DAY 1, SAT. 6 AUGUST

1. WHEN/WHERE?
   - (THURS. 4 AUG. POLICE KILL MARK DUGGAN)
   - 5 PM: TOTTENHAM POLICE STATION PROTEST
   - 8 PM: TOTTENHAM HIGH RD. RIOTS BEGIN
   - 2.30 AM: RIOTS SPREAD LOCALLY

2. WHAT?
   - CLASHES WITH POLICE
   - BURNING: CARS, POLICE CARS, SHOPS
   - LOOTING: LOCAL & CHAINS

3. WHO?
   - MOSTLY YOUNG MEN; RACIALLY MIXED
   - 300 TOTTENHAM; 100 WOOD GREEN
   - NB: BYSTANDERS AND OPPOSITION
DAY 2, SUN. 7 AUGUST

1. WHEN/WHERE?
   • 4 PM - EARLY HOURS
   • N, NE AND S. LONDON

2. WHAT?
   • ‘CAT AND MOUSE’ WITH POLICE
   • FIGHTING (BRIXTON) & LOOTING
   • HURLING MISSILES AT POLICE

3. WHO?
   • ENFIELD: MOSTLY WHITE MALES
   • YOUNGER?
   • 200 ENFIELD; 200 BRIXTON
DAY 3, MON. 8 AUGUST

1. WHEN/WHERE?
   • LATE AFTERNOON - EARLY HOURS
   • N, E, S & W LONDON
   • ELSEWHERE: BIRMINGHAM; LIVERPOOL

2. WHAT?
   • LONDON’S WORST VIOLENCE
   • CLASHES WITH POLICE (PETROL BOMBS)
   • BURNING AND LOOTING
   • PERSONAL ATTACKS (INCL. SHOOTING)

3. WHO?
   • MOSTLY YOUNG MEN; RACIALLY MIXED
   • WOMEN?
   • NB: SHOPKEEPER FIGHTBACK
DAY 4, TUES. 9 AUGUST

1. WHEN/WHERE?
   • LONDON CALM
   • CLEAN UP BEGINS
   • ATTEMPTED VIGILANTISM
   • MANCHESTER, WEST MIDS., NOTTINGHAM, LEEDS, BRISTOL, GLOUCESTER

2. WHAT?
   • ‘SPORADIC BUT LONG RUNNING’
   • CLASHES WITH POLICE
   • LOOTING & SOME BURNING
   • FIREBOMBING A POLICE STATION
   • TARGETING ETHNIC SHOPS?
   • HIT-AND-RUN KILLING, BIRMINGHAM

3. WHO?
   • AS BEFORE
MORAL PANICS

‘Societies appear to be subject, every now and then, to periods of moral panic. A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible. Sometimes the object of the panic is quite novel and at other times is something which has been in existence long enough, but suddenly appears in the limelight. Sometimes the panic passes over and is forgotten, except in folk-lore and collective memory; at other times it has more serious and long-lasting repercussions and might produce such changes as those in legal and social policy or even in the way the society conceives itself.’

A MORAL PANIC?

1972: ‘MUGGING’ MORAL PANIC
1976: NOTTING HILL CARNIVAL CLASHES
1977: LEWISHAM NATIONAL FRONT MARCH
1979: SOUTTHALL
1980/81: BRISTOL, BRIXTON, TOXTETH, ETC. RIOTS
1985: BROADWATER FARM, BRIXTON, HANDSWORTH RIOTS
1991: LONDON (POLL TAX), CARDIFF, OXFORD, Tyneside RIOTS
1993: STEPHEN LAWRENCE MURDER
1995: BRADFORD, ETC. RIOTS
2001: BURNLEY, BRADFORD, OLDHAM RIOTS
2005: LONDON BOMBINGS

[‘SYMBOLIC LOCATIONS’ AND BLACK CRIME, CHRONIC YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT, NEW ‘STOP/SEARCH’ POWERS’, BLACK ‘OVER-REPRESENTATION IN CJ STATS.]
SO, WHAT WAS NEW?

1. ‘TIMID’ POLICING?

2. SOCIAL MEDIA AS ORGANISER/INCITER?

3. NEW RIOT AREAS?

4. A NEW RIOTER PROFILE?

5. NEW RIOTING BEHAVIOUR: SHOPPING RIOTS?

6. HUNTING THE RIOTERS: A NEW VINDICTIVENESS?

7. COMMUNITY FIGHT-BACKS?
EXPLAINING THE RIOTS: WARNING VOICES

‘Attempts to establish a definitive reason for what happened last week inevitably implode under the weight of their own dogma.’
(Gary Younge, The Guardian, 15 August 2011, p. 25)

‘Offering up a single explanation for the violence and looting that began in one London borough on Saturday and has since spread as far as Birmingham and Salford must be a nonsense.’

‘No one should underestimate the difficulty of explaining why some simmering street situations turn into full-on riots and others don’t…Nor why copycat riots take place in this city rather than that one.’
(Martin Kettle, The Guardian, 12 August, 2011, p. 33)
ELEMENTS OF A DYNAMIC, PROCESSUAL EXPLANATION

1. ORIGINS

‘As the violence unfolded in Tottenham, it appeared to be following a familiar pattern. A young black man is killed by the police. The “community” protests. Violence ensues.’
(Hari Kunzru, The Guardian, 13 August, 2011, p. 38)

‘The sequence of events in Tottenham at the weekend has many echoes of the Toxteth riots in Liverpool of 1981, as well as unrest in Tottenham itself in 1985 and other incidents of unrest that decade: a local flashpoint in a deprived urban area, the rapid escalation of a local protest into mayhem as others pile into the area - and long summer nights.’
(Maev Kennedy, The Guardian, 8 August, 2011, p. 6)
2. THE VIOLENCE SPREADS LOCALLY

3.45 am: ‘“Murderers”, shouted one man clutching a stereo as a police van drove past on Lordship Lane at around 3.45 am.
   Nearby a group of young men emerged from Haringey and Enfield magistrates court wielding hammers.
   They had shunned the temptation of looting stores to break seven windows in the courthouse.’

4 am: ‘North-west of…[Tottenham] high road, youths in military-style balaclavas and wielding sticks made burning barricades, attacking motorists who approached shops being looted.’

(The Guardian, 8 August, 2011, p. 3)
3. DAY 2: ‘CAT-AND-MOUSE’

‘Many teenagers showed off the same Blackberry Messenger (BBM) alert passed round on Sunday, telling people to meet at Enfield train station at 4pm. “Everyone I know got that BBM…,” said Alice…”It told you to pass it to all your contacts.”

Her friend, Alixe, also 17, did what the message asked. “There was a load of people at the station from 4pm, waiting around for a couple of hours.”’

(The Guardian, 9 August, 2011, p. 6)

‘What happened in Enfield and neighbouring suburbs on Sunday was not a riot. There was looting, but the mood was calmer: it felt pre-mediated’

(The Guardian, 9 August, 2011, p. 4)
4. DAY 3: VIOLENCE SPREADS LONDON-WIDE AND NATIONALLY

• Various motivations, different levels of commitment

“I wish I was in Manchester”, he said, “They did it properly there. Here [in Toxteth] it was just burning cars but there was no looting or nothing.”
(14 year old boy quoted in The Guardian, 11 August, 2011, p. 4)

‘But families and other local residents, including some from Tottenham’s Hasidic Jewish community, also gathered to watch and jeer at the police.’
(first night of the riots, The Guardian, 8 August, 2011, p. 3)
• Identification

‘In some senses the rioting has been unifying a cross-section of deprived young men who identify with each other…’
(Jay Kast, 24 year old youth worker from East Ham, The Guardian, 10 August, 2011, p. 6)

• Opportunity

“‘If you’re down for making money, we’re about to go hard in East London, tonight…Doesn’t matter if the police arrive ‘cos we’ll just chase dem out because…they are NOT ON DIS TING.’”
(BBM Broadcast quoted in The Guardian, 9 August, 2011, p. 7)
• Group dynamics: belonging and ‘de-individuation’ (Jack Levin)
CONTEXTUAL FEATURES

• Anger

“Why do you think everything’s going on? Because we fucking hate you.””
(young woman speaking to police, The Guardian, 9 August, 2011, p. 4)

“Police patrol these streets every night of the week and we only get to riot every few years…They can’t come here laying down the law like they do all year round. People are rioting because the riot is finally here.””
(25-year-old from Toxteth, quoted in The Guardian, 11 August, 2011, p. 4)

• Boredom

• Disaffection
OR...WHAT? NO PAST AND NO FUTURE

‘In the absence of any community leadership, viable social movements or memory of collective struggle, the most these political orphans could hope to achieve was private acquisition and social chaos.’

‘On Sunday BBM users were urged to head to Oxford Circus for “pure terror and havoc & free stuff.”’
(The Guardian, 9 August, 2011, p. 7)
‘This week, copycat looting has again shifted attention from the core problems within black communities: poverty, disaffection, police harassment, educational underachievement, family breakdown…

Over the last three decades we’ve allowed ourselves to be fooled that, with greater integration, plus a few black faces in sport and entertainment, things have improved…this is not 1981. In many ways its worse.’

(Joseph Harker, former editor of Black Briton, quoted in The Guardian, 12 August, 2011, p. 32)
AFTER THE RIOTS?

‘[T]he dead end of globalisation looms clearly before Europe and America’s youth: little chance of stable employment, or even affordable education.’

(Pankaj Mishra writing in The Guardian, 26 August, 2011, p. 34)

The primary consequences [of the riots] will be greater authoritarianism, more police powers and an emboldened far right.’

(Gary Younge writing in The Guardian, 15 August, 2011, p. 25)