

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).

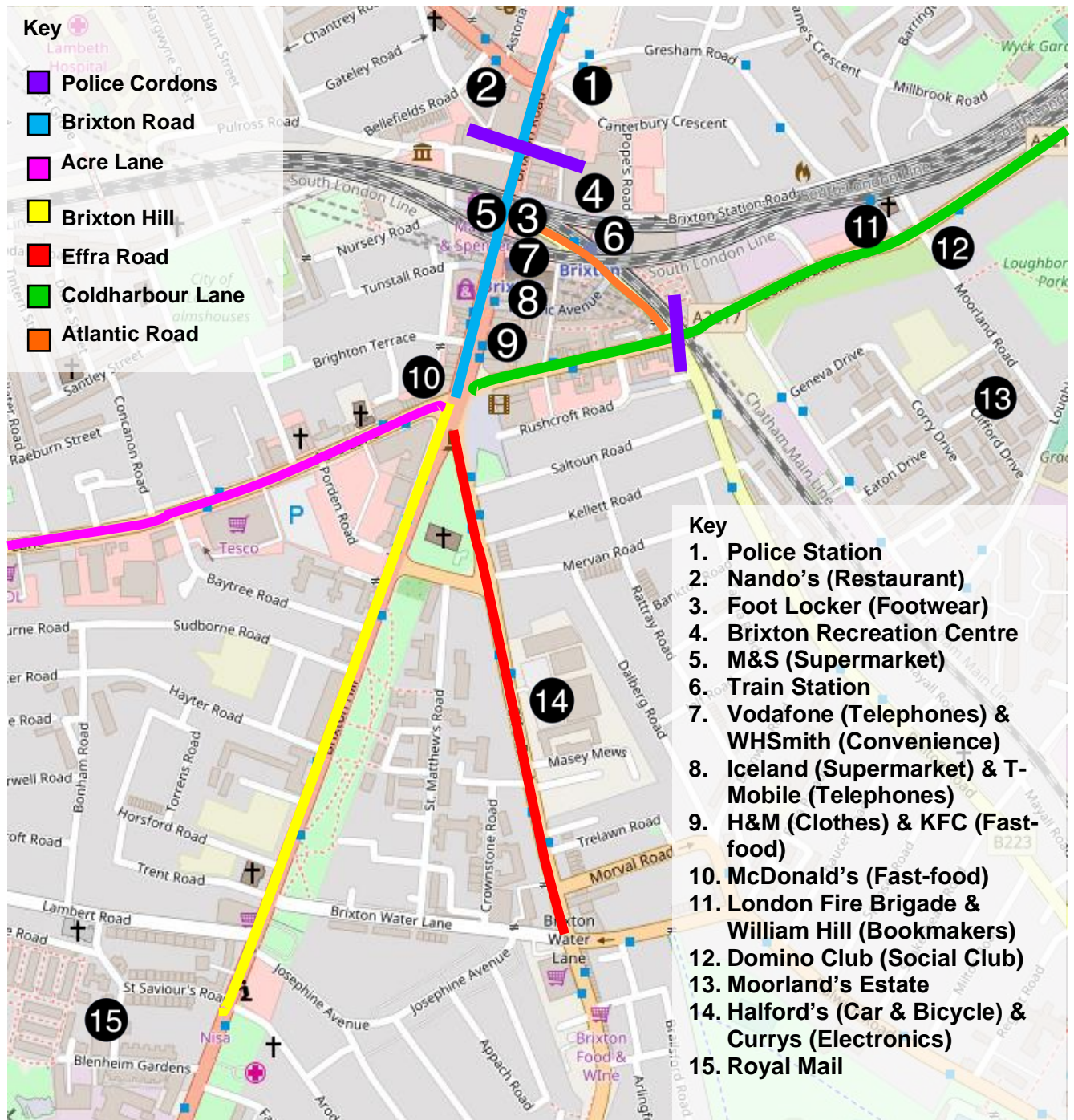


Figure 2: Map of disturbances in Brixton district, 6th-9th August 2011

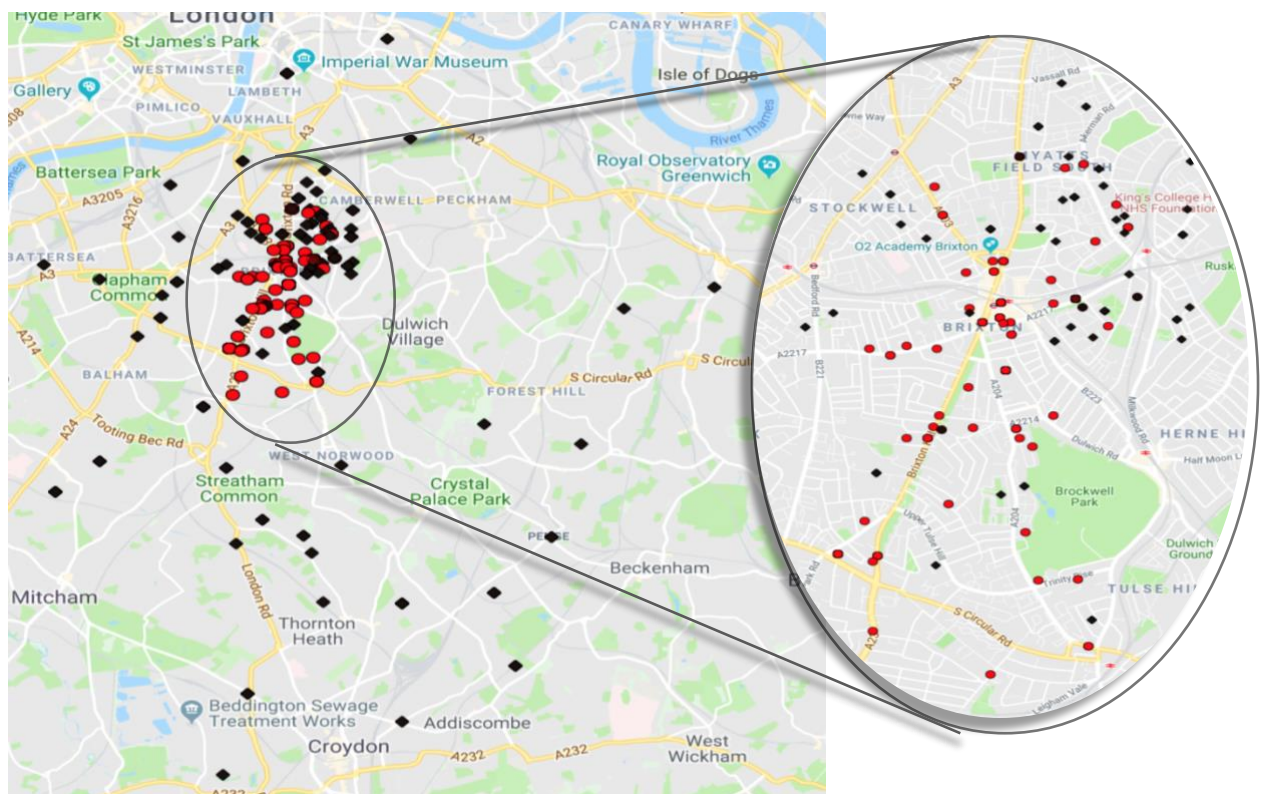
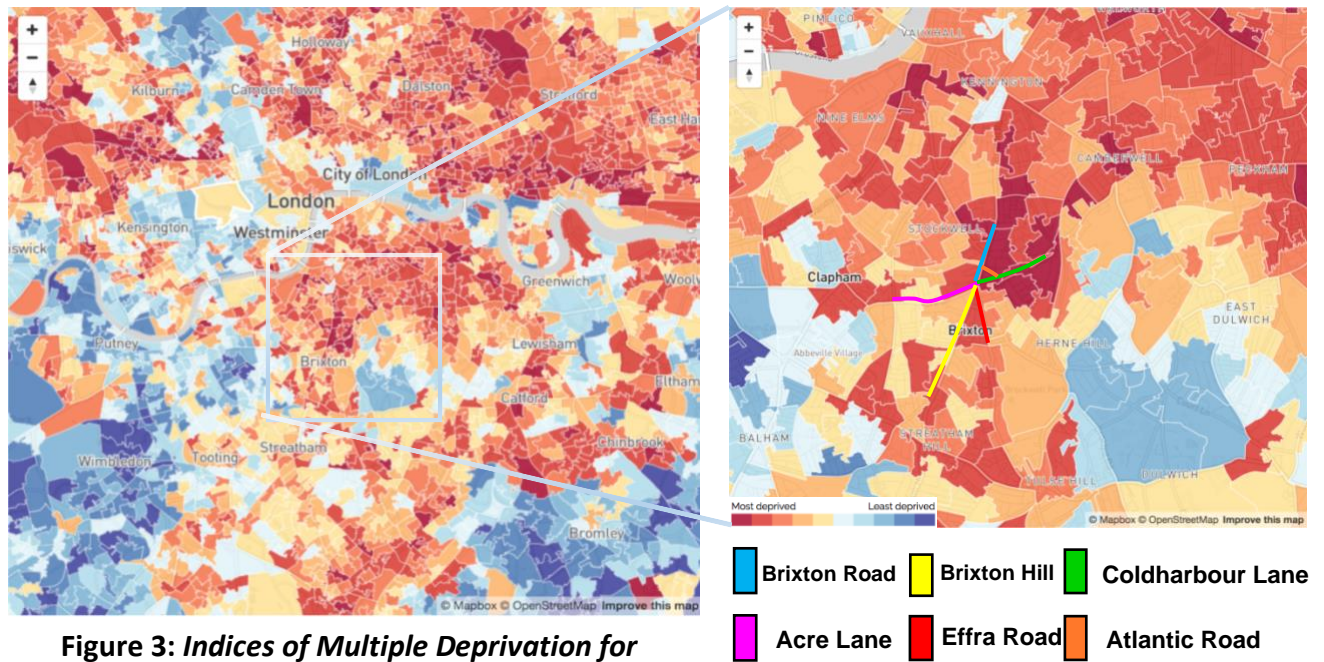


Figure 5: Frequency of distances (Km) between residential location of an arrestee and location of disorder related offence (in London postal districts SW2 and SW9) or the centre of the August 2011 disturbances in Brixton, estimated to be SW2 4DB.

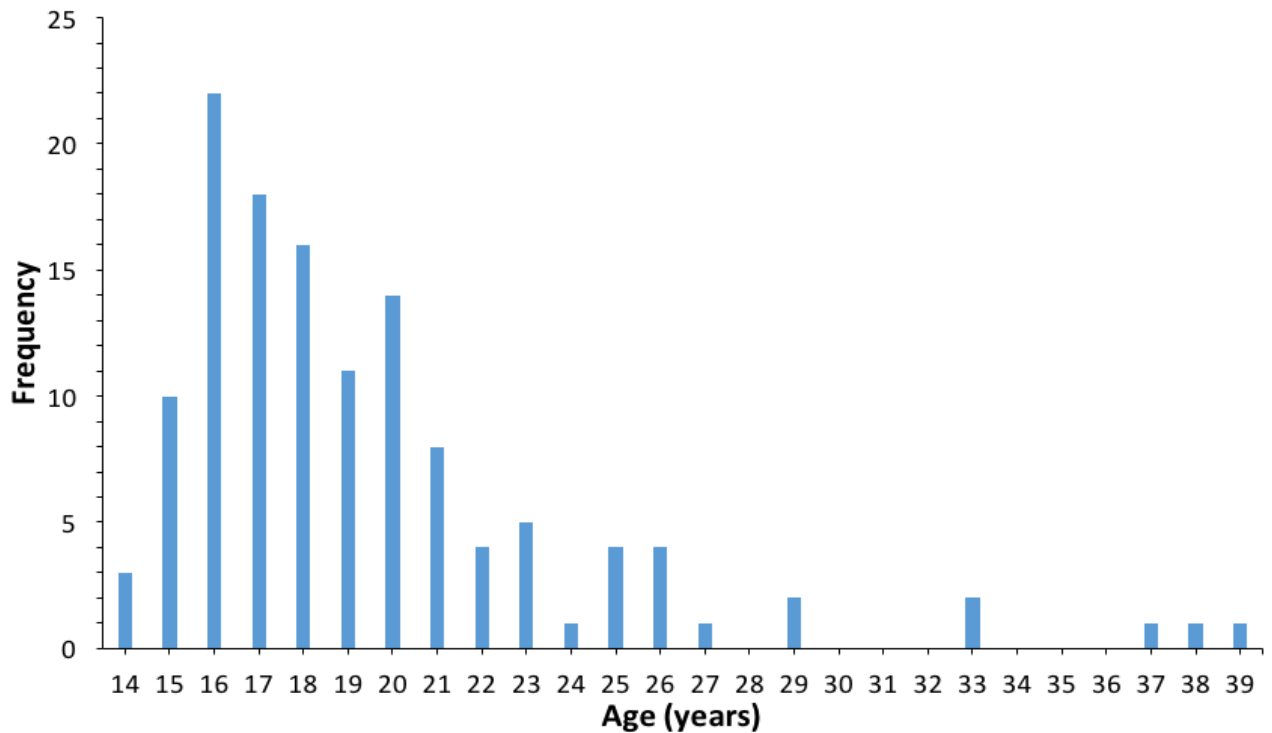
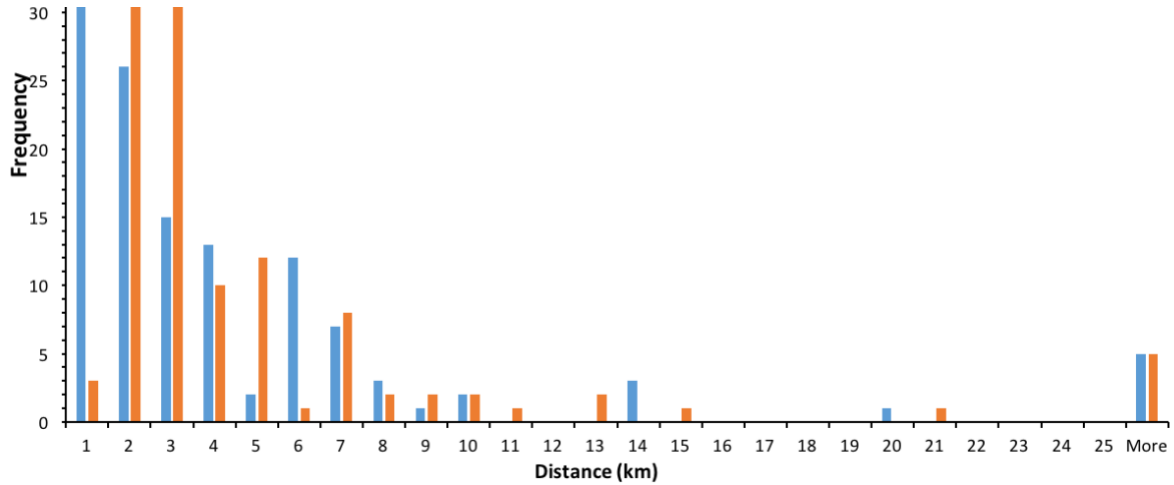


Figure 6: Distribution of ages of arrestees from Brixton disturbances 7th-10th August 2011

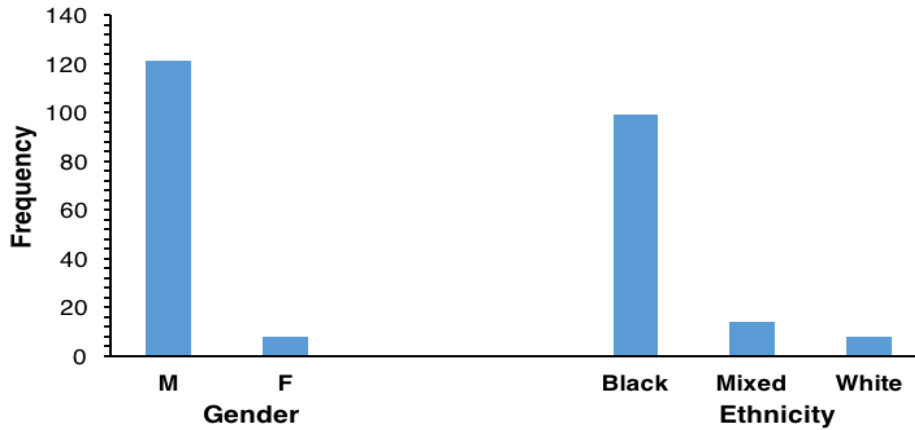


Figure 7: Frequency of gender and (self-classed) ethnicities of arrestees in SW2/SW9 6th-9th August

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.

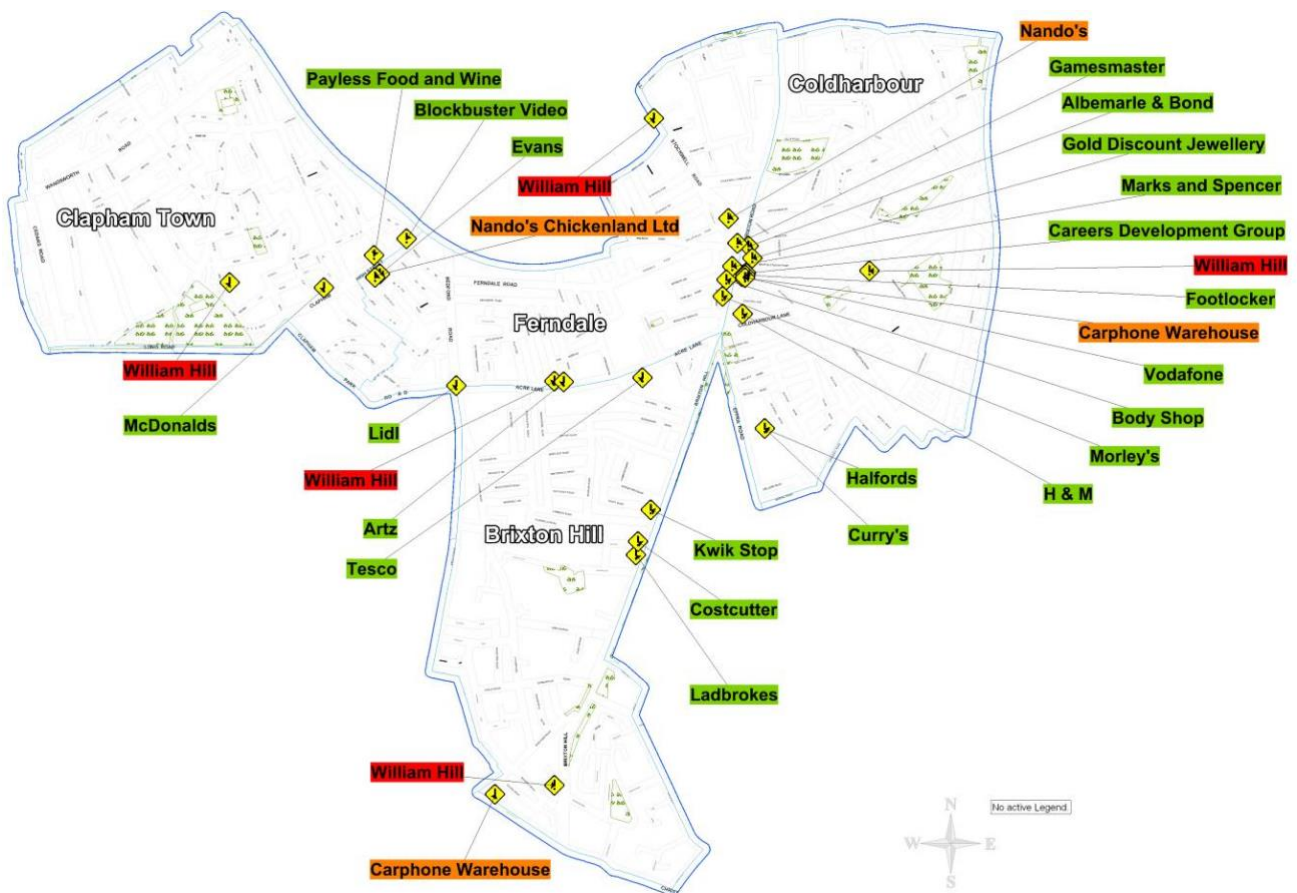


Figure 8: Affected premises in the four wards in Lambeth with the highest crime rates and property damage during the 2011 disturbances. Reprinted from Lambeth Council (2011).

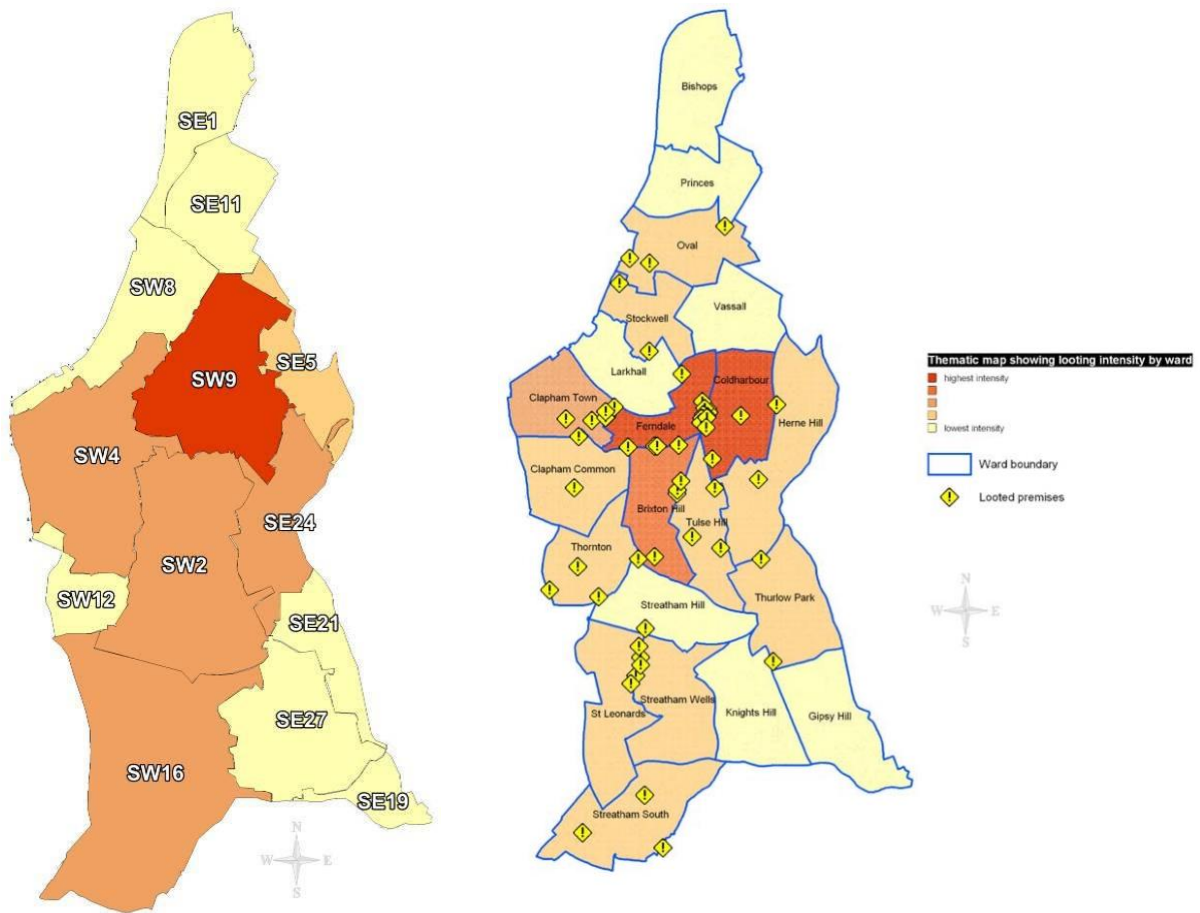


Figure 9: Amount of home locations of arrestees by postcode (left) and amount of damaged or looted properties (right) in Lambeth during the 2011 disturbances. Red depicts a higher number, and yellow a lower number. Reprinted from Lambeth Council (2011).

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 Splasshhhhh”
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.	@EmmaJInnes	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"

No.	User	Date	Time	Comment
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 Curry's #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 continues 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 theres a riot after party tomorrow 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"

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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/kk2aadepj"
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"

Other Sources

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