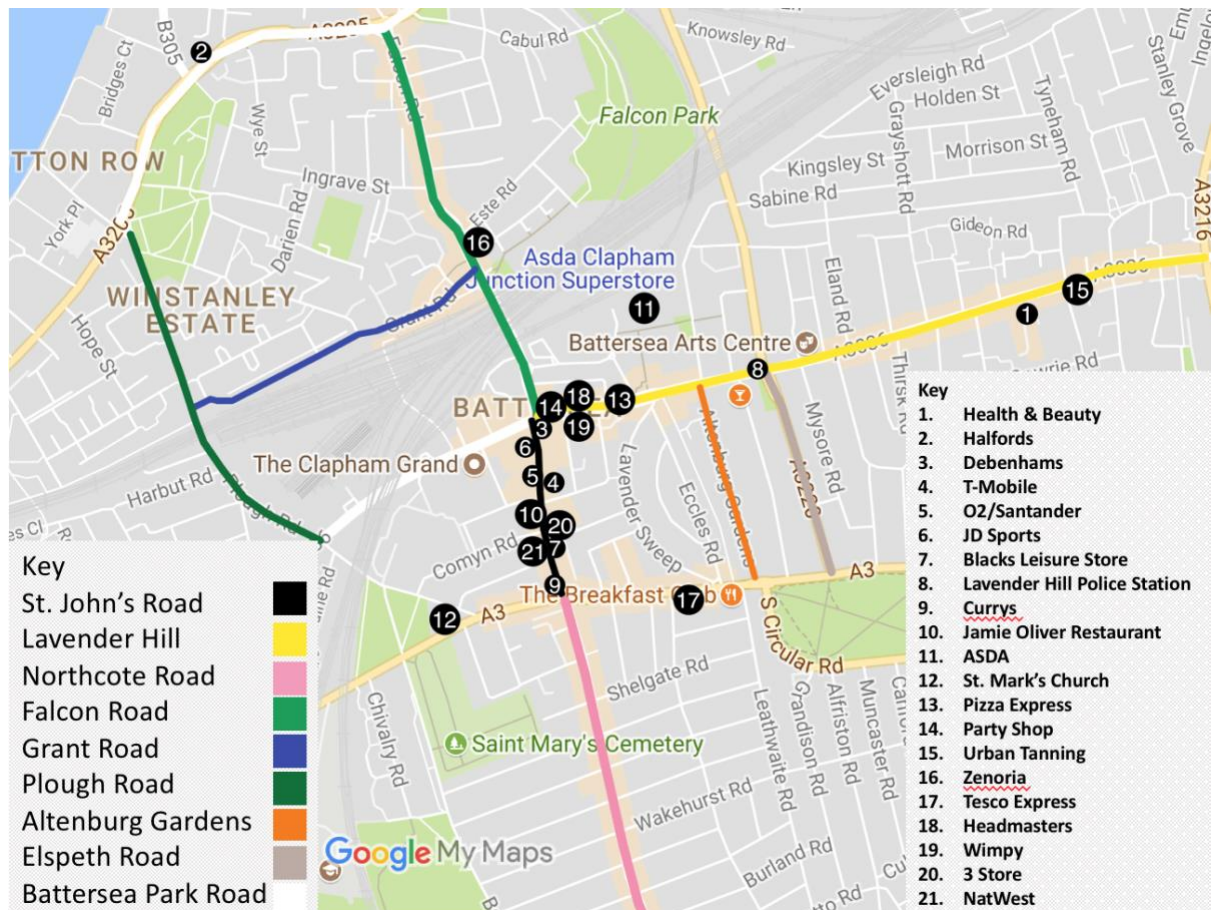


Figure 8: The main sites of disturbance in the environs of Clapham Junction.¹²

¹² Locations 18-21 shown on Figure 8 are not mentioned in the text but were indicated to have been looted or damaged during the riot. The following list gives the function of businesses and premises listed: 1. Health and beauty salon 2. Car accessories, bicycles, camping equipment 3. Department store 4. Mobile phone shop 5. Mobile phone shop/building society 6. Sports footwear and shoes 7. Outdoor clothing and camping 8. Lavender

Initial Disturbances

The first signs of the spread of disturbances into the London borough of Wandsworth occurred during the evening of Sunday 7th August. Eight shops were attacked and a group of 30 to 40 young people forced entry to an amusement arcade in Tooting (4 miles, 6.5 km to the south of Clapham Junction).¹³ The first indication of disturbances in the vicinity of Clapham Junction came in the early hours of the following morning. Between 01.00 and 02.00 the MPS received reports that Coral, a bookmaker, on Clapham High Street¹⁴ had been looted. This was followed by groups vandalising and breaking into shops on Clapham High Street and St John's Road in the vicinity of Clapham Junction (see Figure 2).¹⁵ From around 03.30 there were reports that hand grenades were to be used against police, but these threats never manifested themselves.¹⁶ Thus, it appears that there were some incidents in the early hours of Monday 8th August, but these did not escalate into a major disturbance. From this point on the key events occurred close to Clapham Junction itself on St John's Road and Lavender Hill.

Emergence

Around noon on Monday 8th August and for the next five hours, there were social media reports of potential riots to occur at Clapham Junction¹⁷ which led to multiple reports from shopkeepers and members of the public calling 999.¹⁸ For instance, a participant recorded in the RtR transcripts reported receiving a Blackberry Message in the early afternoon telling them where to meet and at what time.¹⁹ By 16.00, some shops and other businesses decided to close early.²⁰ However, no disturbances actually occurred during the afternoon.

At 17:00 a multi-agency Gold meeting was held,²¹ where the information was described as "scrappy".²² However, an eye-witness claimed the following day that "...we knew they were going to hit. I was in my salon when a brick came through the window...".²³ The MPS crime data contains an entry that describes a brick being thrown through the window of the "Health and Beauty" salon on Lavender Hill at 17:30 (see Figure 8, Location 1).²⁴ In terms of police resources, like most districts, Wandsworth had been required to send officers to support

Hill Police Station 9. Electrical goods 10. Restaurant 11. Supermarket 12. Church 13. Fast food restaurant 14. Party accessories and goods 15. Tanning salon 16. Clothes shop 17. Small convenience supermarket 18. Hairdresser 19. Fast food restaurant 20. Mobile phone shop 21. Bank.

¹³ (Kinghan, 2011 p. 5).

¹⁴ Clapham High Street is roughly 2 miles, 3.2 km east of Clapham Junction.

¹⁵ (MPS, 2017, ID: 350, ID: 2, ID: 370; @laurenxwatson, 2011).

¹⁶ (MPS, 2012, p. 84).

¹⁷ Other potential targets were Tooting, Balham, Putney (ref. Kinghan, 2011, p. 9) and Southside Shopping Centre, Wandsworth town centre.

¹⁸ (e.g., @Ladyshipyasmin, 2011; MPS, 2012, p. 84).

¹⁹ (The Guardian & LSE, 2011, transcript LON041011081).

²⁰ (Kinghan, 2011, p. 8).

²¹ "Gold" meetings are given this name by public sector plans for civil emergencies and are so called because they consider the highest level strategic issues. Gold group meetings are attended by the people in charge of public services to plan for or respond to emergencies. [http://www.college.police.uk/What-we-do/Learning/Professional-Training/Command/Pages/Multi-Agency-Gold-Incident-Command-\(MAGIC\)-Training.aspx](http://www.college.police.uk/What-we-do/Learning/Professional-Training/Command/Pages/Multi-Agency-Gold-Incident-Command-(MAGIC)-Training.aspx)

²² (Kinghan, 2011, p. 6; MPS, 2011, p. 84).

²³ (Davies, 2011).

²⁴ (MPS, 2017, ID: 79).

other areas. At 18.00 there were 51 officers in the borough posted at locations where potential disorder was predicted.²⁵

Winstanley Estate – The Catalyst?

Just before 19.30, groups of youths were reported to be gathering at the Winstanley Estate and immediate area (see Figure 8).²⁶ It appears that the police response so far had been general, with a tweet from someone spotting a helicopter in the sky at this time.²⁷ However, the situation escalated “at an alarming rate”.²⁸ A civilian reported that 12 youths with petrol cans, and their faces covered, were gathered on the grass at Grant Road/Falcon Road (which border the estate) and shortly afterwards, on responding to this call, police found a group of 50-60 youths present (see Figure 8).²⁹ They subsequently armed themselves with bricks and bottles, moving into the Winstanley Estate. One sergeant and seven constables, the only Level 2 officers available, were deployed towards the estate.³⁰ Officers without protective equipment gathered at a rendezvous point on the junction of Grant Road and Falcon Road (see Figure 8).³¹

From 19.40 to 20.00 a group of 60-100 youths attacked the police and their vehicles with sticks, bricks and bottles, with reports of smoke grenades now being thrown.³² The Level 2 officers managed to disperse some of the crowd.³³ At this time a member of the public called the police stating that they thought the youths were baiting officers onto the Winstanley Estate. CCTV shows them using bins to create roadblocks and a request was made by the Acting Borough Commander for additional Level 2 officers.³⁴ Meanwhile, some youths were reported leaving the area and heading towards Battersea Park Road, on the other side of the estate, with 30-40 people smashing the windows of Halfords bike shop nearby, stealing an unknown quantity of bicycles. Two were arrested by police (see Figure 8, Location 1).³⁵ Shortly after, masked youths on bikes were reported cycling towards Clapham Junction.³⁶

Meanwhile, just before 20.00 the disorder on the estate started to move towards the main shopping areas on St Johns Road and Lavender Hill. Sixty to seventy youths robbed a shop on Plough Road, a local housing office vehicle was attacked on nearby Wynter Street and 20 youths smashed a shop window on the estate (see Figure 8).³⁷ Police were slow to respond

²⁵ (MPS, 2012; p. 84).

²⁶ (MPS, 2012, p. 82, 85; Kinghan, 2011, p. 6).

²⁷ (@RelicDelic, 2011).

²⁸ (MPS, 2012, p.85)

²⁹ (MPS, 2012, p. 85). Kinghan (2011, p.8) reports youths throwing bottles at cars on Falcon Road, which could be achieved at the junction with Grant Road.

³⁰ Level 1 trained officers are full time public order trained officers and members of the Territorial Support Group. Level 2 officers receive training every six months and deal with public order issues on a part-time basis, alongside normal police work. Level 3 officers have basic public order training.

³¹ (MPS, 2012, p. 82).

³² (MPS, 2012, p. 82, 85; Kinghan, 2011, p. 6; The Guardian & LSE, 2011, transcripts LON061011086, LON061011084 and LON2410110834).

³³ (MPS, 2012, p. 85).

³⁴ (MPS, 2012, p. 85).

³⁵ (MPS, 2012, p. 82, 85; MPS, 2017, ID: 11).

³⁶ (MPS, p. 85).

³⁷ (MPS, 2012, p. 82, 85; Kinghan, 2011, p. 6; MPS, 2017, ID: 86; The Guardian & LSE, 2011, transcript LON061011086).

to the looting on Plough Road and the Winstanley Estate because of commitments elsewhere.³⁸ At around 19.50 a tweet reported that the police were now stopping all buses from coming into Clapham Junction.³⁹

Wider Escalation and Police Withdrawal

Just after 20.00, 35 youths were seen putting on masks outside at the Falcon Pub on Falcon Road at the junction between St. John's Road and Lavender Hill (see Figure 8).⁴⁰

It was now apparent that there were multiple groups, varying in numbers, who were able to mobilise quickly and that local officers were wholly outnumbered.⁴¹

Finally, at 20:10, police could no longer withstand the sustained attacks on the Winstanley Estate and Plough Road and withdrew.⁴² This actually seems to be the point where the disorder escalated on to the main thoroughfares.

Between 20.30 and 20.45 a group of youths broke into Debenhams department store, a process that was to take some time; and the T-Mobile and O2 phone shops were broken into (see Figure 8, Locations 4 and 5).⁴³ During the break-in at Debenhams, a group of eight Level 2 police officers turned up with riot shields and there was a series of advances, attacks and withdrawals against 50-60 youths.⁴⁴ The evidence suggests that as only one riot-trained group of officers was available in the district that these were the same ones who were dealing with the disorder on the Winstanley Estate. The events started with a certain degree of nervousness.

When I first got there I see max about a hundred people just wandering around, every one stood at there each station, just posted up there, not doing anything, everyone minding their own business, small police presence, maybe a couple of cars, couple on foot, and then I say within twenty minutes of me being there suddenly within 2 minutes like 100s of people flying out side roads from every direction and overwhelmed within a couple of seconds and the police wasn't even ... and that was it, just everyone for themselves, complete anarchy, do whatever you want, warriors, and just that...⁴⁵

The disturbances escalated along St John's Road in a continuing pattern of attacks and withdrawals between police and "rioters".

The action then moved along St John's Road and at its height dozens of youths were smashing their way into almost every shop, using fire extinguishers and rubbish bins, and probably 100s were then dragging stuff out.⁴⁶

³⁸ (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary, 2011, p. 116; MPS, 2012, p. 85; James, 2011).

³⁹ (@danhardaker, 2011).

⁴⁰ (MPS, 2012, p. 85; The Guardian & LSE, 2011, transcript LON0610111303).

⁴¹ (MPS, 2012, p. 85).

⁴² (MPS, 2012, p. 82; The Guardian & LSE, 2011, transcripts LON061011086, LON11101101 and LON0710111904).

⁴³ (Kingham, 2011, p. 7; Clements, 2011; MPS, 2017, ID: 139; see Hewitt, 2011).

⁴⁴ (Clements, 2011).

⁴⁵ (The Guardian & LSE, 2011, transcript LON11101101).

⁴⁶ (HRI, 2011).

As dusk descended,⁴⁷ pockets of disorder were being reported in a variety of locations making police coordination almost impossible.⁴⁸ It should be borne in mind that, due to the size of some of the stores, quantity of stock and the security of the windows, break-ins and looting occurred over a period of time.

The RtR transcripts suggest a strong anti-police motivation to the disturbances, but there was likewise a “free shopping” impetus, also referred to as “criminal opportunism”.⁴⁹

It was a lot to do with the police but a lot of people just saw it as free. As getting free stuff. It was quick and easy. And not a lot of people have money these days so they just see loads of people getting free things and then a lot of people just went out that don't have money. Just got what they needed and they didn't have to pay. Just free. So, yeah, that's what I saw a lot of people there for as well.⁵⁰

The nearness of the locations to where some of the participants lived was illustrated by the number of people going to and from home with looted goods.

I went to Junction came back here, I made about three, four trips in all just back and forward and with more people and some less people, people going and coming it was just crazy, like every single person I could ever of seen in my life just my age was there, everyone there was loads of people.⁵¹

Youths were breaking into JD Sports⁵² and at around 20:45 two police units approached Debenhams, where a group of 200 males had smashed the windows (see Figure 8, Locations 3 and 6).⁵³ Looting was in progress as police came under attack, with one of their vehicles being damaged in the process. The O2 store and Blacks Leisure were also broken into and a member of the public was reportedly hit by a brick trying to fight them (see Figure 8, Locations 5 and 7).⁵⁴ Meanwhile, a group armed with bricks and stones headed down Lavender Hill towards St John's Road.⁵⁵ By around 21.00 the crowd reportedly consisted of 250 looters, swelling to 300, some of whom possibly possessed knives, at which point there were just 13 public order trained officers and two dog units performing a series of advances and withdrawals in order to protect businesses and residents.⁵⁶ A petrol bomb was thrown, injuring a police officer. The public order officers and dog units became isolated after performing a series of advances and withdrawals.⁵⁷ A supervisor radioed in:

⁴⁷ Sunset was 20.39 and street lighting up time 21.06.

⁴⁸ (MPS, 2012, p. 86)

⁴⁹ (Kinghan, 2011, p. 19).

⁵⁰ (The Guardian & LSE, 2011, transcript LON041011081).

⁵¹ (The Guardian & LSE, 2011, transcript LON0710110810).

⁵² Kinghan, 2011, p 7, reports this at 21.56, but there is video footage showing some daylight which indicates this being earlier. Also, it is opposite Debenhams, so it is unlikely to have been left until so late.

⁵³ (Kinghan, 2011, p. 7; MPS, 2012, p. 82, 86; Clements, 2011; arrdextra, 2011a, 2011b).

⁵⁴ (MPS, 2012, p. 82, 86).

⁵⁵ (Kinghan, 2011, p. 7).

⁵⁶ (MPS, 2012, p. 82, 86; Kinghan, 2011, p. 7, 24; The Guardian & LSE, 2011, transcript LON041011081). Contradiction with Kinghan (2011, p. 10) who states just one sergeant and seven constables, Level 2. Also, Kinghan reports CCTV footage with just eight officers outside Debenhams, (2011, p. 7).

⁵⁷ (MPS, 2012, p. 82, 86; The Guardian & LSE, 2011, transcripts LON061011083 and LON0710110813).

We cannot get out. Large group at junction of Falcon Road. Unable to withdraw.
We are under attack ... we can't withdraw ... it's not safe to withdraw.⁵⁸

The superintendent requested Territorial Support Group (TSG)⁵⁹ assistance but it became apparent that no additional resources were available; thus they were instructed to withdraw to the rendezvous point (RVP) at Lavender Hill police station which eventually they were able to do.⁶⁰

Police Withdrawal – Empowerment?

Aside from about seven police remaining outside Clapham Junction station, there was just the small number of public order trained officers who were obviously outnumbered.⁶¹ The police were instructed to withdraw from the area and pulled back from St John's Road towards Northcote Road.⁶² This was upon learning that not only were there a large group of rioters approaching from Lavender Hill, but vehicles being readied to drive at them at Elspeth Road, near the RVP at Lavender Hill police station.⁶³ Level 3 officers were moved to a second RVP further down Elspeth Road at Clapham Common Northside and subsequently sent to Earlsfield Police Station for safety.⁶⁴

Police were absent for an hour and a half from 21.08 to 22.38. Much of the looting occurred during this absence as the electronic shop Currys and sportswear shop Foot Locker further down St John's Road were attacked, followed by the Jamie Oliver restaurant and Asda (see Figure 8, Locations 9, 10 and 11).⁶⁵ Many of the participants described a feeling of excitement, even community spirit:

Kids came out of Debenhams with trolley-loads of looted items. There was a carnival atmosphere amongst the looters, as people realised that the "feds" had fled, other than a group of about seven police who were standing two minutes' walk away outside Clapham Junction rail station.⁶⁶

Basically, imagine a road yeah, it's kind of dark now. There was cars filling, people filling up their cars. People holding up shutters for people. People still smashing windows when it's dark. People running in the roads with goods filled up in their arms. Erm, people going into TK Maxx, getting suitcases and filling up suitcases. People using everything that was around to just fill up with things really.⁶⁷

Residents on nearby streets saw people deposit goods in gardens and elsewhere, including the churchyard of St Mark's Church, and then return for more.⁶⁸

⁵⁸ (MPS, 2011, p. 86).

⁵⁹ This unit provides the MPS Strategic Reserve for public disorder and critical incident response.

⁶⁰ (HRI, 2011).

⁶¹ (HRI, 2011).

⁶² (see Figure 8).

⁶³ (see Figure 8).

⁶⁴ (MPS, 2012, p. 86).

⁶⁵ (Kingham, 2011, p. 7; MarkStoneSkyNews, 2011a).

⁶⁶ (HRI, 2011).

⁶⁷ (The Guardian & LSE, 2011, transcript LON041011081).

⁶⁸ (Kingham, 2011, p. 13).

With police withdrawal, 450 rioters were now reportedly in the area.⁶⁹ However, this was not perceived by the participants as just a “free shopping” exercise. There was undoubtedly a feeling of power, of taking control of the streets.

A lot of people were just not because they had hate for the police, but just the opportunity for them to rebel because obviously normally it's me getting stopped and searched and harassed every day, but I got the power they had the power, you can't do nothing, you can only sit there and look at me, because you come anywhere close to me 500 angry people are probably gonna ran at you, I'm not saying they're gonna kill you, but in obviously the mayhem and confusion everyone's trying to get a quick punch in or something, you know it was everyone's day to get their own back I'd say. I'd say a lot of people are angry, but it's more of a thing of, today's the day that I'm untouchable.⁷⁰

It was just excitement, fun. Just the opportunity to be in something that will be remembered throughout history.⁷¹

Also, there were a large number of spectators generally walking around amid the riot, watching the action and taking pictures with their phones.⁷²

During the police absence, at around 21.15, Pizza Express on Lavender Hill was broken into and the staff and some customers decided to lock themselves in a back office. Despite making emergency calls they were informed there were no police to assist (see Figure 8, Location 13).⁷³ Due to the growing disorder, British Transport Police were requested to disperse members of the public away from Clapham Junction station for safety.⁷⁴ At 21:30 CCTV footage showed that rioters outside Pizza Express had dispersed enough for officers to advise those trapped to escape.⁷⁵ At this time, rioters placed barriers across St John's Road near the Party Shop (see Figure 8, Location 14).⁷⁶

Initially, it had been thought by the press and authorities that gangs were behind an organised attempt at criminal activity.⁷⁷ However, a consistent observation by the participants was that there was an unofficial “truce” that night.

There was nothing like, gangs that actually hated each other and they was just together, like beef stopped basically. Like, fights and everything just stopped. It was like there was a few little robberies of people trying to rob each other but otherwise beef stopped that night. Everyone was on each other's side against the police.⁷⁸

⁶⁹ (Kingham, 2011).

⁷⁰ (The Guardian & LSE, 2011, transcript LON111011101).

⁷¹ (The Guardian & LSE, 2011, transcript LON061011084).

⁷² (Kingham, 2011, p. 7).

⁷³ (MPS, 2012, p. 82, 86; Kingham, 2011, p. 7).

⁷⁴ (MPS, 2012, p. 82, 87).

⁷⁵ (MPS, 2012, p. 86).

⁷⁶ (Kingham, 2011, p. 7).

⁷⁷ (Kingham, 2011, p. 37; de Castella, 2011; Samuel, 2011).

⁷⁸ (The Guardian & LSE, 2011, transcript LON041011081).

At 21.57, 75 public order officers, at Level 2, and a Bronze commander⁷⁹ were deployed, “conducting shield advances”, arriving at Lavender Hill police station for briefing.⁸⁰ However, it appears that they didn’t arrive at the disturbances for a while, as a video shot at 22:00 showed looters still running in and out of Currys with no police officers in sight.⁸¹

At 22:20, there was an altercation where a member of the public appeared to be stopping youths from entering JD Sports which resulted in the youths shooting a fire extinguisher in the person’s face.⁸² From 22:30 Urban Tanning on Lavender Hill was broken into and a large quantity of hair products were stolen (see Figure 8, Location 15).⁸³

Police Return

At 22:35 three Police Support Unit (PSU) carriers were spotted on their way to Clapham Junction.⁸⁴ A superintendent described the difficulty encountered in controlling the crowd:

When I arrived we ended up driving straight through a large, frenzied mob of around 450 that were actively looting Debenhams and the whole of St John’s Street. We were then joined by one TSG public order and started to clear St John’s Street [sic] to stop the looting, but with only one unit the rioters simply looped around us and back into the street.⁸⁵

With reinforcements, police were then able to move back into St John’s Road at 22.37, using several shield advances.⁸⁶ Cordons were lifted and crowds were dispersed by 20-25 officers outside Currys, as arrests were made.⁸⁷ At this point three police carriers arrived on St Johns Road.⁸⁸ A large crowd of spectators gathered behind the police lines, many filming and photographing with phones, cheering and shouting “shame on you” and “scum” at the looters.⁸⁹

A sense of class division was apparent at the scenes around Currys and the Northcote Road end. A blogger at the location reported:

At the more gentrified end of St John’s Road, where the bars serve the upper-middle class, a few hundred of the rugby crowd stood, most in stunned disbelief, a few booing. Finally at around 20:50 [sic] three police vans turned up and a cheer went up: “Kill them, beat them up, the scum”.⁹⁰

⁷⁹ The bronze commander is responsible for the command of a group of resources, as identified by the silver commander. Number and roles determined by size of incident.

<https://www.app.college.police.uk/app-content/operations/command-and-control/command-structures/>

⁸⁰ (MPS, 2012, p. 82, 87; Kinghan, 2011, p. 7).

⁸¹ (MarkStoneSkyNews, 2011b; see also Cabinet Office, 2011, p. 18; Kinghan, 2011, p. 26).

⁸² (steviesteviesteviec, 2011; MPS, 2017, ID: 146).

⁸³ (MPS, 2017, ID: 77).

⁸⁴ (@thebluewalrus, 2011; Kinghan, 2011, p. 7).

⁸⁵ (MPS, 2012, p. 88).

⁸⁶ (MPS, 2012, p. 87; titian410, 2011).

⁸⁷ (Kinghan, 2011, p. 7; skynewsyourvideos, 2011).

⁸⁸ (HRI, 2011).

⁸⁹ (Kinghan, 2011, p. 7; skynewsyourvideos, 2011).

⁹⁰ (HRI, 2011).

A participant informed a researcher:

Q: Where did you go to?

A: Clapham Junction station...and I was there on St John's Hill [sic] at first when the police had arrived just after an hour and a half and there was a line of residents from [Northcote Road] onwards, which everyone [refers to as] Nappy Valley where you got all the richest...Yeah all the richest women pushing their prams whilst their husbands go and work in banks or whatever...couple of cars, possibly a scooter and a bike, a big fucking million pound house, shopping in Waitrose and M&S only...you know...I think...and those people were clapping like they formed a line of three/four deep, all armed with camera phones, and then you know, they were clapping away while there's kids from the other side of the street who they haven't taken the time to speak to. If they had, they would've realise these are decent people, but some of these people had broken into Dixons [sic] and as they were coming out the front of Dixons, the police arrived, started whacking the kids with batons. Now I noticed a couple of the kids were black and those two black kids got severe beatings from the police. And the people were still clapping while they were getting beaten.⁹¹

An interesting question is why, given that there was a sense of antagonism towards people perceived as being "rich", the disturbances were contained within two short streets when high value goods could be targeted nearby? A researcher, who asked a participant why people did not venture into Northcote Road, offers one interpretation:

He looked at me as if I was mad before explaining that the Northcote Road was a totally different world to Clapham Junction proper. Those up-market, boutique stores catered to a different demographic and, consequentially, it is experienced as a radically different space, despite being a continuation of the same street. The rioters were staking a claim to the places in which they lived.⁹²

It is also apparent that at the end of Northcote Road, while police were absent, people who had been eating and drinking in bars and restaurants, along with some local residents, formed something of an ad hoc barrier between them and St John's Road (see Figure 8).⁹³

Shortly after the police returned, three looters, one brandishing a hammer, pushed a police officer.⁹⁴ A tweet indicated that a helicopter was flying around above Clapham Junction.⁹⁵ By 23:00 arrests had been made outside both Currys and Debenhams, dispersing the crowds, allowing the police to re-establish their cordons.⁹⁶ And by 23.15 Lavender Hill was quietening and police were described as bringing the area under control.⁹⁷

It appears that although arrests were made and the crowds were being dispersed, some of the disorder may have changed nature. For example, at 23:10 a terracotta box was thrown

⁹¹ (The Guardian & LSE, 2011, transcript LON2510110836).

⁹² (Tiratelli, 2018, p. 74).

⁹³ (Kinghan, 2011, p. 13).

⁹⁴ (MPS, 2017, ID: 126; Kinghan, 2011, p. 7).

⁹⁵ (@galihmelon, 2011; see Lewis, 2011).

⁹⁶ (MPS, 2012, p. 82, 87; jimmygaynor, 2011; Alwo, 2011).

⁹⁷ (Hough, 2011; Kinghan, 2011, p. 7).

through the front window of a house.⁹⁸ Similarly, a crowd of youths were reported to have broken into someone's building through the front door at the same time.⁹⁹ Also, at 23:30 some people pulled up the shutters for the clothes shop Zenoria on Falcon Road and stole a large amount of goods (see Figure 8, Location 16).¹⁰⁰ However, these were sporadic incidents.

Party Shop Fire and End of Night

Although the situation was calmer, there were still a lot of people milling around.¹⁰¹ Just before midnight an inspector reported a fire at the Party Shop on Lavender Hill (see Figure 8, Location 14).¹⁰² Police attempted to put it out with fire extinguishers; however, the fire was so fierce that residents living above were evacuated. The fire brigade arrived at 00.10. Police reports suggest that the Party Shop was broken into to steal masks in order to conceal the identity of those engaged in subsequent looting.¹⁰³ However, some eye-witnesses claimed that when some of the looters saw the "gas cylinders" in the shop they decided to set a fire.¹⁰⁴

As Monday turned into Tuesday, the looting at Asda appears to have escalated with 20-30 youths breaking in using bins and trolleys (see Figure 8, Location 11).¹⁰⁵ Between midnight and half past seven armoured police carriers (TSG units, commonly referred to as Jankels¹⁰⁶) arrived to clear the streets that were still populated with some looters.¹⁰⁷ The Jankels drove slowly down Lavender Hill, spaced out, two abreast, with a number of Level 2 police officers advancing and withdrawing between the gaps.¹⁰⁸ At other times, Jankels were crowded together, still moving slowly, three or two abreast with Level 2 officers walking beside them.¹⁰⁹ The streets were described as "relatively clear" by half past, with Jankels and Level 3 officers deployed to manage crime scenes.¹¹⁰ However, Kinghan noted in the Wandsworth Council Report:

By that time, most of the looters had left the area, and the 75 level 2 trained officers had regained control of the streets. The armoured vehicles made their way down Lavender Hill accompanied by Police with riot shields. They stopped before they reached the junction with St. John's Road. These vehicles were clearly intimidating to the people still on the street at the time and may well have deterred those who caused trouble earlier in the evening. By the time they arrived, it is not clear that their presence was any longer needed.¹¹¹

At 00:30 there were rumours of the police debating whether to use rubber bullets.¹¹²

⁹⁸ (MPS, 2017, ID: 132).

⁹⁹ (MPS, 2017, ID: 47).

¹⁰⁰ (MPS, 2017, ID: 54).

¹⁰¹ (Kinghan, 2011, p. 7).

¹⁰² (eo384363, 2011; Raw Cut Archive, 2015; Vachkov, 2011; Jennings, 2012; HRI, 2011).

¹⁰³ (MPS, 2017, ID: 12, 3703).

¹⁰⁴ (Vachkov, 2011 [0:57]).

¹⁰⁵ (MPS, 2017, ID: 71).

¹⁰⁶ Thirteen Jankel Guardian armoured vehicles were supplied from 2002-2007 to the Metropolitan Police for counter-terrorism operations (*Special feature: War and terror change the face of '999' fleets*, 2003; Jankel, n.d.).

¹⁰⁷ (MPS, 2012, p. 82; Kinghan, 2011, p. 7; MrPrash888, 2011).

¹⁰⁸ (titian410, 2011).

¹⁰⁹ (MrPrash888, 2011).

¹¹⁰ (MPS, 2012, p. 82, 87; Morgan, 2011).

¹¹¹ (Kinghan, 2011, p. 26).

¹¹² (Cabinet Office, 2011, p. 18; James, 2011).

There were a few more incidents, such as an attempt to break into the front entrance of Tesco Express just off St Johns Road (see Figure 8, Location 17)¹¹³ and at 01:15 the front door of William Hill bookmakers near Clapham High Street was smashed by two people (see Figure 2).¹¹⁴ Due to road closures and cordons, the MPS report claimed that by 01:30 “calm was fully restored.”¹¹⁵ However, there are various reports of unrest at this time further away on Clapham High Street, such as a group breaking into Nando’s restaurant and attempting to loot items. A large group were also reportedly looting Blockbuster on Clapham High Street (see Figure 2).¹¹⁶ These incidents are likely to have been recorded at the same time that “calm was fully restored” because this is the point when the police were able to make a note of the incidents, but nevertheless by 02:00 there were just a few small pockets of disorder spread over the area.¹¹⁷ Later, at around 03:30 one of the pumps at a petrol station was purposefully set alight.¹¹⁸ Meanwhile, just after 03:00, eight fire engines and 40 firefighters were reported at the Party Shop¹¹⁹ and by 3:20 the fire was extinguished.¹²⁰

From 19:00 on Monday 8th August to 8:00 on Tuesday 9th August, there were over 600 recorded incidents, with over 1000 “linked” calls (i.e., that the police were already aware of).¹²¹ No-one was seriously injured during the disturbances, but many people were extremely frightened in the cafes and restaurants.¹²² Ninety shops and businesses were attacked.¹²³ Many shop owners and businesses felt abandoned by police. However, the conclusion of the independent inquiry was that if the more inexperienced Level 3 officers had been sent in, there was the risk of a much more violent encounter with the police and looters, the first priority being to preserve human life.¹²⁴

Clean-up

The first tweet suggesting a clean-up (to start at 9:00) was posted at 06:52.¹²⁵ At 08:00 on Tuesday 9th August, local residents began arriving to clean-up, both from Twitter conversations and spontaneously.¹²⁶ At 08:30 a crisis management team meeting was held.¹²⁷ At 14:30 London Mayor Boris Johnson and Home Secretary Theresa May arrived to observe the scene,¹²⁸ which by this time the clean-up crowd contained around 400 people.¹²⁹ Boris

¹¹³ (MPS, 2017, ID: 16).

¹¹⁴ (MPS, 2017, ID: 269).

¹¹⁵ (MPS, 2012, p. 87; titian410, 2011).

¹¹⁶ (MPS, 2017, ID: 300).

¹¹⁷ (Cabinet Office, 2011, p. 18; James, 2011). 01.00-03.00 Varying reports across Putney, Southside, Balham and Tooting of disorder, fires or looting. Units deployed to each area and no further disorder reported or observed (Kinghan, 2011 p. 7)

¹¹⁸ (MPS, 2017, ID: 296).

¹¹⁹ (BBC News, 2011).

¹²⁰ (Kinghan, 2011, p. 7).

¹²¹ (MPS, 2012, p. 88).

¹²² (Kinghan, 2011, p. 13).

¹²³ (Kinghan, 2011, p. 13).

¹²⁴ (Kinghan, 2011, p. 26).

¹²⁵ (@Crofty, 2011).

¹²⁶ (Kinghan, 2011, p. 15).

¹²⁷ (Kinghan, 2011, p. 17).

¹²⁸ (Kinghan, 2011, p. 17).

¹²⁹ (Kinghan, 2011, p. 15).

Johnson addressed the crowd, and was aggressively heckled by members of the crowd complaining about the lack of police during the rioting.¹³⁰

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