

Full triangulated account for the 2011 riots in Salford and Manchester

Beyond Contagion

www.sussex.ac.uk/beyondcontagion

Roger Ball¹

Linda Bell¹

Clifford Stott²

John Drury¹

Dermot Barr¹

Fergus Neville³

Steve reicher³

¹ School of Psychology, University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton, BN1 9RH

² School of Psychology, Keele University, Newcastle, Staffordshire, ST5 5BG

³ School of Psychology and Neuroscience, University of St Andrews, Fife, Scotland, KY16 9AJ

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work was supported by a grant from the Economic and Social Research Council (grant number ES/N01068X/1) to John Drury, Stephen Reicher, and Clifford Stott. We would like to thank the following people: Tim Newburn for access to the Guardian/LSE 'Reading the Riots' interview dataset; Rob Procter and Hamish Lacmane for access to and assistance with the Twitter data; and Evans Ndiema and Cassie Lowery for assistance in developing the triangulated accounts.

The Salford and Manchester City Centre 'riots'

Tuesday 9th - Wednesday 10th August, 2011

Contents

List of Figures	2
List of abbreviations	3
1. Methodology	4
2. Data Sources	4
3. Analysis	6
Introduction	6
Summary	9
The Salford disturbances: Tuesday 9 th – Wednesday 10 th August, 2011	11
Precursors to the Salford disturbances	11
14:00-16:00 – Minor incidents lead to the arrival of large numbers of police	12
16:00-17:00 – “Cat and mouse” scenario leading to serious confrontation.	14
17:00-18:00 – Police units depart, looting takes place on Salford Precinct, BBC camera operator attacked.	16
18:00-19:00 – Police return, Housing Office and BBC vehicles set on fire, fluid situation with confrontations along Hankinson Way and Fitzwarren Street.	17
19:00-20:00 – Crowds increase around the Precinct, at Lidl and Fitzwarren Street, severe confrontation on Fitzwarren Street leads to police withdrawal for officers’ safety.	19
20:00-21:30 – Lidl looted and set on fire, another car set on fire, shops on Precinct looted, party atmosphere ensues.	20
21:30 - Early hours Wednesday 10 th – skirmishes until a severe confrontation between rioters and police at the Precinct, fires on Brydon Close.....	22
Manchester City Centre disturbances: Tuesday 9 th – Wednesday 10 th August, 2011	23
Precursors to the disturbance in Manchester	23
15:00-16:00 – Police presence in Piccadilly Gardens, youths gather.....	23
17:00-17:30 – Early stages. Public hide in Marks & Spencer, Arndale centre broken into.	24
17:30-18:00 – Looting and riotous behaviour starts simultaneously in Deansgate, Exchange Street, New Cathedral Street and Market Street/Arndale.	26
18:00-19:00 - Disorder in Piccadilly Gardens, police disperse crowds, rioting escalates in Market Street, disturbances along Deansgate, bus and tram services suspended.....	27

19:00-19:30 (1) – Police appeal for calm as a fire is started at Miss Selfridge, Market Street locked down with people instructed to disperse or “batons will be drawn”, looting and criminal damage in more exclusive streets.	29
19:00-19:30 (2) – Looting in Piccadilly Gardens	30
19:30-20:00 – GMP initiate plans to create sterile areas, crowds disperse in different directions including Northern Quarter, Portland Street, Oxford Road and Canal Street, looting continues in Exchange Theatre area.	31
20:00-21:00 - Spectators departing, leaving rioters and police in “furious cat and mouse” scenario, looting continues in Exchange Theatre and St Ann’s Square areas, Sainsbury’s in Deansgate looted, criminal damage spreads, some perpetrators head towards Piccadilly Station.	32
21:00-21:45 – Police take control around Deansgate and protect ‘high-end’ shops, significant looting continues in Northern Quarter, some disorder in Piccadilly Gardens before cleared by police as many surrounding streets in city centre cordoned off.....	33
21:45-00:00 – Northern Quarter still scene of looting, perpetrators leave city centre causing disorder en route, once area secured police move people out “slowly but surely”	34
Appendix 1: Disorder related arrestees in Greater Manchester	36
Appendix 2: Disorder-related crime typology in August 2011.....	37
4. References	38
<i>The Guardian</i> - London School of Economics “Reading the Riots” transcripts	38
Interviews	38
Twitter data	39
Other sources.....	46

List of Figures

Figure 1: Proximity of Salford and Manchester City Centre	7
Figure 2: Salford Precinct and environs.....	13
Figure 3: Manchester City Centre.....	25
Figure 4: Map of home addresses of 197 people charged with riot-related offences at Manchester City Magistrates Court up until 23 August 2011, plotted against levels of deprivation (IMD score) by Super Output Areas.	36
Figure 5: Table of arrestees from Greater Manchester and IMD decile for their area of residence who were charged and sentenced for disorder related offences in August 2011. 37	
Figure 6: Disorder related crime by local authority area, by type of crime for major incidents in August 2011.	37

List of abbreviations

BBC British Broadcasting Corporation

GMP Greater Manchester Police

MCC Manchester City Council

MP Member of Parliament

PPE Public Order Personal Protective Equipment

PSU Police Support Unit

RtR 'Reading the Riots' [*The Guardian* & London School of Economics]

TAU Tactical Aid Unit

1. Methodology

This paper analyses two major disturbances in Greater Manchester which occurred on Tuesday, 9th and Wednesday 10th August 2011. Our methodological approach mirrors that of the examination by Stott et al. of the 2011 disorders in Tottenham and Hackney.¹ This method essentially entails triangulating timings and locations of events using academic literature, social media, mainstream media, eyewitness and participant accounts, videos, timelines and photographs from various organisations both independent and institutional. Along with assessing the quality of our sources, the quantity and diversity of information allowed us a greater level of confidence and specificity in our account of the events.

Relevant references to the Greater Manchester disturbances were collected in a Master References 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 86 events in Manchester and 52 events in Salford. Timeline entries were triangulated 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 of 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 produced in the aftermath of the August 2011 ‘riots’ revealed two doctoral dissertations, 30 journal articles and nine reports containing significant references to the Salford and Manchester disturbances. In particular, the article *The Riots Were Where the Police Were* provided an in-depth analysis of the Salford events using eye-witness interviews with residents, spectators and police officers, as well as a review of journalistic accounts.² Also, the National Centre for Social Research produced a report into youth involvement in the riots which provided useful statistics and timeline.³ This study has also significantly benefited from the doctoral thesis *Robust Policing and Defiant Identities: A Social Identity Study of the Greater Manchester Riots 2011* from the University of Manchester, which examined the same events as this account.⁴ We purposely deferred a reading of this thesis until a draft of the current document was complete in order to avoid undue bias and to allow comparison of the independent accounts by the respective authors.⁵ The narratives broadly agreed and the inclusion of additional data from this particular thesis has enhanced the triangulation in the current study.

The authors would like to thank BBC North West for privileged access to audio files of Radio Manchester’s output of over 12 hours of live broadcast. As well as eye-witness testimony

¹ (Stott, Drury & Reicher, 2016).

² (Jeffrey & Tufail, 2014).

³ (Morrell, McNeish & Webster, 2011).

⁴ (Barr, 2018).

⁵ This was achieved in meetings with the author of the thesis, Dermot Barr, to whom we owe our thanks.

from members of the public calling the radio station, BBC journalists were posted at different locations in Salford and Manchester and provided contemporaneous, reliable accounts of many of the events as they were happening.⁶ This was an invaluable resource. Demographic and other statistical information has been summarised and incorporated into this account from the literature searches highlighted above, plus useful arrestee and location data from the journal article *Let's get real about the 'riots': Exploring the relationship between deprivation and the English summer disturbances of 2011*.⁷

Timelines and narrative descriptions from online blogs and other media outlets provided other important sources of data for this account. Sixteen significant articles were sourced from both local and national newspapers. In particular local newspaper the *Manchester Evening News* provided useful photographic and video information as well as reportage. The online newspaper/blog *Mancunian Matters* provided an invaluable summary timeline, plus individual live blogs from reporters situated around Manchester city centre. Similarly, the *Salford Star* provided contemporaneous editorial content for the Salford disturbances as well as useful photographic evidence.

The online news and social networking service Twitter was searched for posts containing the words "Manchester", "Salford" and "Riot" for the period in question, as well as specific key words to triangulate timings of events. This liberated 433 Tweets (205 Salford, 228 Manchester). Another 126 tweets were selected from the *Twitter Harvesting Dashboard* produced specifically for this research project which samples from a database of 2.6 million 'riot-related' tweets collected during the August 2011 disturbances by *The Guardian* & London School of Economics '*Reading the Riots*' (RtR) project.⁸ From these, 85 tweets were selected for referencing in this account. These provided a rolling timeline constructed from crowd-sourced, time-stamped eye-witness testimony, albeit one that required cautious analysis.⁹ The video-sharing website YouTube and other sources were used to locate 74 videos relating to the case study, the majority of which were real-time footage of riot events, post-event news reports and interviews.¹⁰

Interviews conducted by the RtR project shortly after the events provided the majority of participant testimony, with 32 eye-witness descriptions of the Greater Manchester riots. Of these, 12 accounts of the disturbances in Manchester City Centre and six of Salford were directly employed in this narrative.¹¹ These provided details of incidents and perspectives not gained through other sources, although they were often lacking in specificity regarding the time and location of events. A project researcher also conducted seven interviews during field trips to Manchester and Salford; four with BBC North West personnel on duty

⁶ BBC Radio Manchester timings were accurate to +/- 15 seconds.

⁷ (Lightowlers, 2015).

⁸ (*Twitter Harvesting Dashboard*, 2018).

⁹ The most significant use of Twitter was for increasing the accuracy of the timing of each event. Although a time lag was inevitable, tweets were invaluable in gauging that an event had taken place before a given time.

¹⁰ A playlist of 72 of these videos is available at the YouTube channel, Beyond Contagion (2016), Manchester Case Study: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCLKsjFC5HBgnDTE7R2HFTiw/playlists>.

¹¹ (The Guardian/LSE, 2011). In this account transcripts are prefixed by MAN (Manchester) and SAL (Salford) followed by a unique reference code and in some cases denoted line numbers.

immediately prior and during the riots and three eyewitnesses. Observational data was also gathered on the geography of the respective areas.

Finally, after the completion of the initial draft of the timeline and narrative account the researchers had a meeting with the GMP Silver Commander during the period of the disturbances in August 2011. This was extremely useful in providing us with a detailed post-hoc timeline of events and policy decisions made in the GMP Silver Control Room at Sedgley Park.¹²

3. Analysis

Introduction

As a result of the controversial killing of Mark Duggan by a Metropolitan Police Service firearms team on Thursday 4th August, 2011 in Tottenham Hale in North London, rioting and looting broke out in the borough of Haringey. This followed a protest at Tottenham Police Station on Saturday 6th August against the unsatisfactory police response to events. Anti-police violence, property damage and looting spread across London over Sunday 7th and Monday 8th August. Disturbances subsequently occurred in major cities outside of London, including in the West Midlands, Nottingham and Liverpool over Monday 8th and Tuesday 9th August.

On the afternoon of Tuesday 9th, in the Greater Manchester area, disturbances commenced in Salford, and approximately an hour and a half later in central Manchester, continuing late into the night. Greater Manchester was the scene of some of the most intense disorder over that period.¹³ More than 1,000 officers were deployed, with the Greater Manchester Police force (GMP) called to 800 incidents in Manchester city centre and around 130 in Salford. At least ten police officers were injured and Greater Manchester Fire Service reported 155 fires. It was estimated that the disturbances in central Manchester alone involved approximately 2,000 people.¹⁴

In terms of the demographics of the participants arrested, ethnically, most were white (94 per cent in Salford, 69 per cent in Manchester).¹⁵ Most of the arrestees, though spanning a wide range of ages, were predominantly young, working class, males¹⁶ and most came from areas of higher deprivation.¹⁷ Seventy per cent of arrestees lived in the 30 per cent most deprived postcodes (See Appendix 1). The average age was 23 years with almost 1 in 5 arrestees under 18. For 68 per cent of the arrestees, this was not their first offence. Just over half of those arrested in Manchester city centre lived just outside the centre itself; the highest numbers lived in the wards of Miles Platting, Newton Heath, Moss Side, Harpurhey

¹² This source (a set of PPT slides and accompanying notes) is referenced as GMP (2011b) *Operation Valant: Disorder in Greater Manchester Tuesday 9th August 2011*.

¹³ (Newburn, Cooper, Deacon, & Diski, 2015).

¹⁴ (Jeffrey & Tufail, 2014).

¹⁵ (Barr, 2018).

¹⁶ (Jeffrey & Tufail, 2014).

¹⁷ (Lightowlers, 2015).

and Hulme.¹⁸ Although there is no reason to suppose the demographic information is not broadly correct, it should be treated with some caution, given the data is based purely on arrestees.¹⁹



Figure 1: Proximity of Salford and Manchester City Centre

Putting the two cities into context, technically Salford is a metropolitan borough in Greater Manchester.²⁰ However, adjacent though they are, Salford is a city in itself with its own distinct identity, separated from Manchester by the River Irwell (see Figure 1). Although there is a certain degree of competitiveness, the people of the two cities regard each other more as siblings with a sense of friendly rivalry, the arch-enemy, as can be seen in football enmities, being the nearby city of Liverpool.²¹ Economically Manchester and Salford are different, with parts of the latter being significantly poorer.²² Over the past thirty years, new builds of gated communities in Salford serving ‘young professionals’, who mostly work in Manchester, have emerged as part of a regeneration programme. Despite the investment, this gentrification process has not particularly benefited an indigenous, predominantly

¹⁸ (Manchester City Council Report for Resolution, 2011b).

¹⁹ Ball & Drury (2012) have noted, for instance, that the high number of previous offenders can be partly attributed to police identifying people through CCTV after the event, and thus already having named photographs of those individuals.

²⁰ Lying to the west of Manchester, the city of Salford incorporates the towns of Eccles, Worsley, Swinton, Walkden and Irlam. Some areas are industrialised and densely populated; one third consists of rural open space.

²¹ (Eye witnesses 1 & 2; BBC Journalist interview 4).

²² (Jeffrey & Tufail, 2014).

white, working class population, with a child poverty level of almost 75 per cent in the area most affected by the disorder. There is a high level of resentment and criticism of the authorities towards what is perceived as an increasing polarisation between the local population and the incoming middle classes (though the 'gentrified' areas were not directly affected by the disturbances).²³

In terms of the rioting, what marked out Salford in comparison to Manchester was the hostility towards the police, with virtually all accounts attesting to a distinction between the looting of commercial premises in Manchester and the direct aggression towards the police in Salford²⁴ (see Appendix 2). A GMP officer described the historic basis for this hostility:

Certainly for our area you have got pockets of people that are very anti-police, their parents were anti-police, their grandparents were anti-police and that's just the way it is, that's the way it goes (Jade, mid 20's, police community support officer).²⁵

There were also six attacks on fire services in Salford, indicating a more negative view of authority figures in general.²⁶ Another difference between the two riots is reflected in the proportion of reported acquisitive crimes and incidents of criminal damage which were higher in Manchester than Salford²⁷ (see Appendix 2), and the smaller volume of evidence of rioters violently attacking police in Manchester city centre.²⁸ However, as Reicher and Stott (2011) observed, there can be an anti-police riot without looting, but not looting without an anti-police riot, and there is enough evidence from the RtR interviews in themselves, as well as some literature and video evidence, to attest to animosity towards the police in Manchester.²⁹ Nevertheless, there was a distinct difference in emphasis in the motivations of the participants in Manchester, and those in Salford.³⁰

There was also a difference in the pattern of crowd behaviours between the two cities. Salford was a relatively local event, contained in a small area involving people predominantly living in the vicinity, with the focus on attacking the police.³¹ Manchester was characterised by simultaneous events spread across different parts of the city centre, with the focus on looting, particularly high-end stores.³² The arrest data for central Manchester suggests the participants came from around the city centre, across the Greater

²³ (Jeffrey & Tufail, 2014; Morrell, McNeish, & Webster, 2011).

²⁴ (Clifton & Allison, 2011; *Indymedia* uk, 2011; Jeffrey & Tufail, 2014; Lightowlers, 2015; Newburn, Cooper, Deacon, & Diski, 2015). Salford has a history of anti-police resistance, e.g. Ordsall, 1992. Salford police also occupy a large building in the Langworthy ward, the epicentre of the Salford disorder.

²⁵ (Jeffery & Tufail, 2014, p. 49).

²⁶ (Barr, 2018; Jeffrey & Tufail, 2014).

²⁷ (Newburn, Cooper, Deacon, & Diski, 2015).

²⁸ (Barr, 2018).

²⁹ (Home Affairs Committee, 2010; Lightowlers, 2014; Transcripts MAN0311102312; MAN1010112303; MAN1910119901; MAN2010112405).

³⁰ (Barr, 2018; Jeffrey & Tufail, 2014).

³¹ (Jeffrey & Tufail, 2014).

³² It is interesting that, in particular, high-end stores were targeted in Manchester. Primark and Debenhams for example were left alone. See (Home Affairs Committee, 2011).

Manchester area and beyond.³³ This is to be expected because Manchester city centre was built as a predominantly commercial district, with little residential provision. People came from outside the immediate area because that is where most people live. These geographical considerations may partly explain the more cohesive response in Salford compared to the more fragmented nature of the rioting in Manchester. However, the more 'consumerist' factor in Manchester may also have meant groups of rioters were less inclined to unify in the face of a common enemy and were content to loot opportunistically in different areas around the city centre. Finally, the economic difference between the two cities was also reflected in what was actually looted:

As looters in gleaming Manchester city centre made off with £2,000 guitars, plasma TVs, and designer clothes from Liam Gallagher's Pretty Green boutique, in the neglected Salford Precinct they were taking tins of food from Lidl and second-hand televisions from Cash Converters.³⁴

Summary

After numerous predictions of 'riots' on social media, events occurred in Salford first, with some shops closing early, around 14.00 on Tuesday 9th August, as youths gathered near the shopping centre, known colloquially as 'Salford Precinct' (Figure 2).³⁵ After a report of an incident of minor disorder at the Precinct, a contingent of 7-10 vehicles from Pendleton Police Station arrived at around 15:25. Police officers sealed off the Precinct and this was followed by a 'standoff' with a gathering crowd. The Bronze Commander requested a police helicopter and public-order trained officers from the Tactical Aid Unit³⁶ (TAU) who arrived sometime after. After some sporadic stone-throwing the TAU officers were ordered to disperse a group in the Brydon Close estate and violence erupted just before 16:30. By 17.00, the number of rioters had increased to 2-300 and the clashes had intensified. A decision was taken to withdraw the public-order trained officers from the immediate vicinity and reinforcements were requested. It was at this point that looting began in Salford Precinct.

In Manchester, police gathered in Piccadilly Gardens (Figure 3), prior to a build-up of youths around 16:00. By 17:00, criminal damage and looting had erupted on Market Street, the main location of major retail stores, and other commercial thoroughfares in the city centre, which then escalated and continued until around 23:00-00:00. The key events in Manchester occurred in Piccadilly Gardens, the Arndale Centre and Market Street; high-end locations such as Exchange Square (and the area around the Exchange Theatre), St Ann's Square, Deansgate, King Street and New Cathedral Street; main thoroughfares such as Cross Street, Portland Street, Princess Street and Oxford Road, plus the artisan area of the Northern Quarter.

After setting up roadblocks around the periphery of Salford to isolate it from Manchester City Centre and to restrict travelling to the disturbance, police returned to the Precinct just

³³ (Jeffrey & Tufail, 2014; Lightowlers, 2014; Manchester City Council, 2011b).

³⁴ (Clifton & Allison, 2011).

³⁵ (Jeffrey & Tufail, 2014).

³⁶ The Tactical Aid Unit provides specialist Level 1 public-order trained officers for GMP.

after 18:00. By this stage looting had largely ceased but the crowds in the vicinity of the Precinct had grown to around 1,000 people. Despite the presence of the police nearby the local Housing Office was set alight, BBC personnel and their vehicles were assaulted and police officers and vehicles were attacked with missiles. After continual attacks of increasing ferocity, at around 19:40 the GMP withdrew their officers from the immediate vicinity on safety grounds. Shortly after a supermarket was looted by hundreds of people and set on fire and a 'party atmosphere' ensued. Looting and criminal damage continued, in spite of police reinforcements arriving at about 21:00, until around 22:00-23:00; with further intense anti-police activity erupting after 23:00, followed by small scale disorder until the early hours of Wednesday, 10th August.

By the end of the evening, in Manchester city centre, looting had occurred in major commercial outlets such as Foot Asylum, Diesel, Bang & Olufsen, Tesco Express, Pretty Green, Swarovski, 3 Mobile, Ugg, Life Clothes, Orange, Jessops, Louis Vuitton, an amusement arcade, Ladbrokes, a vintage clothing shop, Patisserie Valerie, Marks & Spencer, Afflecks, several cafés, Sainsbury's and a considerable number of Tesco Express stores and local newsagents. Miss Selfridge was set alight. This was in addition to significant amounts of criminal damage to premises, including Kendals, Selfridges and Harvey Nichols.

In Salford, three pawnbrokers, a computer repair shop, a Chinese takeaway, a newsagent and an off licence were vandalised and looted with shops in the Precinct also set alight. The local MP's office was vandalised, and a council housing office was set on fire, as were three cars, two belonging to BBC journalists. Lidl, a low cost supermarket near to the Precinct, was also looted and damaged by fire. It is difficult to estimate an exact number of participants as many people on the streets were spectators but certainly many hundreds were involved in 'rioting' and looting. Chief Constable Fahy reported that in Salford it was "a large group of people". In Manchester, Assistant Chief Constable Sweeney noted:

It was not a single mob in any one number. It was a number of groups between, I would say, 50 to 100 in strength with up to eight to 12 groups at any one time engaging in disorder ...³⁷

In Salford, police were the target when they were present. But during any absences, rioters concentrated on looting and arson. In Manchester, looting and riotous behaviour broke out simultaneously across different locations in the city centre. Once police responded to one incident, rioters would quickly disperse to continue their activities elsewhere.

A key question is, how much were the two riots related? Undoubtedly there was movement between the two cities,³⁸ with people travelling into Manchester city centre from all areas, including Salford, though it appears fewer participants travelled to Salford. However, although there are some indications, there is not enough evidence to suggest that travel between the two locations was significant enough to be a key driver of events. Also, the fact that the two events were happening simultaneously indicates that people did not abandon Salford to any great extent for the richer pickings of Manchester.

³⁷ (Home Affairs Committee, 2010).

³⁸ (Tweets 1, 2; Eye witness 3; Transcript MAN25101199061; Barr, 2018).

Another key issue is whether the disorder in Salford influenced the events in Manchester, particularly as anticipation of a riot was high in both cases. This is a difficult question. Though the news of disorder in Salford travelled quickly to Manchester via social and mainstream media, the response in the latter was acquisitive rather than a sympathetic anti-police reaction. It is possible that news of a weakened police force in Salford gave participants in Manchester the confidence to act, though there is no direct evidence of this. It is probable that the disturbances in Manchester would have happened in any case, regardless of the events in Salford.

The Salford disturbances: Tuesday 9th – Wednesday 10th August, 2011

Precursors to the Salford disturbances

Social media had been active in predicting a riot in Salford, with many postings and messages emanating from the night of Monday, 8th August.³⁹ Several tweets reported three cars being set alight on Trinity Way⁴⁰, but another tweet quoted GMP in stating that this was “an average night in Salford”.⁴¹ Phone calls started coming into the BBC North West office from about 13:00 on the day of the riots, Tuesday, 9th August, complaining of “gangs” congregating at the Precinct in Salford. GMP responded by stating that there was nothing happening.⁴² There was a great deal of misinformation in the content of some Tweets (for instance the use of an image from a previous riot) suggesting that some people wanted rioting to occur.⁴³ On the day, the mainstream media focused on Manchester and the eruption of disorder in Salford took some by surprise.⁴⁴ GMP had been prepared for the possibility of disturbances in Greater Manchester from 09:00 on Monday 8th August, when ‘Operation Valant’ was initiated with warnings, via social media, that rioters would be “robustly” dealt with.⁴⁵ After initial discussions earlier on Tuesday 9th August itself, GMP established Silver and Gold Control Centres, along with Manchester City Council (MCC) activating an Emergency Control Centre from mid-afternoon.⁴⁶ That morning the Prime Minister David Cameron called for more robust policing both in London and across the country and stated that those responsible for disorder would “feel the full force of the law”.⁴⁷

³⁹ (Tweets 3, 4, 5; Transcript MAN231011262).

⁴⁰ (Tweets 6, 7).

⁴¹ (Tweet 8).

⁴² (BBC Journalist interview 1).

⁴³ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 17:06:52). The BBC referred to the spread of ‘misinformation’ by social media several times during the disturbances.

⁴⁴ (BBC Journalists interviews 1 & 2).

⁴⁵ ‘Operation Valant’ was launched by Greater Manchester Police (GMP) to prepare for any escalation in the violence in the Greater Manchester area (HMIC, 2011; *Video*: GMP, 2011a, 2:18-2:32 [this video was posted on ‘YouTube’ by GMP as part of ‘Operation Valant’. The word “robustly” was used four times]).

⁴⁶ (HMIC, 2011; Manchester City Council, 2011a; GMP, 2011b). The Gold Commander assumes and retains overall command for the operation or incident. The Silver Commander develops commands and coordinates the overall tactical response of an operation, in accordance with the strategic objectives set by Gold (College of Policing, 2018a).

⁴⁷ (Cameron, 2011).

14:00-16:00 – Minor incidents lead to the arrival of large numbers of police

By 14:00 most of the shops in Salford Precinct⁴⁸ (Figure 2 Location 1) were closed amid rumours circulating that a riot was imminent. Youths began congregating on Brydon Close, a social housing estate near to the Precinct (Figure 2 Location 2).⁴⁹ Around this time, a window was broken at Timpson, a shoe shop in the Precinct⁵⁰, and over an hour later at 15:20, twenty children ran through the precinct knocking over bins and “grabbing stuff” from shops as they went.⁵¹ This was reported to the GMP Silver Commander as “Looting now taking place in Salford Precinct”.⁵² A few minutes later between seven and ten police vehicles with sirens wailing arrived at the Precinct from nearby Pendleton police station (Figure 2 Location 3) or the vicinity.⁵³ Police officers began to seal off the Precinct and at 15:37 a request was made for the presence of a police helicopter and from the TAU, two carriers of Level 1 public order trained officers and a dog unit. A short time after this request was made it was reported by police patrols that “nothing was happening” and some units were reported as “now leaving for Piccadilly”, a reference to the gathering of police resources in Manchester City Centre.⁵⁴ At 15:53, GMP authorised Sections 60 and 60 AA⁵⁵ to be implemented for the whole of the force area for a minimum 24 hour period.⁵⁶

⁴⁸ Officially, this area is called Salford Shopping City but is colloquially referred to as the ‘Precinct’, which is the term used in this account.

⁴⁹ The BBC reported that shops closed of their own volition (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011 17:02:01-17:02:50; Clifton & Allison, 2011; Jeffery & Tufail, 2014; *Manchester Evening News*, 2011; Morrell, McNeish & Webster, 2011).

⁵⁰ (*Manchester Evening News*, 2011; Morrell, Scott, McNeish, & Webster, 2011).

⁵¹ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 17:06:42 [Details were given to the BBC by the security office]; Tweet 37).

⁵² (GMP, 2011b; HMIC, 2011).

⁵³ *Manchester Evening News* (2011) and Morrell, Scott, McNeish, & Webster (2011) put the time at 14:30, with police dispersing “gangs” and then withdrawing. However, HMIC (2011) and Jeffrey & Tufail (2014) put the time of police arrival around 15:20-15:25. This agrees with the timeline in GMP (2011b) and Tweets 34 and 35. See also Williams (2016) who claims 15:30. Barr (2018) estimates the number of TAU carriers to be five. Photograph: Broadhurst (2014) and Jeffrey & Tufail (2014) estimate 40-50 police officers. The *Manchester Evening News* (2011) and Morrell, Scott, McNeish, & Webster (2011) report 10 TAU vehicles. See also (Video: Bazargan, 2013, 48:28-48:49). A local Chaplain recounts how there were groups of “young lads” with hoodies carrying stones but no actual rioting at this stage.

⁵⁴ (GMP, 2011b).

⁵⁵ A Section 60 allows Police Officers to stop and search people or vehicles without reasonable suspicion. A Section 60AA allows them to remove ‘disguises’ in a similar manner (College of Policing, 2011b).

⁵⁶ (Barr, 2018; HMIC, 2011; GMP, 2011b).

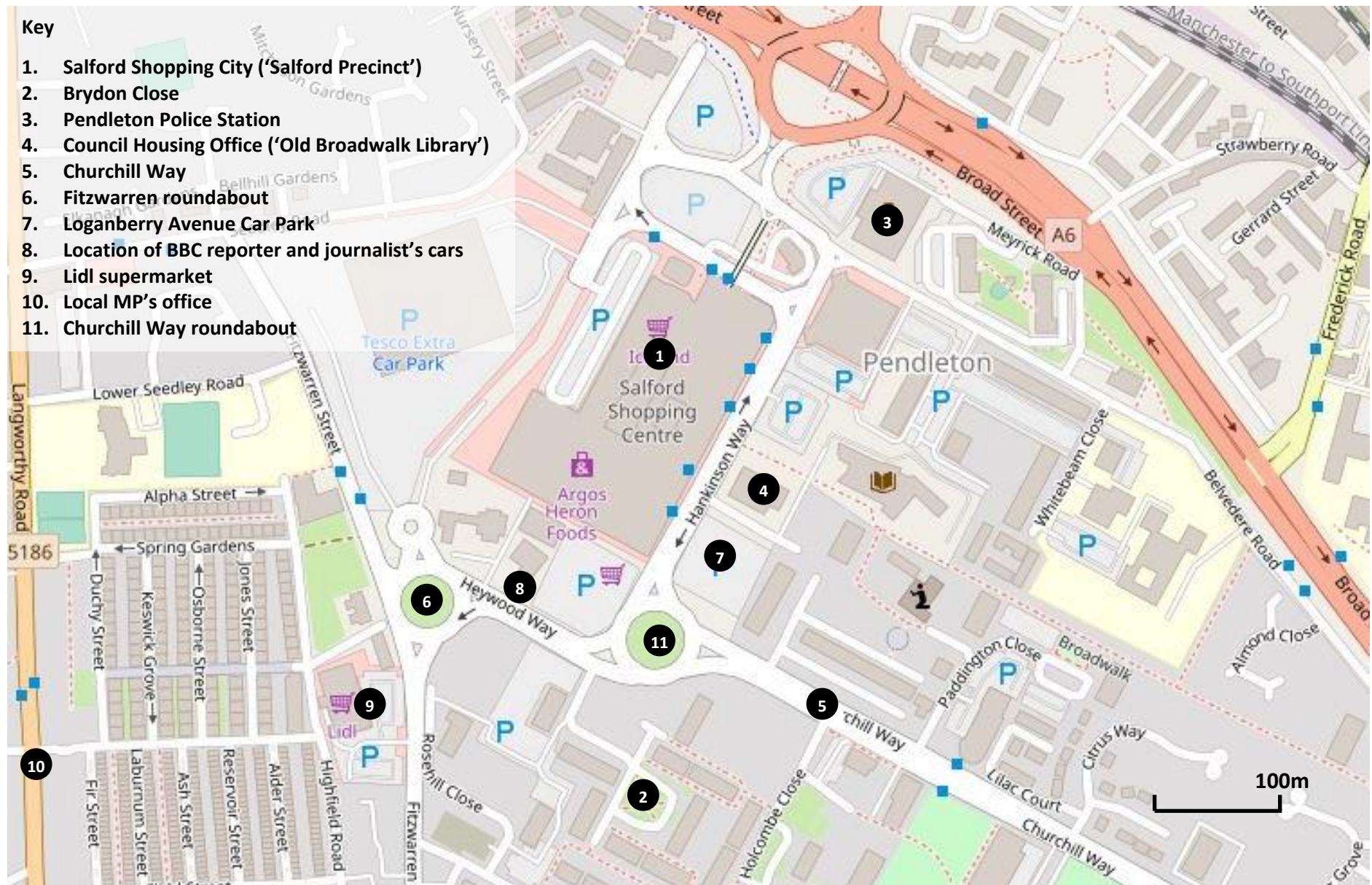


Figure 2: Salford Precinct and environs

16:00-17:00 – “Cat and mouse” scenario leading to serious confrontation.

By 16:00 police officers had blocked the road from Pendleton roundabout to the shopping centre, sealing off the main thoroughfare to the north east (Figure 2 Location A).⁵⁷ There were now 15 police vehicles (including at least three TAU carriers) and a large number of police officers in the area of Salford Precinct, though a GMP report stated “15 youths in that area, nothing going on”.⁵⁸ By this stage there had been a significant police presence in the vicinity of the Precinct for more than half an hour. Local residents came out to see why the police were there with some expressing annoyance with their presence.⁵⁹ A growing crowd of people of all ages gathered around the perimeter of the Precinct and across the road at the “Old Broadwalk library” (Figure 2, Location 4),⁶⁰ “as more and more squad cars [had] arrived with their sirens blazing”.⁶¹

At 16:13 the police helicopter overhead reported that “youths gathering in numbers around Salford and recreation areas”. Other reports stated that 30 youths were “hooded up” and were arming themselves with “block paving” in the area of the Brydon Close estate (Location 2 Figure 2). The order was immediately given by Silver Command for the TAU personnel to wear full Public Order Personal Protective Equipment (PPE). Within a few minutes, at 16:16, it was reported that “patrols were under attack by people throwing bricks” though “Youths [were] vanishing after seeing patrols”. Silver then authorised the use of long batons, shields and dogs on long leads.⁶² The TAU officers and dog units were deployed from five carriers on the Churchill Way roundabout (Location 11, Figure 2).⁶³ One witness described the scene:

Just riot police, just marching through, almost like an army y’know, and there were people there just watching, and little kids there, and you didn’t know what was going to happen, and it could have gone off at any time at that point The lads weren’t rioting at that time, although they were facing the police (Malcolm, public sector worker, early 50s).⁶⁴

There was a general “to-ing and fro-ing” for few minutes where a group of young people would throw missiles at police line. The officers would raise their shields and then advance,

⁵⁷ BBC Radio Manchester traffic news consistently reported throughout the day that Fitzwarren Street was closed from Pendlebury Way. Eyewitness 1 reported police blocking off the road at Pendleton roundabout on Pendleton Way, at the A6 junction. Video footage shows Hankinson Way remaining open, at least until late evening (Eyewitness 1; Kingston, 2011a).

⁵⁸ (Eyewitness 1; Kingston, 2011a; Tweet 36, GMP, 2011b).

⁵⁹ (Videos: Bazargan, D., 2013, 50:37-51:29 [A resident exclaimed “It’s not a police state ... it’s a free country”]; BhamUrbanNewsUK, 2011, 2:32-3:32).

⁶⁰ Residents refer to the “Old Broadwalk library” which was the location of the Council Housing Office at the time of the riot.

⁶¹ (Kingston, 2011a; Video: CH4CHARMER, 2011, 1:21 [though timing of this video difficult to ascertain]).

⁶² (GMP, 2011b).

⁶³ (Video: OfficialLondonRiots, 2011). This video shows three TAU carriers, two dog unit carriers and at least two police cars on Churchill Way roundabout.

⁶⁴ (Jeffrey & Tufail, 2014, p. 40).

at which point the youths would scatter.⁶⁵ At 16:25, the TAU officers were given the instruction “to positively engage with this crowd armed with bricks and sticks and disperse”.⁶⁶ Banging their shields, 30 police officers, including dog handlers with their police dogs charged across some waste ground and into the Brydon Close housing estate.⁶⁷ The skirmishing continued in the housing complex, with the crowds of active rioters and onlookers growing in size as the minutes passed.

More serious violence flared up involving around a 100 youths who had gathered on the estate at nearby Churchill Way (Figure 2 Location 5). The youths confronted about 50 police in public order equipment in direct attacks, as missiles were thrown at the officers and their carriers.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, 70-80 people were also congregating on the other side of the Precinct in the Fitzwarren Street area, in a tense stand-off with approximately six police vehicles gathered at the nearby Fitzwarren roundabout (Figure 2 Location 6).⁶⁹ There were also a number of women and young children, as well as older adults, looking on and adding to the confusion.⁷⁰ By 17:00, a fast moving situation developed with outbreaks of violence, followed by calm, then outbreaks of missile throwing again.⁷¹ A 41 year old Salford woman stated:

They could’ve handled it a lot better, the police...Most of the kids...was throwing bricks...but then the police was running at them with shields and their truncheons out...They was getting a buzz out of it and retaliating back. They was chasing each other, it was like cat and dog.⁷²

There was much comment by eye-witnesses on whether such a large police presence actually provoked the violence:⁷³

Way over the top, way over the top, they whipped it up; they went into the streets if you like chasing these young kids who couldn’t harm anyone. Then it grew and grew, people coming out on the street until there was like pretty much 40 or 50 strong handed mob but it was nothing to the amount of police and the vans and the dogs and it was like something you would see in Belfast in the height of the troubles.⁷⁴

However, another witness claimed:

⁶⁵ (Jeffrey & Tufail, 2014; *Video*: OfficialLondonRiots, 2011 [This video footage shows police and crowd movements. At one point there are five carriers and a police car and about 30 police officers, some with dogs. About 30 or so rioters approach and the police withdraw]).

⁶⁶ (GMP, 2011b).

⁶⁷ (*Video*: OfficialLondonRiots, 2011; Williams, 2016, 0:38 [Note the police officers to the extreme left of screen as youths run away]; BhamUrbanNewsUK, 2011, 2:30-2:43).

⁶⁸ Eyewitness 1 reported that building works at nearby Fitzwarren St. provided ammunition (*Manchester Evening News*, 2011; Morrell, Scott, McNeish, & Webster, 2011; Tweets 9, 10).

⁶⁹ There are two roundabouts that are frequently referred to. For ease of reference, one is denoted as the Churchill Way roundabout, the other as Fitzwarren Street. See Figure 2, Locations 11 and 6 respectively.

⁷⁰ (BBC Journalist 3 interview; BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 17:03:26 [BBC Radio reporter refers to South side of the Precinct which is assumed to be the Fitzwarren Street roundabout side]).

⁷¹ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 18:05:58 [back referencing]).

⁷² (Clifton & Allison, 2011; cited by Jeffery & Tufail, 2014, p. 40).

⁷³ (Barr, 2018; Clifton & Allison, 2011; Jeffery & Tufail, 2014).

⁷⁴ (Transcript SAL1110112702, 54-59).

...the police obviously being in the riot gear and a few, literally half a dozen youths throwing stones and an enormous number of people coming to watch a riot when there wasn't one...but I think actually it was handled really well...kind of nothing to see here, move along please. So any time they were attacked they fended it off really, really well they just dispersed it without being aggressive.⁷⁵

17:00-18:00 – Police units depart, looting takes place on Salford Precinct, BBC camera operator attacked.

Around 17:00 the various groups of police were being targeted by small groups, in total numbering 2-300 people, throwing missiles at them from all sides in what was described as “running battles”.⁷⁶ Between 17:00 and 17:30 police units withdrew from the immediate area of these conflicts.⁷⁷ Some had already retreated before 17:00⁷⁸ from the Churchill Way/Brydon Close area, with the remaining contingent leaving from the Fitzwarren Street roundabout at around 17:25.⁷⁹ Silver Command recognised that the “Rioters objective [was] to take on and injure Police” and that suppressing the violence in Salford “Required all available Level 1 resources [TAUs]”.⁸⁰ However, at about 17:15 the first reports of potential disorder in Manchester City Centre were arriving with GMP. The deployment of more Police Support Units (PSUs) and TAUs to Salford was thus problematic with the limited resources available at that time.⁸¹ Although police units did not leave the Salford area, their disappearance in the face of attacks appeared to be a ‘retreat’ as far as the crowds of rioters and onlookers were concerned and this was communicated on social media.⁸²

As the police units withdrew the groups of rioters focused on new targets. Around 17:45 a BBC TV crew witnessed young people, having moved on from the disturbances at the Churchill Way area breaking into shops on the east side of the Precinct, along Hankinson Way.⁸³ These included the Money Shop, Cash Convertors and Cash Generators (pawnbrokers, money lenders and second hand goods exchange) and Bargain Booze (off licence), with some people gaining access to the interior of the Precinct itself. One BBC reporter on the scene described the crowds as “cheering as they go into Salford Shopping

⁷⁵ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 17:52:31-17:53:21).

⁷⁶(Indymedia uk, 2011; Aufheben, 2012; Tweet 38).

⁷⁷ (Jeffery & Tufail, 2014; Barr (2018) [does not give a time, but reports police being expelled after the initial disturbances]; Tweets 11, 12, 13, 38).

⁷⁸ (Tweets 11, 12, 13 [Tweet 11 is from the Churchill Way area]).

⁷⁹ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 17:26:22 [A BBC reporter, reflecting back on events later that night, said that the strategy in Salford seemed to be to get out of the carriers for as short a time as possible, then get back in them (where stones would be thrown), drive away and stay in nearby Pendleton Police Station]; BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, ~01:17:33 and 01:19:12; Barr, 2018, p. 190 [has a similar eyewitness account]). Youths were also moving through back alley ways to different parts of the estate. The reporter speculated that they could have gone to another part of Salford (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 17:26:22 and 17:50:15).

⁸⁰ (GMP, 2011b).

⁸¹ A Police Support Unit is a public order-trained police team consisting of three carriers, an inspector, three sergeants and 21 constables. (Barr, 2018; Jeffrey & Tufail, 2014; HMIC, 2011; Manchester City Council, 2011a).

⁸² For example see (Tweets 12, 13).

⁸³ (BBC Journalist 3 interview; BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 17:48:21-17:48:48; [Barr (2018) and Jeffrey & Tufail (2014) conclude, as do the authors, that looting did not commence until police withdrawal. However, HMIC (2011) report that the disorder began with looting]).

City”.⁸⁴ Just before 17:50, a BBC producer reported live that his camera operator had been attacked.⁸⁵

We’ve got a real problem here in Salford. Large crowd at Salford Shopping centre. I’m quite shaken...There’s no police presence here. Bargain Booze broken into just now, looting. Very large crowd here, it is hostile.⁸⁶

As the looting of the precinct was underway, at 17:46 Silver Command ordered road blocks to be set up at “static points between Manchester and Salford” preventing vehicles entering the city centre.⁸⁷ The aim was to keep the two developing incidents isolated from each other.

18:00-19:00 – Police return, Housing Office and BBC vehicles set on fire, fluid situation with confrontations along Hankinson Way and Fitzwarren Street.

Almost an hour after they had withdrawn, at 18:06,⁸⁸ police vehicles returned to the Precinct along Hankinson Way and the looting largely ceased due to their presence. However, minutes later they were on the move again, heading towards the locations of violence from earlier in the afternoon.⁸⁹ During their brief absence from the Precinct, at around 18:10 it became clear that the local Council Housing Office, situated in the “Old Broadwalk library” (Figure 2 Location 4), had been set on fire.⁹⁰ A number of youths headed in the direction of the blaze, some of them carrying rocks. Shortly after, at around 18:15, six TAU police carriers returned, along with several dog sections and other police vehicles.⁹¹ Young people threw missiles at the police vans as they went past. The police vehicles gathered in a carpark next to the Housing Office to the east of the Precinct (Figure 2 Location 7).⁹² According to witnesses there was a “strange sense of normality” reported, with commuters walking nearby and cars driving past as fire engines arrived to deal with the blaze at the Housing Office.⁹³ One observer estimated that about 1,000 people were in the vicinity of the Precinct.⁹⁴ Approximately 50 young people in small groups were loitering near the police situated along Hankinson Way, some of them picking up stones. At around 18:20, a roving “mob of kids” moved from one side of the Precinct to the other in a “game of cat

⁸⁴ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 18:06:51 [back referencing]; Clifton & Allison, 2011; Jeffrey & Tufail, 2014; *Manchester Evening News*, 2011; Tweets 14, 15, 16, 17, 18; Videos: ukriots2011, 2011a, 0:00; Washington, 2011a).

⁸⁵ (Barr, 2018; Jeffrey & Tufail, 2014; Tweets 23, 24; Video: jamestheposh, 2016, 2:16).

⁸⁶ At this point there were two BBC reporters at either end of the Precinct, one for radio, parked in the Market area near Fitzwarren roundabout, the other was a TV crew driving around the front of the Precinct along Hankinson Way near the Churchill Way roundabout (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 17:48:21).

⁸⁷ (GMP, 2011b).

⁸⁸ (Barr, 2018 [reports a *Manchester Evening News* tweet at 18.23 with police arriving to support firefighters]; BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 18:06:51).

⁸⁹ The reporter points out that it was a fast moving situation (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 18:08:07).

⁹⁰ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 18:13:47; Jeffrey & Tufail, 2014; Morrell, McNeish, & Webster, 2011 [put this at 18.10]; Tweets 19, 21, 22).

⁹¹ (Video: ukriots2011, 2011g).

⁹² (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 18:13:47-18:15:30, and 18:20:16).

⁹³ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 18:16:06 and 18:20:16; Tweet 41; Videos: ukriots2011, 2011g; Washington, 2011b).

⁹⁴ (Tweet 40).

and mouse” with police, engaging in “sporadic small scale violence” in the form of missile throwing.⁹⁵ At this point several cars were observed by a BBC reporter with youths using mobile phones, apparently monitoring the situation see what might develop.⁹⁶

At 18:30 further disturbances began to occur on the west side of the Precinct in the Pendleton Way/Fitzwarren Street area. Six youths aged about 14 to 15 years old were throwing bricks and stones at police lines. A TAU vehicle tried to drive over the roundabout to disperse them but the participants were joined by a group of 40 or 50 young people. The situation was described as very fluid with a lot of “coming and going” with shouting and aggravation from youths trying to goad the police. There were sporadic outbreaks of violence with a group of about 20 youths who tried to dislodge a barrier but failed, and 10 others who threw stones at TAU vehicles.⁹⁷ Youths congregated at the base of a nearby tower block and occasionally small groups youths would break away and throw bricks at the TAU vehicles and dog section vans. At 18:40 a report to the GMP Silver Control Room stated that missiles were being thrown at police by a crowd numbering 2-300.⁹⁸ Subsequently, police “swooped through” the west side of the Precinct, dispersing these groups. After this action the area was relatively calm by 18:45, but the impression of the BBC reporter on the scene was that the youths were getting ready to attack the police once more.⁹⁹

However, it was the reporter who was to become the target. Just after 18:50, 30 or 40 rioters began to throw stones at the BBC Radio Manchester Outside Broadcast vehicle (with the reporter inside) which was parked in the Market area alongside another vehicle also occupied by a BBC journalist (Figure 2 Location 8). The police had moved out of sight “for a split second”, when people began shouting and swearing at the journalists.¹⁰⁰ By 19:00, both vehicles had been overturned by about 30 rioters and then set on fire.¹⁰¹ The BBC journalist reported:

As I pulled up by Salford precinct, I was greeted by crowds of young people - some as young as 10 or 11. Seconds later cars screeched by as young boys pulled wheelies on motorbikes. Within minutes of leaving my car and standing by BBC Radio Manchester's radio-car, bricks were hurled at myself and a colleague. We took cover by the empty markets. We were lucky not to get hit and managed to run around the corner where there was a line of police officers wearing riot gear. They were trying to protect the firefighters who had just doused the flames that had ripped through the old library right next to the precinct. Gangs cheered as the radio-car went up in flames. The police lines moved forward and as we left more rocks and bricks were thrown at officers. Youngsters seemed

⁹⁵ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 18:20:16).

⁹⁶ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 18:18:45).

⁹⁷ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 18:34:38-18:36:38).

⁹⁸ (GMP, 2011b).

⁹⁹ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 18:43:10-18:44:36 [at the end of this section, noise and horns can be heard close to the reporter; the reporter frequently refers to the South side of the Precinct]).

¹⁰⁰ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 18:53:58-18:55:07).

¹⁰¹ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 19:01:30; Jeffery & Tufail, 2014; Morrell, Scott, McNeish, & Webster, 2011; *Salford Star*, 2011b, *Photographs* 3 & 4; Slatery, 2011; *Videos*: Mapfumo, 2011; Williams, 2011a, 0:53-1:24).

unaware of the danger they were in as they took pictures on their mobile phones to post on social networking sites.¹⁰²

19:00-20:00 – Crowds increase around the Precinct, at Lidl and Fitzwarren Street, severe confrontation on Fitzwarren Street leads to police withdrawal for officers’ safety.

At about 19:00 police resources were concentrated at the burning housing office, which was still being dealt with by firefighters. However, the rioters were moving around the immediate area of the Precinct in a “game of cat and mouse” with the police.¹⁰³ Just before 19:00 there was a “hard core” element of 40-60 youths, some of them very young. This group was surrounded by a larger crowd of 200-250 people, some of whom, when they saw an opportunity, would get involved in the violence. Among the crowd of spectators was a man pushing a toddler in a pram.¹⁰⁴ Around 19:15, a dumper vehicle weighing several tons was stolen from a compound just over a mile away from Salford Precinct by four masked men. They drove it in the direction of the Precinct before stalling it and then abandoning it. GMP Silver Control room became aware of the threat and readied an armed unit in response.¹⁰⁵

Just before 19:30 an eye-witness living in a nearby high-rise flat told the BBC that there were groups of people being dispersed by police away from the south side of the Precinct along Fitzwarren Street. A stand-off between police and rioters then ensued. Soon after police advanced once again, pushing the crowd past the Lidl supermarket (Figure 2 Location 9). Once they got to the far side of the supermarket, the rioters dispersed into a wide circle and started pelting the police with missiles.¹⁰⁶ Fearing being overwhelmed, the police were then pushed back to the roundabout on Fitzwarren Street which became the scene of a fierce confrontation with a crowd of 200 rioters (Figure 2 Location 6). The six TAU carriers rapidly collected their officers and reversed away from the advancing rioters onto the Fitzwilliam Street roundabout. Under a hail of stones, bricks and bottles from several directions they were forced to navigate the roundabout before escaping the barrage by heading back towards the Precinct.¹⁰⁷ As they retreated, cries of “Salford” could be heard from some participants¹⁰⁸ and officers reported “a sky turned black with bricks”.¹⁰⁹

At 19:39, according to the Chief Constable, a tactical decision was made to withdraw from the area “to ensure the safety of his officers”.¹¹⁰ By 20:00 police had largely withdrawn from

¹⁰² (Slattery, 2011).

¹⁰³ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 18:55:07).

¹⁰⁴ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 18:56:30-18:57:40).

¹⁰⁵ (Angela Roche, 2011 0:06-0:20; GMP 2011b).

¹⁰⁶ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 19:26:26-19:27:12).

¹⁰⁷ (Tweets 29, 30, 31; *Videos*: itzmikeybyeh, 2011; Funjustjustin, 2011a [This video shows police being pushed back from the Liverpool Street end of Fitzwarren Street]; aristarcus69, 2011 [Salford cries at 0:17]; OfficialFlip, 2011; m6guvnor, 2011).

¹⁰⁸ (Barr, 2018; *Videos*: aristarcus69, 2011; m6guvnor, 2011).

¹⁰⁹ (HMIC, 2011, p. 27 [no specific time is given for this quote, but the ferocity of the attack, the hour and abundance of smoke indicate this event]; Tweets 29, 30, 31).

¹¹⁰ There are discrepancies on the timing of this quote. Barr (2018) puts police withdrawal at this point, Jeffery & Tufail (2014) indicate after the initial withdrawal, whilst Hanson (2012), the author of the quote, does not specify a time. GMP Silver Command put this at decision at 19:39 (GMP, 2011b).

the centre of Salford.¹¹¹ They were absent for approximately an hour. Explosions emanated from the burning BBC vehicles as thick black smoke filled the atmosphere.¹¹² At 20:10, GMP Sliver Command declared “Due to multiple incidents of disorder shops looted and premises set alight silver now assess the situation on the disorder model as Serious Disorder/Riot”. The GMP policy for Salford was containment and to wait until mutual aid from other force areas was available.¹¹³

20:00-21:30 – Lidl looted and set on fire, another car set on fire, shops on Precinct looted, party atmosphere ensues.

Around 20:00,¹¹⁴ after the police withdrew, hundreds of people began to loot the Lidl supermarket on Fitzwarren Street.¹¹⁵ The store was subsequently set on fire¹¹⁶ and a private vehicle was also set alight in the car park¹¹⁷ whilst four young men tried to pull down a lamp-post.¹¹⁸ The fire at Lidl attracted people back to the Precinct where looting began once again.¹¹⁹ At the Bargain Booze off licence, people, including children, were seen leaving with large bags of stolen alcohol.¹²⁰ Numbers swelled to around 500 near the Precinct, with participants breaking down the shutters of shops and helping themselves.¹²¹ Three hundred people were gathered in and around Lidl’s car park, cheering as explosions went off from the burning cars “as women [looters] struggled down the street with full Lidl bags”.¹²² An eye-witness (Chaplain to the BBC led MediaCityUK), was one of many to comment on the involvement of children:

Mothers sent small children in to fill shopping bags with food and beer because they were too young to be arrested....¹²³

In the midst of all the activity, by 20:30 there was also something of a party atmosphere.¹²⁴

Pretty girls in white dresses filmed the whole spectacle on their mobile phones, older lads skinned up [smoked marijuana], the local community hung out of their tower block windows to get a good glimpse...all that was missing was the DJ. This was a very Salford riot...Throughout, there was no police presence in

¹¹¹ (Barr, 2018; BBC Radio Manchester, 20:53:57 [back referencing]).

¹¹² (*Salford Star*, 2011b, *Photographs* 15 & 16).

¹¹³ (GMP, 2011b).

¹¹⁴ (Barr, 2018; Morrell, Scott, McNeish, & Webster, 2011 [put the time at 20.00]; Jeffery & Tufail, 2014 [report 19.00]). Tweets 26 & 27 report that at approximately 19:50 Lidl was being looted.

¹¹⁵ (Barr, 2018; Clifton & Allison, 2011; Jeffrey & Tufail, 2014).

¹¹⁶ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 20:53:57; Jeffery, & Tufail, 2014; Tweet 42; *Videos*: Kasinski, 2011; Moosemasher, 2011, 11:55-12:33).

¹¹⁷ (Kingston, 2011b; Morrell, Scott, McNeish, & Webster, 2011; Williams, 2016; *Video*: Ch4CHARMER, 2011, 3:27; FunJustJustin, 2011b).

¹¹⁸ (Morrell, Scott, McNeish, & Webster, 2011; *Manchester Evening News*, 2011; Kingston, 2011b; *Salford Star*, 2011b, *Photographs* 1 & 11).

¹¹⁹ (BBC Journalist 3 interview; Transcript SAL1110112701).

¹²⁰ (*Manchester Evening News*, 2011; Morrell, Scott, McNeish, & Webster, 2011; Tweet 25).

¹²¹ (Morrell, Scott, McNeish, & Webster, 2011).

¹²² (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 20:54:52 [a caller reports people taking televisions and consoles from the Precinct]; Kingston, 2011b).

¹²³ (Matthews, 2011; *Video*: ukriots, 2011a).

¹²⁴ (Tweet 20).

sight as smiling people completely controlled the streets, driving through red lights, parking in the middle of the road, and walking unopposed into any Precinct shop that took their fancy.¹²⁵

A participant commented:

Yeah it was a full blown riot. Lidl was on fire, the actual Salford precinct had smoke coming out of it, there were loads and loads of young men running out of the Bargain Booze [shop] with crates of beer and lager and all sorts...¹²⁶

However, in sharp relief to the looting of high-end goods in Manchester, many people in Salford were looting the basics. Our witness continued:

I seen a young man come out of Lidl with one of these, you know, super packs of toilet roll, like a 40 pack, and I was like, right well, they're not exactly stealing to make money, they're stealing to survive. Can't even afford toilet roll.¹²⁷

Families pulled up in their cars to fill boots with stolen goods.¹²⁸ The window of a Chinese takeaway was damaged and an electronic repair shop on Fitzwarren Street was targeted with people running out of the shop with broken computers and throwing them to the ground.¹²⁹ Flames were spreading from the cars which had been set alight as Lidl was being looted adding to the smoke filled atmosphere.¹³⁰

During the evening people from the ages of about 10 to 35 years old were making their way with goods taken from Lidl down Highfield Road to stash them in nearby Langworthy Park, with some groups making two or three trips. Later, the police were waiting for them. The streets were crowded with spectators in cars, along with their children, viewing the scene.¹³¹ Alifes, a newsagent and general store in the Precinct was looted and set on fire and at some point the local MP's office on Langworthy Road was attacked.¹³² An eyewitness reported seeing vans, from early in the evening, dropping "kids" off in the Precinct area from elsewhere in Salford and Manchester (probably Cheetham on the border).¹³³

GMP had requested help from neighbouring forces and after gathering reinforcements they returned just before sunset at 20:47.¹³⁴ A PSU arrived from Cheshire Constabulary tasked with protecting the fire service from attack as GMP officers in their vehicles went on roving patrol. Most of the shops along Salford Precinct had been looted at this point with a number reported to be on fire.¹³⁵ A "buffer zone" was set up by police officers around the Precinct

¹²⁵ (Kingston, 2011b).

¹²⁶ (Transcript MAN231011262, 152-154 [This was a particularly detailed account]).

¹²⁷ (Transcript MAN231011262, 175-177).

¹²⁸ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 21:02:35; Eye witness 1 interview; Tweet 28; Video: Kasinski, 2011).

¹²⁹ (Matthews, 2011; *Manchester Evenings News*, 2011).

¹³⁰ (*Manchester Evening News*, 2011; Morrell, Scott, McNeish, & Webster, 2011; Tweet 32; Video: BabyShotzZ, 2011).

¹³¹ (Eyewitness 1 interview).

¹³² (Barr, 2018; Eyewitness 1; Jeffrey & Tufail, 2014). The authors have no further details on the incident at the MP's office.

¹³³ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011; Eyewitness 1).

¹³⁴ (Barr, 2018; HMIC 2011 [reports deployment at 21:00 of one Cheshire PSU]).

¹³⁵ (*Manchester Evening News*, 2011; Morrell, Scott, McNeish, & Webster, 2011; Tweet 33).

and market areas where the fire fighters were working and by 22:00 the cordons had been established.¹³⁶ At 21:20, GMP deployed two carriers to protect Pendleton police station due to intelligence reports that it would be attacked.¹³⁷

21:30 - Early hours Wednesday 10th – skirmishes until a severe confrontation between rioters and police at the Precinct, fires on Brydon Close.

Between 21:30 and 22:30 as police officers were setting up cordons around the Precinct and the burning Lidl supermarket they came under attack a number of times from missile throwing groups.¹³⁸ At 23:19, by which time most spectators had left, a *Manchester Evening News* reporter tweeted that there was “another stand-off brewing at Salford”.¹³⁹ Documentary video footage shows police from Cheshire Constabulary engaged in a series of clashes with dozens of rioters between the southern end of the Precinct and the Churchill Way roundabout (Figure 2 Location 11). Three TAU carriers were present and small fires were started, eventually blocking a street in Brydon Close (Figure 2 Location 2). Half a dozen youths can be seen entering the Precinct whilst a lone rioter (who appears inebriated) throws a series of bricks at around 15 police officers in public order equipment.¹⁴⁰ Later, around 30 rioters attacked the same group of police officers in a fierce confrontation using volleys of missiles. With the street barricade in the middle providing protection, the rioters threw missiles at the police as close as two metres away, with the attack becoming even more ferocious as an officer fell. This sequence of events lasted for about twenty minutes until the arrival of reinforcements in the form of seven TAU vehicles.¹⁴¹ It is uncertain when disorder stopped, with some reports suggesting that there were some people still present in the early hours of the morning.¹⁴² However, after it rained, the disturbance petered out by about 03:00-04:00.¹⁴³

¹³⁶ (*Manchester Evening News*, 2011; Morrell, Scott, McNeish, & Webster, 2011; (Barr, 2018; Videos: BabyShotz, 2011; Bazargan, 2013, 50:37-51:29).

¹³⁷ (GMP, 2011b).

¹³⁸ (GMP, 2011b).

¹³⁹ (SteveRobsonMEN, [cited in] Barr, 2011; [this event is also described in Transcript SAL1110112703]).

¹⁴⁰ (Video: Moosemasher, 2011, 14:00-23:24 [youths enter Precinct at 18:55]).

¹⁴¹ (Videos: Bazargan, 2013, 51:24-52:50; Moosemasher, 2011, 25:34-26:07).

¹⁴² (Barr, 2018; BBC Radio Manchester, 2011 [Two burned out bins in Langworthy Road, 20-40 young people around hooded up, 01:06:31; “still kicking off” in Churchill Way/Brydon Close, 01:08:37; quiet at Shopping Precinct, burning bins towards Langworthy Estate, boy filled up a bucket with petrol at a petrol station in spite of protests of man inside, 01:14:33-01:16:12. Material ceases at 02:00]).

¹⁴³ (Barr, 2018; Eyewitness interview 1; Transcript SAL1110112702).

Manchester City Centre disturbances: Tuesday 9th – Wednesday 10th August, 2011

Precursors to the disturbance in Manchester

A number of social media messages posted over Sunday 7th and Monday 8th August were predicting a riot in Manchester. These had been particularly prevalent on the Monday evening, the day before the disturbance. There is also evidence of discussions by word of mouth amongst eventual participants over this period.¹⁴⁴ GMP issued general messages of reassurance during the course of the Monday evening via Twitter with posts designed to quell rumours, including dismissing reports from the BBC: “BBC reports of rioting/disturbances in Greater Manchester inaccurate. No rioting whatsoever, no major disturbances. All quiet at moment.”¹⁴⁵ The following afternoon (Tuesday, 9th August), the day of the riots, young men on bicycles were observed riding round Manchester city centre as though they were reconnoitring shops. It was claimed they were not the “normal city centre crowd”, and although they were a large group they were described as, “behaving individually, weaving in and out between benches and pedestrians, and not actually going somewhere as normal people do. It was disturbing”.¹⁴⁶ Journalists at BBC North West were subjected to what they termed “malicious reporting”, where they received calls of disturbances only for a reporter to arrive and find nothing.¹⁴⁷ Journalists described the atmosphere of “wanting something to happen”.¹⁴⁸ The *Manchester Evening News* reported that news of the Salford riot on the Tuesday afternoon “spread like wildfire”, with some shops in Manchester City Centre closing early.¹⁴⁹ There were also regular broadcasts stating that Manchester police were being despatched to London,¹⁵⁰ and that extra police officers were being deployed to the Manchester area.¹⁵¹

15:00-16:00 – Police presence in Piccadilly Gardens, youths gather.

By 15:00, Police had gathered in Piccadilly Gardens (Figure 3 Location 1),¹⁵² maintaining that this was a precautionary measure and that there was no evidence for rioting occurring that night.¹⁵³ Though accounts vary, according to one reliable source, the convoy included two police dog carriers, three police carriers and two TAU vehicles.¹⁵⁴ There was no evidence of disorder at this point, with police seeming relaxed and “chatting” to passers-by.¹⁵⁵ By 15:30

¹⁴⁴ (Barr, 2018; Eyewitness interview 3; Nowell, 2011; Transcripts MAN1110112304; MAN1910119901; *Video*: GMP, 2011a, 0:30-0:35).

¹⁴⁵ (Denef, Bayerl, & Kaptein, 2013, p. 5). This is an interesting article comparing Twitter use during the disorders by the Metropolitan Police Service (132 Tweets) and the GMP (371 Tweets).

¹⁴⁶ (Eyewitness 3 interview; Lugg, 2011; *Manchester Evening News*, 2011).

¹⁴⁷ News items referring to false reporting were broadcast by BBC North West throughout the period of the disorders.

¹⁴⁸ (BBC Journalists 1 & 2 interviews).

¹⁴⁹ (BBC Radio Manchester, 19:09:22; *Mirror.co.uk*, 2011).

¹⁵⁰ BBC Radio Manchester broadcast this news at regular intervals during the day (Barr, 2011; Nowell, 2011; *Video*: GMP, 2011a, 2:42).

¹⁵¹ (BBC Radio Manchester).

¹⁵² Piccadilly Gardens in Manchester City Centre is a traditional gathering point for community events, marches and social action.

¹⁵³ (Senior, 2011).

¹⁵⁴ (Senior, 2011; Tweet 44 [reports vary on the actual number of “riot vans”, 45, 46 [and many more on this point]]).

¹⁵⁵ (Nowell, 2011).

one source reports seven TAU vehicles in Piccadilly Gardens and a small number of police in public order equipment patrolling the area, with regular police asking people to remove their hoods and hats.¹⁵⁶ However, by 16:00, hooded youths had started congregating.¹⁵⁷ A Section 60 and Section 60AA were invoked by GMP at 15:53.¹⁵⁸ Although Piccadilly Gardens acted as a de facto epi-centre, a sequence of events unfolded in different areas in the city centre as people arrived from various parts of Greater Manchester.

17:00-17:30 – Early stages. Public hide in Marks & Spencer, Arndale centre broken into.

At approximately 17:00, youths in hoods with masked faces were seen around Deansgate and Spring Gardens (Figure 3 Locations 2 and 3).¹⁵⁹ The first account of actual disorder came from Pat Kearney, spokesperson for MCC, who remembered that a crowd of teenagers wearing balaclavas and carrying baseball bats appeared near Marks & Spencer situated on the corner of Market Street and Cross Street (Figure 3 Location 4). He, along with a group of people, ran inside the store and the perpetrators started banging on the window. “We had no idea whether we were going to be beaten up ... It was absolutely terrifying if you were caught up in it ... It was one of the darkest days in Manchester’s history.”¹⁶⁰ A youth broke a window of Esprit, a clothing shop, before dozens of young men broke the glass entrance to the Arndale Shopping Centre (Figure 3 Location 5). They ran inside¹⁶¹ and attempted to break down the shutters of JD Sports.¹⁶² Police were not present in that part of Market Street at the time; however the perpetrators were “chased off” by TAUs, who were on standby in the Exchange Square area (Figure 3 Location 6). The Arndale security personnel, along with police who were situated inside, also managed to “chase out the mob and shut down swiftly with the help of police.”¹⁶³ Time stamped footage at 17:20 demonstrates police officers running up Market Street, possibly to deal with the situation.¹⁶⁴ The Arndale Centre had evacuated staff by 17:00 and was closed by 17:30.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁶ (Lugg, 2011).

¹⁵⁷ (BBC Journalist 1 [At 16.00 BBC Manchester received a tip off of trouble at Piccadilly Gardens, but on deployment there was no sign of actual disorder]; Clifton & Allison, 2011; Transcripts MAN1010112303; MAN25101199061).

¹⁵⁸ (GMP, 2011b).

¹⁵⁹ (Senior, 2011).

¹⁶⁰ (Williams, 2016).

¹⁶¹ (Senior, 2011; *Videos: itsonitswayy*, 2011, 1:21 [use audio]; *Manchester Evening News*, 2011a; Mokrosz, 2011a; Williams, 2011a, 0:00).

¹⁶² (BBC News, 2011a: *Video: Mokrosz*, 2011a).

¹⁶³ (Senior, 2011; *Videos: Manchester Evening News*, 2011a; Mokrosz, 2011b).

¹⁶⁴ (*Video: Meakin*, 2011).

¹⁶⁵ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 18:09:22-18:10:41; *Video: itsonitswayy*, 2011; Tweets 49, 50, 51).

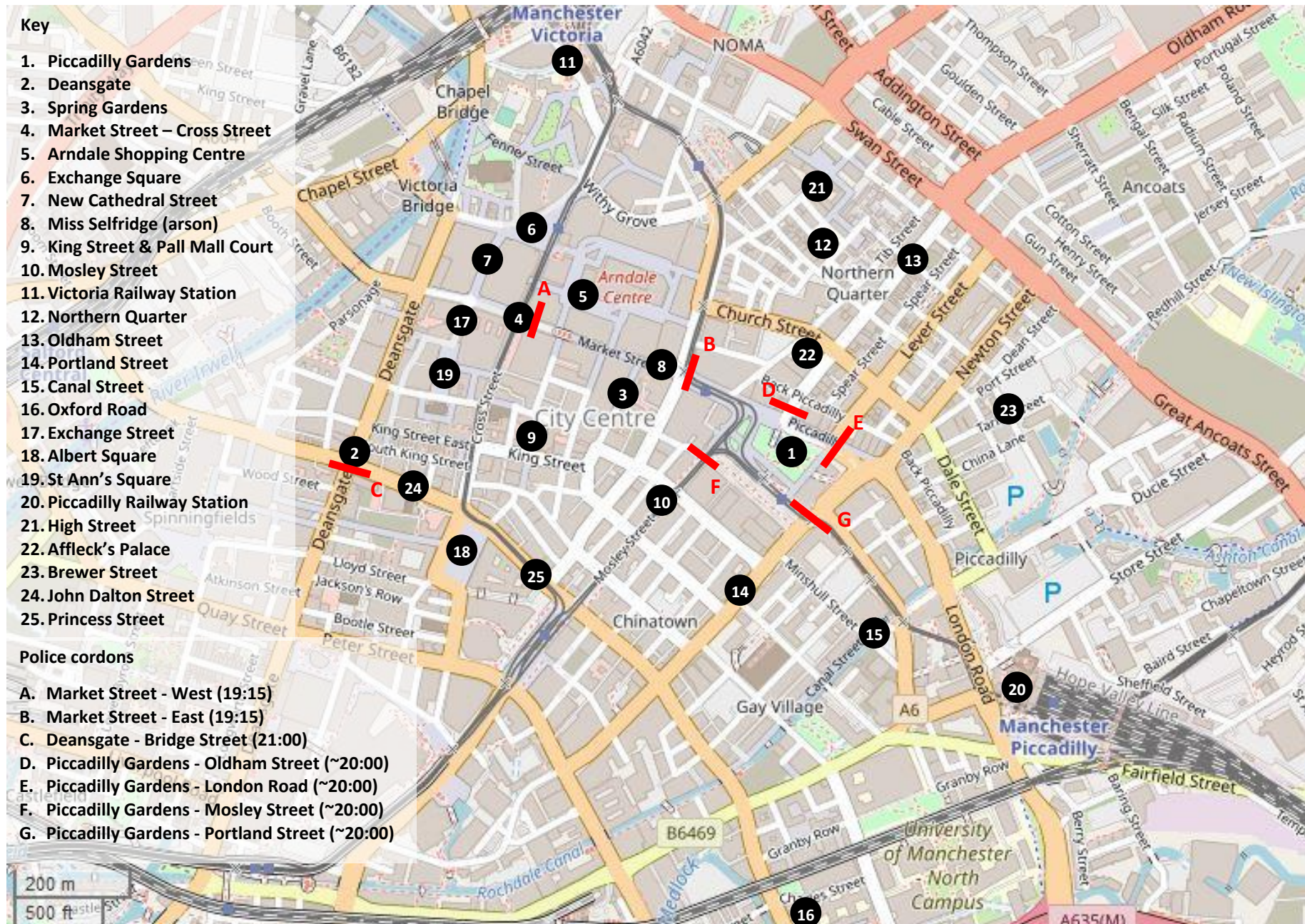


Figure 3: Manchester City Centre

17:30-18:00 – Looting and riotous behaviour starts simultaneously in Deansgate, Exchange Street, New Cathedral Street and Market Street/Arndale.

Meanwhile, a journalist claimed “gangs of looters – some barely in secondary school...[were] marauding through the streets”.¹⁶⁶ Disturbances began simultaneously as people arrived along Deansgate, Piccadilly and from Moss Side.¹⁶⁷ Eight TAU carriers were seen speeding down Deansgate with sirens sounding as hooded youths with masked faces collected in the more exclusive areas of Deansgate and Spring Gardens.¹⁶⁸ A hooded, masked crowd made its way down the “upmarket” New Cathedral Street (Figure 3 Location 7), looting the UGG footwear and Reiss clothing shops and breaking windows at Selfridges and Harvey Nichols department stores.¹⁶⁹ At around 17:30, “a mob simultaneously hit Exchange Square, the surrounding area and the Manchester Arndale Centre”. The group, estimated to be about 130 strong, ran through Exchange Square breaking windows as around ten regular police with batons pursued them. The group “streamed” on to Deansgate evading the chasing police by splitting up and heading down side streets.¹⁷⁰ Chief Constable Sir Peter Fahy commented:

Previous riots had seen troublemakers lined up against police directly...but Manchester was seeing something new. As fast as rioters targeted one place, they were somewhere else. What was different about this particular one in the city centre was that the people were attacking shops and moving on, so there was an operational dilemma...It was like you needed a huge sheepdog to round people up.¹⁷¹

On the south side of the Arndale, windows were broken and some shops broken into (the travel agent Thomas Cook being one), including an attack by about 30-50 youths on Foot Asylum.¹⁷² Groups of people stood outside for a while, then some went inside and came out with “handfuls of clothes” and shoes. One looter threw about 20 hats in the air and people grabbed them.¹⁷³ In what was reported as a typical pattern, 20-30 seconds after entering Foot Asylum, a police vehicle arrived with police dogs and handlers and cleared the area. However, looting restarted around the corner.¹⁷⁴ Police in TAU carriers chased large groups of young people wearing ski masks and hoods, many on bikes, as they “rampaged” through the streets.¹⁷⁵ One eye-witness claimed “It was carnage” as perpetrators were able to “hold a TV under one arm and a bottle of vodka under the other” whilst taunting the police with their stolen goods, shouting to them to “fuck off”.¹⁷⁶ Between 17:30 and 18:00, customers and staff were “locked in” for a time at Tesco Express on Market Street, presumably for

¹⁶⁶ (Williams, 2016).

¹⁶⁷ (Transcript MAN201011261; Eye witness 3 interview; Senior, 2011).

¹⁶⁸ (Lugg, 2011; Senior, 2011).

¹⁶⁹ (Barr, 2018; Clifton & Allison, 2011; *Manchester Evening News*, 2011; Tweets 47, 48, 52, 53).

¹⁷⁰ (Lugg, 2011; Senior, 2011).

¹⁷¹ (Williams, 2016; *Video*: BBC News, 2011b [the live BBC report particularly illuminates this point]).

¹⁷² (Barr, 2018; Senior, 2011; *Mirror.co.uk*, 2011; *Video*: *Manchester Evening News*, 2011b).

¹⁷³ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 19:52:19).

¹⁷⁴ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 21:23:27 [BBC reporter]).

¹⁷⁵ (BBC News, 2011a).

¹⁷⁶ (*Video*: jamestheposh, 2016, 5:50-6:39).

their own safety.¹⁷⁷ By 18:15 virtually every shop shutter was down in the city centre,¹⁷⁸ with news spreading that the Arndale was surrounded by youths and stores were being attacked.¹⁷⁹

18:00-19:00 - Disorder in Piccadilly Gardens, police disperse crowds, rioting escalates in Market Street, disturbances along Deansgate, bus and tram services suspended.

Just after 18:00 GMP Silver Command made two decisions to deal with the developing situation. At 18:08 the order was given for “officers to be placed at top and bottom of Market Street to prevent youths having free run of the city.” A few minutes later at 18:13, after intelligence reports that “Youths [were] travelling in to City Centre on buses from outer divisions to join in” Silver Command decided to request that all buses and trams entering into City Centre were to be stopped and only those taking people out of the City Centre were to be run.¹⁸⁰

By 18:00 a crowd was gathering in Piccadilly Gardens, though according to a manager of a bar (Kro) situated in the Gardens, the atmosphere was “sedate”, albeit tense. Businesses had been advised by police to remove all outside furniture and the Kro bar locked all doors apart from one. However, the manager was bullish, “Why should we close...we shouldn’t be manipulated by people, just thugs.”¹⁸¹ As crowd numbers increased, so did the police presence.¹⁸² According to one participant there were “a lot of police about and a lot of people shouting stuff”.¹⁸³ As police tried to disperse the crowd, some resisted:

...all of a sudden there was just more and more people that just kept, I don’t know where they came from, just more and more people just there, d’you know what I mean. And then, I don’t know, everyone was stood on Piccadilly Gardens, we weren’t doing anything, and then the police kept trying to push everyone off and everyone was like ‘we always sit here, like I don’t see the problem with it’...¹⁸⁴

Then “hordes of menacing young men in hooded tracksuits”¹⁸⁵ appeared, many had faces covered and some had pit-bull type dogs. As police tried to clear the area,¹⁸⁶ parts of the crowd headed down Market Street.¹⁸⁷

“And then people was just smashing windows, booting in, just running past and throwing stuff at people, everything. Smashing shops, just, and every time it

¹⁷⁷ (BBC Radio Manchester, 18:35:17-18:37:15; Tweets 77, 78).

¹⁷⁸ (*Manchester Evening News*, 2011).

¹⁷⁹ (*Ceasefire magazine*, 2011; Tweet 56 [several Tweets report hundreds of youths around the Arndale]).

¹⁸⁰ (GMP, 2011b).

¹⁸¹ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 18:25:51-18:27:50 [live]).

¹⁸² (Senior, 2011).

¹⁸³ (Transcript MAN1110112304, 87-88).

¹⁸⁴ (Transcripts MAN1010112303, 154-157; MAN25101199061).

¹⁸⁵ (*Mirror.co.uk*, 2011).

¹⁸⁶ (Barr, 2018; *Manchester Evening News*, 2011; Tweets 54, 55).

¹⁸⁷ (Barr, 2018; Transcripts MAN1110112304; MAN10100112303).

went passed people just more and more people was joining. So it was getting bigger and bigger.”¹⁸⁸

After the request from GMP, service was suspended on the trams by Metrolink at 18:30¹⁸⁹ and buses turned away. At 19:00 it was reported to GMP that there was a crowd of 300 people at the Bus Station and that missiles had been thrown at buses.¹⁹⁰ Between 18:30 and 19:00 hour around 50 people were running up and down Market Street.¹⁹¹ At around 18:50 a line of five police on horses, followed by about half a dozen police on foot in high visibility jackets, advanced up Market Street. They were attacked with few missiles though groups dispersed in front of them.¹⁹² By 19:00, there were “consistent stampedes up and down Market Street while bystanders refused to move and got caught up in the tension.”¹⁹³ Horse, dog and foot patrols were used by the police in attempts to clear the street with instructions to “disperse”.¹⁹⁴ Young children (estimated at 10 and 11 years) were seen among the participants.¹⁹⁵

Meanwhile, disturbances escalated along Deansgate as 50-60 youths on bikes cycled up and down between the vehicles, causing much congestion.¹⁹⁶ Looters were seen targeting the area at 18:45 and Patisserie Valerie, a café and cake shop was broken into.¹⁹⁷ At 19:10 four police officers forcibly restrained a man who had been shouting at police outside the Debenhams department store “attracting a lot of attention from protestors and rebel (sic) rousers.”¹⁹⁸ At times looters were almost overwhelmed by the opportunity to acquire free goods:

I saw what people [were] doing , one guy I saw... people coming out of JD, I seen the window get smashed to JD and like all about ten people piling in JD, coming out with clothes, jackets shoved up their jumpers, em, and next door they was coming out with plasmas [televisions] and everything.¹⁹⁹

Also, there is evidence that existing rivalries between ‘gangs’ were put aside,²⁰⁰ as one participant recalled:

There were a lot of gangs there that was joint [joined] together that you wouldn’t think. That you wouldn’t think like Fallowfield was with Longsight them two hate each other but in the riot they joint [joined] together...²⁰¹

¹⁸⁸ (Transcript MAN25101199061, 96-101).

¹⁸⁹ (Keane, 2011a).

¹⁹⁰ (GMP, 2011b; BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 18:37:22 [also confirms suspension of trams]).

¹⁹¹ (Tweets 60, 61, 62).

¹⁹² (GMP, 2011b; Barr, 2011 [ascertained timings from the clock on Debenhams department store]; *Video*: Bianchi, 2011, 1:38-2:24).

¹⁹³ (Senior, 2011).

¹⁹⁴ (Lugg, 2011; *Video*: Bianchi, 2011, 0:34-0:37).

¹⁹⁵ (Senior, 2011).

¹⁹⁶ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 18:40:53).

¹⁹⁷ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 18:58:19; Lugg, 2011; Senior, 2011; Tweets 63, 64).

¹⁹⁸ (Senior, 2011; *Ceasefire magazine*, 2011; *Video*: Bianchi, 2011, 0:57-1:34).

¹⁹⁹ (Transcript MAN2010112405, 142-143).

²⁰⁰ (Stott et al, 2016).

²⁰¹ (Transcript MAN25101199061, 277-287).

19:00-19:30 (1) – Police appeal for calm as a fire is started at Miss Selfridge, Market Street locked down with people instructed to disperse or “batons will be drawn”, looting and criminal damage in more exclusive streets.

At 19:00 GMP issued a public statement on BBC Radio Manchester, appealing for calm:

GMP are dealing with minor disorder in Salford and Manchester city centre this afternoon involving a small number of youths. A handful of shops have been attacked...We will not allow such mindless criminal damage and wanton violence to go unpunished.²⁰²

Just after 19:00 two hundred rioters were dispersed by police units on King Street (Figure 3 Location 9) and a few minutes later at 19.06 Miss Selfridge (Figure 3 Location 8) was set alight in one of the most iconic events of the Manchester riots.²⁰³ A firefighter reported that the service attended quickly in order to avoid the situation in London where one department store had “burned for days”.²⁰⁴ Between 19:10 and 19:15, police formed cordons at both ends of Market Street, with the use of dog and foot patrols (Figure 3 Cordons A and B).²⁰⁵ However, some onlookers²⁰⁶ and perpetrators remained in Market Street and final warnings were given that force would be used: “Batons may be drawn. No further warning will be given”.²⁰⁷

As police attempted to clear Market Street of people, they scattered down side streets.²⁰⁸ Sporadic looting continued across the city centre with perpetrators “playing cat and mouse with riot police”, a phrase found consistently in eye-witness accounts. It was also reported that young people were using mobile phones to guide others where to go next.²⁰⁹ Along the more affluent streets to the south of the Arndale Centre, Diesel, a clothing shop,²¹⁰ and Bang & Olufsen, a high end hi-fi store, in Pall Mall Court (Figure 3 Location 9), were broken into and looted.²¹¹ Soon after, the nearby Louis Vuitton (selling designer spectacles) and the pop star Liam Gallagher’s boutique Pretty Green were also targeted.²¹² At 19:00 GMP issued another public announcement on BBC Radio appealing for calm in Manchester and Salford.²¹³

²⁰² (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 19:04:58-19:06:35).

²⁰³ (GMP, 2011b; Tweet 84; *Videos*: Bonaldi, 2011; Sw10sstudios, 2011 [shows perpetrator setting the fire]).

²⁰⁴ (Williams, 2016).

²⁰⁵ (Barr, 2011 [confirms timing]; Senior, 2011; Transcript MAN1110112304; *Video*: Mokrosz, 2011b; ukriots2011, 2011b [Market Street is blocked off at this point]).

²⁰⁶ (Tweets 65, 66).

²⁰⁷ (Senior, 2011; *Video*: Stone, 2011, 1:39).

²⁰⁸ (Lugg, 2011).

²⁰⁹ (BBC Radio Manchester, 19:45:11-19:47:00; *Mirror.co.uk*, 2011).

²¹⁰ (*Video: Manchester Evening News*, 2011c).

²¹¹ (Clifton & Allison, 2011; *Mirror.co.uk*, 2011).

²¹² One participant recounted that there was nothing left in Pretty Green apart from a cardboard cut-out of the singer (Transcripts MAN2919119907; MAN2110119903).

²¹³ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 19:04:58).

19:00-19:30 (2) – Looting in Piccadilly Gardens²¹⁴

Exact times cannot be ascertained, but sometime between 19:00-19:30, a significant amount of damage to shops and looting occurred in the area of Piccadilly Gardens. The aforementioned Kro Bar was broken into by two or three participants, followed by about twenty people.²¹⁵ The police were holding a line in front of Debenhams at the top of Market Street, a few hundred metres away. The crowd then moved across the bus lanes to the shops on the south side of Piccadilly Gardens, even further away from the police cordon.²¹⁶ Piccadilly Gardens was crowded, with one eyewitness estimating between 500-1,000 people being present at this point, though mostly spectators. Spar, a mini supermarket, was broken into and looted, though after hearing police sirens, 20-30 participants ran away from the store. Some looting continued, along with much breaking of glass and stone throwing. A few minutes later, once they ascertained that the sound of sirens did not herald a police response, there was a surge as people re-entered the store to loot. Looting progressed along a row of shops, including Ladbrokes (a bookmaker), Piccadilly Amusements, Quality Save (discount store), Cow (vintage clothing shop) and a Marks and Spencer food hall. People “grabbed what they could before police arrived.”²¹⁷

At around 19:30, the atmosphere in the city centre was described as “electric” by one group of witnesses.²¹⁸ Nevertheless to be caught up in the disturbances was undoubtedly a frightening experience for many people.²¹⁹ However, despite the media commentary of senseless violence and ‘mob rule’,²²⁰ there was evidence of limiting behaviours amongst the crowd. As people were marching down the street breaking windows, sometimes to loot, sometimes not, the ambience was quite good natured, with those not involved not fearing for their safety.²²¹ In the Gay Village, around Canal Street, a man who was trying to get into his flat dropped his keys and someone from the crowd tried to steal his bag, but 20-30 people rounded on the perpetrator and returned the bag, staying with him until he got into his flat.²²² There was also a report of looting being discouraged at a charity shop in the Northern Quarter.²²³

²¹⁴ There are occasional references to “running battles” in some accounts but this depends on definition. “Running battles” were reported at 19:24:10 by the Press Association and subsequently picked up by BBC news bulletins, but descriptions of attacks directly on police lines are scarce. The pattern was for perpetrators to run away from police advances and engage in activities elsewhere. See also Barr (2018). A representative of the Ramada Foundation also posited “running battles” involving “2,000 people” (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 20:06:30), a remark picked up by *Mirror.co.uk* (2011).

²¹⁵ (Barr, 2018; Transcript MAN0311102312; *Videos*: ukriots2011, 2011f; hudson, 2011a).

²¹⁶ (*Video*: hudson, 2011b, [Spar 4:29, Ladbrokes 4:39]).

²¹⁷ (Transcript MAN20110119903).

²¹⁸ (*Indymedia uk*, 2011).

²¹⁹ (Williams, 2016).

²²⁰ (Seamark, Martin, Kisiel, & Evans, 2011 [one example]).

²²¹ (*Indymedia uk*, 2011).

²²² (Transcript MAN2110119903 [describing a Sky News report. This type of situation was also described in Salford. "I heard someone say, 'Let's burn the bingo down,' and I heard someone say: 'I can't burn that, my mam will kill me.'"]; Lewis, P., 2011).

²²³ (Barr, 2018).

19:30-20:00 – GMP initiate plans to create sterile areas, crowds disperse in different directions including Northern Quarter, Portland Street, Oxford Road and Canal Street, looting continues in Exchange Theatre area.

There were already clashes between police and large crowds occurring in Piccadilly Gardens when at 19:51 GMP Silver Command made a policy decision to deploy police resources to Market Street to secure the sterile area and then to “work through systematically until sterile” Piccadilly Gardens, Deansgate, Albert Square, the GMP City Centre Station and Bootle Street.²²⁴ Police began dispersing the crowd from Piccadilly Gardens and by 20:00 they had cleared the square and it was estimated there “were more than 100 riot police there with batons”.²²⁵

The crowds in Piccadilly Gardens dispersed in different directions. One group moved southwest down Moseley Street (Figure 3 Location 10) where other premises were attacked. One TAU carrier and two smaller police vans followed them and the crowd ran away.²²⁶ Others went north towards Victoria Station (Figure 3 Location 11), where they congregated and engaged in what can be interpreted as a stand-off with police.²²⁷ A large number headed towards the Northern Quarter (Figure 3 Location 12), to the north east of Piccadilly Gardens, looting Tesco on their way.²²⁸ At one point, there were about 300-400 people in Oldham Street (Figure 3 Location 13) as looting broke out.²²⁹ Others dispersed south west along Portland Street (Figure 3 Location 14) towards St Peters Square. From around 19:45 Portland Street became the scene of much disorder. Dawson, a high-end music shop, was vandalised and looted.²³⁰ It was reported that “Loads of keyboards have been pinched and then thrown through a newsagent’s window.”²³¹ A newsagent opposite was looted and NatWest bank had its windows broken.²³² Parts of this crowd headed towards nearby Canal Street (Figure 3 Location 15) whilst others looted Maplins, an electrical store, on Oxford Road (Figure 3 Location 16).²³³

The GMP had sealed off the Arndale Centre by this stage, but in nearby Exchange Street (Figure 3 Location 17) to the southwest the looting continued. A BBC reporter broadcast live, just after 19:45, from the scene as 40-50 youths of about 16-17 years of age tried to break the front of Fat Face, a clothes shop. The youths ran down the street and then tried to break into T Mobile. Swarovski, a jewellers, was attacked, and, “to say they’ve gone in and nicked all the jewellery is an understatement. They’ve got absolutely everything.” Youths

²²⁴ (GMP, 2011b; Tweet 85).

²²⁵ (Tweets 70, 71, 72). It should be noted that Piccadilly Gardens was not cleared permanently.

²²⁶ (Video: Raw Cut Archive, 2015 [around 4:44 and 7:02, people move out of Piccadilly Gardens to Moseley Street. TAUs approach at 7:54]; Transcript MAN 20110119903 [people “grabbed what they could” before police arrived from Market Street]).

²²⁷ The term “running battles” is used by the witness. However, what is actually described is a line of police officers moving forward, young people moving back, young people moving forward again, whilst congregating around Victoria Station. The crowd is described as a mostly white but multi-ethnic crowd (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 20:06:30-20:09:00).

²²⁸ (Senior, 2011, BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 19:16:16; Transcript MAN0311102312; Tweet 68).

²²⁹ (Transcript MAN231011262; *Photograph: BBC News*, 2011a; *Video: ukriots2011*, 2011c).

²³⁰ (Barr, 2018; Tweet 67; Transcript MAN0311102312).

²³¹ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 20:44:56).

²³² (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 23:36:21; Tweets 79, 80).

²³³ (Senior, 2011; Transcript MAN2110119903; Tweet 69).

subsequently broke into Office, a footwear store, having given up on entering T Mobile, and ran away with training shoes.²³⁴

The confusion created by the rapid movement of dispersed groups of looters from one area of the city centre to another was remarked upon by Manchester City Centre councillor Mark Ramsbottom who stated that “the police could not be everywhere”.²³⁵ In contrast to the criticism of a heavy-handed response in Salford, there was some condemnation of the operation in Manchester on the basis that the police had been too soft on the rioters.²³⁶ Nevertheless, the Chief Constable defended his actions:

As sensible police officers, you are aware that if you react too soon, you may create the context where disturbance occurs...In a way we won because we lost. I was under some pressure to go in hard and use more robust tactics. I completely reject that because we would only need one rioter to be killed or one piece of CCTV showing police going in too hard and that would have created further disturbance completely damaged the police’s reputation.²³⁷

In spite of this assertion, there is some video evidence showing the use of the baton on individuals once they had been separated from the crowd.²³⁸ The Assistant Chief Constable stated that more than 1,000 officers were deployed but they were “overwhelmed by the number of rioters”.²³⁹

20:00-21:00 - Spectators departing, leaving rioters and police in “furious cat and mouse” scenario, looting continues in Exchange Theatre and St Ann’s Square areas, Sainsbury’s in Deansgate looted, criminal damage spreads, some perpetrators head towards Piccadilly Station.

With the approach of dusk most of the onlookers had vacated the city centre.²⁴⁰ This left behind the rioters and police who engaged in “a furious cat and mouse hunt on the city centre’s smoke-filled streets.”²⁴¹ Reporters from on-line news outlet *Mancunian Matters* returned to their office in Albert Square near the Town Hall (Figure 3 Location 18) noting that “tensions grow worse”, and watched as the streets around the building were “full of gangs smashing bus shelters, kicking about bins and throwing anything to hand at shop windows.” The Tesco Express nearby had its windows broken, likewise the Abode hotel and restaurant next door.²⁴² Just after 20:00 all the mobile phone shops on St. Ann’s Square (Figure 3 Location 19)²⁴³ had been looted and by 20:30 arrests had been made in Swarovski, the jewellery shop. Windows were “smashed” at the clothes shop American Apparel,²⁴⁴ and “troops” of looters headed towards Piccadilly Station (Figure 3 Location 20), breaking the

²³⁴ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 19:48:39-19:52:14).

²³⁵ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 20:52:03).

²³⁶ (BBC News, 2011a [The Blackley & Broughton MP Graham Stringer said he believed the Chief Constable “has a lot to answer for”]; Williams, 2011).

²³⁷ (Williams, 2016).

²³⁸ (Videos: BBC News, 2011b, 2:03; ukriots2011, 2011d).

²³⁹ (BBC News, 2011).

²⁴⁰ (Senior, 2011 [Sunset was at 20:50]).

²⁴¹ (Senior, 2011).

²⁴² (Keane, 2011b; Senior, 2011).

²⁴³ (Blog: McDermott, 2011).

²⁴⁴ (Blog: McDermott, 2011).

windows of Tesco Express on the way.²⁴⁵ By 20:30 the windows of Manchester's iconic department store Kendals (owned by House of Fraser) on Deansgate had been broken.²⁴⁶

As people dispersed in different directions, *Mancunian Matters* staff were trapped in their offices and hid under the windows to avoid being seen in the glass walled building.²⁴⁷ Along Deansgate, an eye-witness described the scene as "a circus", with people turning up with dogs, "...little brothers on bikes...it looks like the people that time forgot...Christmas is coming early for them." The supermarket Sainsbury's on Deansgate was also the target for attack, with no police presence.²⁴⁸ More worryingly for the GMP, just before 20:00 it was reported that "Looters on Deansgate now armed with swords" after a martial arts shop was robbed.²⁴⁹ By 20:22 police had finally closed and emptied the whole length of Market Street of the public and cleared Albert Square.²⁵⁰ At 20:45, a BBC reporter broadcast live that police appeared to have sealed off the central core of Manchester but it remained a tense situation with many youths wandering around, hooded and masked up.²⁵¹

21:00-21:45 – Police take control around Deansgate and protect 'high-end' shops, significant looting continues in Northern Quarter, some disorder in Piccadilly Gardens before cleared by police as many surrounding streets in city centre cordoned off.

By 21:00, three TAU vehicles had arrived at Sainsbury's on Deansgate with 12-15 officers who proceeded to cordon off the building (Figure 3 Cordon C). A BBC reporter on the scene commented that as well as the "ubiquitous spotters on their bikes...people were looking initially to get round the posh shops and the police seem to have that fairly well covered at the moment."²⁵² At approximately 21:00, in the Northern Quarter, Cash Converters was broken into and people were observed stealing televisions and then dropping them into the street yards away when they realised they could not carry them home.²⁵³ At the top end of the High Street, near the market in the Northern Quarter (Figure 3 Location 21), witnesses noted that cars were arriving with people getting out with empty shopping bags. They were described as walking into the city centre and then fifteen minutes later returning with their 'booty'.²⁵⁴ Looting was still underway in several areas.²⁵⁵ The landmark Afflecks Palace (Figure 3 Location 22; a former department store, home to many artisan outlets), also in the Northern quarter, had been broken into around 20:45 and was still being looted at 21:30.²⁵⁶

In the city centre, a reporter from *Mancunian Matters* noted police were guarding the entrances to most of the major thoroughfares including Oldham Street, Market Street,

²⁴⁵ (Keane, 2011b; Senior, 2011).

²⁴⁶ (Tweet 73; *Manchester Evening News*, 2011).

²⁴⁷ (Senior, 2011).

²⁴⁸ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 20:38:04).

²⁴⁹ (GMP, 2011b). It is unclear if this report was substantiated.

²⁵⁰ (GMP, 2011b).

²⁵¹ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 20:45:44-20:47:09).

²⁵² (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 20:56:11).

²⁵³ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 21:23:27).

²⁵⁴ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 21:25:21-21:25:58 [part of this account could have been referring to earlier in the day]).

²⁵⁵ (Video: ukriots2011, 2011e).

²⁵⁶ (Senior, 2011, Tweets 74, 75, 76).

Mosley Street, Portland Street that surround Piccadilly Gardens as well as the route to Piccadilly Railway station (Figure 3 Cordons D-G). However, groups of looters were still moving freely through the side-streets avoiding the police cordons. Some groups of looters even returned to Piccadilly Gardens. The area was described as “swarming with people” with teenage girls drinking wine and discarding bottles whilst groups of men moved around “aimlessly”. Following one group, the reporter saw the amusement arcade that had been targeted earlier in the evening being attacked again. The police in full “riot gear” charged, “roaring” as they approached with batons and with shields raised. Police shouted to the crowds to “go home”, though it appeared to the *Mancunian* reporter that their cordons were hindering the movement of people who wanted to do so.²⁵⁷

21:45-00:00 – Northern Quarter still scene of looting, perpetrators leave city centre causing disorder en route, once area secured police move people out “slowly but surely”.

At around 21:45, and for the next hour, the situation gradually changed, with some groups of looters leaving the city centre. Streets were full of people, mostly young with hoodies, slowly making their way home, yet still causing disorder. A “steady stream of men and children” walked out of the city centre with looted goods in groups of five or six. Along Brewer Street (Figure 3 Location 23) a few missiles were thrown, whilst some residents heckled the retreating groups.²⁵⁸ Meanwhile, there was unrest in the vicinity of the Britannia Hotel on Portland Street²⁵⁹ whilst to the west people were “chasing up” John Dalton Street (Figure 3 Location 24) and around the back roads avoiding police; and some bins were set on fire.²⁶⁰ Tesco on Princess Street (Figure 3 Location 25) was looted by 15 young people.²⁶¹ During the evening, the lights in the BBC building on Oxford Road to the south were turned off (to avoid becoming a target) and the staff, trapped in the building, watched people looting Maplins and Greggs the bakers opposite, where looters stole packets of crisps.²⁶²

A number of smaller groups remained active in the city centre, with businesses, banks, hotels and bus stops being damaged and shops looted even on the fringes of the Northern Quarter; one reporter commented “Nothing is safe”.²⁶³ In the Northern Quarter, at around 22:20, looting was still occurring close to Afflecks Palace. Looters broke into a trainers shop, and as a BBC reporter crunched through the remains of the Cash Generator store, they noted that a jewellers and a gold shop on Withy Grove adjacent to the Arndale Centre had been raided. There was a line of police nearby, but not moving, as youths blatantly stole shoes and one “well dressed lady wandered off with a handbag”. It appeared that the police were concentrating their resources on keeping control of the Arndale centre.²⁶⁴

²⁵⁷ (Keane, 2011c; GMP, 2011b).

²⁵⁸ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 21:38:42).

²⁵⁹ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 21:39:42-22:22:00; Tweets 82, 83).

²⁶⁰ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 21:56:27).

²⁶¹ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 22:01:21).

²⁶² (BBC Journalist 2 interview; Transcripts MAN0311102312).

²⁶³ (Senior, 2011).

²⁶⁴ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 22:19:03-22:20:09).

By 23:00, most of the rioters were leaving the city centre, and by midnight the *Mancunian Matters* reporters were leaving for home as the office was no longer surrounded²⁶⁵ and Piccadilly Gardens was empty of people.²⁶⁶ Over the course of the evening, “shop after shop” had been raided from Bang & Olufsen, an upmarket hi-fi store, to specialist retailers like Dawson’s music store on Portland Street, to newsagents where they stole cigarettes, lottery tickets “and anything else they could find”.²⁶⁷ A Sky reporter broadcasting live at midnight stood in the middle of an empty Corporation Street with a few “hoodies” making mischief around him, and there were still youths wandering around the Northern Quarter at about 01:00 but no trouble reported.²⁶⁸ Once police secured an area, they moved people out “slowly but surely”.²⁶⁹

There seems to be some acknowledgement, by a participant and a local newspaper, that the actions of the police, intentional or not, were to a certain extent effective. One witness explained that police dispersed smaller groups in different directions, rather than confronting larger crowds, and thereby provoking attacks. Participants could not physically deal with the police presence once the crowds were split into smaller groups. The GMP units appeared to “pick off the smaller groups and take advantage of the crowd when it was at its weakest”.²⁷⁰ Police reinforcements had been called for and at some point in the evening, seven different forces responded with two TAUs from West Yorkshire Police arriving between 21:00-21:15. This may explain the heavy police presence around Piccadilly Gardens around this time. There were accounts of the presence of Welsh police at 23:07, plus police from Staffordshire. Though the number of reinforcements was below the level of the 25 TAUs requested, by the end of the evening there appear to have been sufficient numbers to deter further looting.²⁷¹ One journalist reported, “Rioters seem satisfied with their gains and appear to be leaving disparaged [discouraged] by a persistent GMP police force”.²⁷²

At 00:30, on the Wednesday, GMP considered it safe enough to allow MCC street cleaners to start clearing up on Market Street. Other areas of the city were cleared during the night.²⁷³ The multi-agency Gold Control Centre was stood down at 02:30. During the evening, and particularly after 23:00, offers of help to ‘clear up’ from members of the public were received by MCC and a meeting point was arranged for Piccadilly Gardens the next morning from 09:00.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁵ (Senior, 2011).

²⁶⁶ (Barr, 2018).

²⁶⁷ (*Ceasefire magazine*, 2011).

²⁶⁸ (Barr, 2018; *Video: illegal*, 2011).

²⁶⁹ (BBC Radio Manchester, 2011, 23:40:48).

²⁷⁰ (Transcript MAN2110119903).

²⁷¹ (Barr, 2018).

²⁷² (Senior, 2011).

²⁷³ (Manchester City Council, 2011a; Barr, 2018).

²⁷⁴ (Manchester City Council, 2011a).

Appendix 1: Disorder related arrestees in Greater Manchester

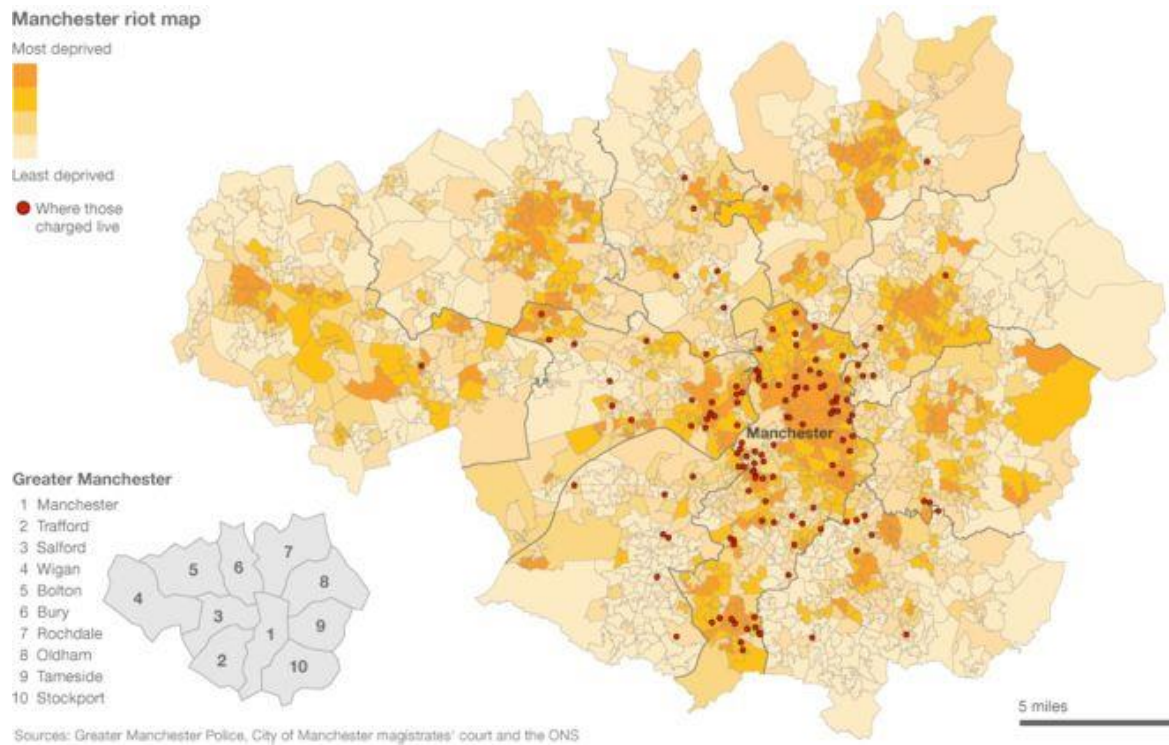


Figure 4: Map of home addresses of 197 people charged with riot-related offences at Manchester City Magistrates Court up until 23 August 2011, plotted against levels of deprivation (IMD score) by Super Output Areas.²⁷⁵

Table 1. Number charged and sentenced in each deprivation category in Greater **Manchester and Merseyside.**

IMD decile of area of residence	Total charged in Greater Manchester n (%)	Total sentenced in Greater Manchester n (%)	Total charged in Merseyside n (%)
1 (least deprived 10%)	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	22 (7%)
2	4 (3%)	2 (2%)	26 (8%)
3	3 (2%)	3 (4%)	21 (6%)
4	6 (4%)	1 (1%)	35 (10%)
5	9 (6%)	8 (10%)	29 (9%)
6	15 (10%)	11 (14%)	36 (11%)
7	15 (10%)	6 (7%)	35 (10%)
8	18 (12%)	11 (14%)	34 (10%)
9	22 (15%)	13 (16%)	53 (16%)
10 (most deprived 10%)	53 (36%)	26 (32%)	44 (13%)
Total	147 (100%)	81 (100%)	335 (100%)

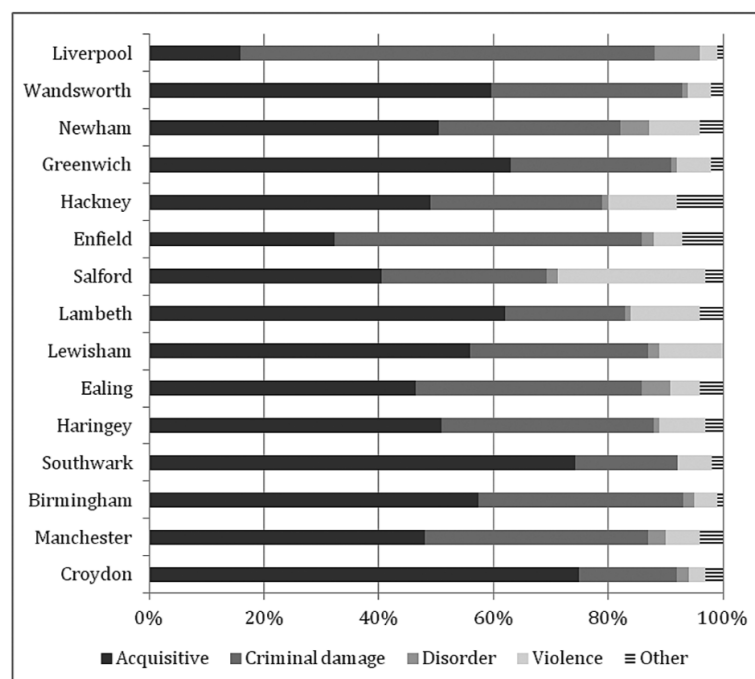
²⁷⁵ Reproduced with permission from the BBC. Accessed from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-14812819>.

Figure 5: Table of arrestees from Greater Manchester and IMD decile for their area of residence who were charged and sentenced for disorder related offences in August 2011.²⁷⁶

Explanatory extract from Lightowlers (2015):

A significant positive association of the same strength between deprivation score and number of sentences dispensed per LSOA was identified in Greater Manchester ($p=.191$, $p<.01$). Table 1 (column 2) [Figure 5] presents the number sentenced according to the deprivation of the area in which they lived. Whilst some of those sentenced for offences perpetrated in relation to the riots in Manchester in August 2011 are resident in well-off areas, the proportion of residents involved in the riots is nearly five times as high in more deprived areas than in less deprived areas, with almost a third (32.1%) of all those charged in the tenth most deprived areas. This time using sentencing data, there is once more a clear association between deprivation and the likelihood of being sentenced for criminally riotous behaviour.

Appendix 2: Disorder-related crime typology in August 2011



Disorder-related crime by local authority area, by type of crime. Source: adapted Home Office (2011).

Figure 6: Disorder related crime by local authority area, by type of crime for major incidents in August 2011.²⁷⁷

Explanatory extract from Newburn et al. (2015):

²⁷⁶ (Lightowlers, 2015, p. 98).

²⁷⁷ (Newburn et al., 2015, pp. 992-993).

In both Nottingham and Salford, the core of the rioting involved attacks on the police, and on police stations, and very little in the way of 'looting' was reported...[Figure 6] illustrates the significant variations between areas.

4. References

***The Guardian* - London School of Economics "Reading the Riots" transcripts**

MAN0311102312

MAN1010112303

MAN1110112304

MAN1910119901

MAN2010112405

MAN201011261

MAN2110119903

MAN2310112310

MAN231011262

MAN2310119905

MAN2919119907

MAN25101199061

SAL1110112701

SAL1110112702

SAL1110112703

Interviews

BBC Journalist 1: 14th August, 2018

BBC Journalist 2: 14th August, 2018

BBC Journalist 3: 14th August, 2018

BBC Journalist 4: 3rd January, 2019

Eye-witness 1: 15th August, 2018

Eye-witness 2: 15th August, 2018

Eye-witness 3: 15th August, 2018

Twitter data

No.	User (add #)	Date (2011)	Time ²⁷⁸	Comment
Salford				
1	kandrews8098	8 th August	17:49	There's loads of youths getting on the buses heading towards Manchester and Salford, Stop It! #manchesterriots
2	Jackhynes	8 th August	19:22	30 people running from Mocha Parade, Salford towards Manchester in grey tracksuits #frommywindow #manchesterriots
3	@gmpolice	8 th August	21:44	Numerous people on social network sites say that trouble will breakout in Salford tomorrow #LondonRiots
4	ArronSMarshall	8 th August	23:23	Cheetham Hill/Trinity Way in Salford may have started riots #Londonriots #nomanchesterriots #BBC
5	JosephStash	8 th August	23:40	A call to action in Salford? "@technicalfault: link in http://t.co/7iK5mrK now protected but still here > http://t.co/oUO9vHu " #riots
6	phildbond	8 th August	23:29	Three cars were set on fire in salford, trinity way. They been put out, police are in attendance. #manchester
7	MrLukeBenson	9 th August	00:09	"@phildbond: Three cars were set on fire in salford, trinity way. They been put out, police are in attendance. #manchester" @MrCoryB
8	sheenius	9 th August	09:47	Manchester police confirm that torching of cars was not #Londonriots related rioting but an average night in Salford: http://t.co/qxwLDia
9	stevedouglasitv	9 th August	16:36	Hundreds of police line up in salford. Bricks thrown at officers. #riots http://yfrog.com/gz8ctdj
10	HelloImGary	9 th August	16:44	Churchill way is gridlocked. Just been interviewed for bbc manchester. #salford #ukriots

²⁷⁸ The listed time has been corrected for British Summer Time (UTC + 1 hour) and is the actual time the tweet was sent.

No.	User (add #)	Date (2011)	Time ²⁷⁸	Comment
11	HelloImGary	9 th August	16:56	Police seem to be withdrawing . Daring for my own safety due to amount of rocks being thrown. #salford #ukriots
12	Orderof9Angles	9 th August	16:58	#Looks like police are in retreat in their first engagement with protesters in Salford. #londonriots #salford #manchester #ukriots #bristol
13	Rgoodwin1117	9 th August	17:05	Police retreating from youths in salford #ukriots
14	redrach51	9 th August	17:50	BBC NW reporter: Crowds 'cheering as they go into Salford Shopping City'.... #UKRiots
15	ManchesterRiots	9 th August	17:52	BBC report looters raiding Bargain Booze and the money shop in Salford. #ManchesterRiots
16	dpmhiaddict	9 th August	17:57	#riotsmanchester Looting in Salford....Bargain Booze and The Money Shop....happening now in broad daylight!
17	MLG_Aidenward	9 th August	17:52	Salford precinct is being raided right now #londonriots
18	HelloImGary	9 th August	17:54	they have broken into bargain booze. Young kids with bottles of wine. No police whatsoever. #salford #ukriots
19	BBCNews	9 th August	18:23	The Central Housing office in Salford is on fire #ukriots http://bbc.in/rh9y4e
20	NikkiDaGaffa	9 th August	20:40	Lidl in Salford raided. 100+ sat outside having a drink? You fucking joking me??? #ManchesterRiots
21	garfinkle2010	9 th August	18:14	Building set on fire opposite Salford precinct #manchesterriots
22	KOPCHOIR	9 th August	18:51	Salford old library up in flames #UKRiots http://t.co/BWos3Dm
23	redrach51	9 th August	17:50	BBC North West reporter just relayed that shops and his cameraman are currently being attacked in Salford. #UKRiots

No.	User (add #)	Date (2011)	Time ²⁷⁸	Comment
24	iaijw	9 th August	17:50	#salfordprecinct #riots BBC Radio Manchester report Bargain Booze now getting looted and a cameraman has been attacked.
25	Ali55_MUK	9 th August	20:13	a family pulls up in car outside salford shopping centre and fill up boot with stolen goods.WTF #manchester-report from bbc radio
26	kraytwin	9 th August	19:49	They're going after Lidl near Salford Precinct, probably to torch #manchesterriots
27	MushFaceToft	9 th August	20:10	Looting Lidl ... http://yfrog.com/kj8ztxqj #salford #ukriots #riots @bbcnews
28	tinitedotcom	9 th August	21:12	A family drove up to a Lidl in Salford and filled their car with looted goods before driving off. #manchesterriots
29	SamBorni	9 th August	19:50	Salford police surrounded by guys in tracksuits throwing objects at them. The North West is definitely not the place to be. #ManchesterRiots
30	Leahjchapman	9 th August	19:50	watching live tv of a man in Salford trying to throw a brick bigger than his head at the riot police..hope he breaks his foot #londonriots
31	Callum_F1	9 th August	19:50	some chavs in hoods throwing stuff at riot police in Salford, Manchester #ukriots
32	redskyatnight	9 th August	21:19	Smoke everywhere - can't see much out of the windows any more. #salford #manchester THE END OF SALFORD
33	ManuBhattUK	9 th August	21:21	#manchesterriots Riots in manchester. Few shops set on fire in Salford. Very tense situation and surreal
34	HelloImGary	9 th August	15:22	large groups gathering. Shopping centre immediately closed. Police on scene. #salford #ukriots

No.	User (add #)	Date (2011)	Time ²⁷⁸	Comment
35	HelloImGary	9 th August	15:23	Massive police presence around precinct now. At least 7 vehicles. #salford #ukriots
36	HelloImGary	9 th August	15:52	Still a large amount of Police in area. Crowd seems to have dispersed, yet again. #salford #ukriots
37	TomDGreen	9 th August	16:41	Security at Salford Precinct say just 20 kids knocking bins over earlier. Nothing major at all #salford #riots
38	HelloImGary	9 th August	17:01	Police seem to have left area now. Approx 2/300 hoods still in area though.
39	HelloImGary	9 th August	18:06	http://yfrog.com/kjoogqj - Police have finally arrived on the scene #Salford #ukriots
40	HelloImGary	9 th August	18:16	People are appearing in droves reckon close to 1000 now. Complete disregard for police presence. Scary stuff. #Salford #ukriots
41	HelloImGary	9 th August	18:17	Fire crews on scene to deal with blaze #Salford #ukriots
42	colfonz	9 th August	20:12	Lidl now firebombed in salford. #UKriots #Manchesterriots
43	HelloImGary	9 th August	16:48	Another 30or so shot [riot] police have arrived on scene. #salford #ukriots
Manchester City Centre				
44	DJTrebor	9 th August	14:42	5 riot vans in Picadilly Gardens
45	Cloud9FestiUPTOHEREval	9 th August	14:53	Riot vans at Piccadilly Gardens with.Dogs. Be safe Manchester #manchesterriots
46	UKRiotUpdates	9 th August	14:56	BREAKING: Heavy police presence in Piccadilly Gardens - http://t.co/PoN5bNI #ukriots #manchesterriots
47	woolhead1989	9 th August	18:09	Ugg shop in #manchester smashed and looted pictures here http://www.facebook.com/peace.in.mcr

No.	User (add #)	Date (2011)	Time ²⁷⁸	Comment
48	lwatsonx	9 th August	19:18	so the ugg shop smashed, miss selfridges on fire, and all gathering outside the arndale.. WELL DONE YOU DICKHEADS, WELL DONE! #manchester
49	serridge6	9 th August	15:06	some shops have closed in arndale already, spoke to staff in one shop as they were leaving #manchester #riots
50	ta5ta5_basha	9 th August	16:06	OK its confirmed: Arndale Centre told to close at 4 PM today #Manchester
51	LeanneForshaw	9 th August	17:49	Update from my friend at #Manchester Arndale. They have now made a decision to close the centre at 6pm this evening.
52	MM_newsonline	9 th August	17:43	Windows have been smashed at Selfridges, Harvey Nicholls, Thomas Cook and more. photos and video updates s
53	JordanDWilson	9 th August	17:43	Saw it with my own eyes. 50ish kids on bikes smashing windows of HN then looting reiss and a few others. #manchesterriots
54	yfrog.com/keam2jfb	9 th August	18:20	Big crowds and lots of police around in extremely tough-looking armour around Piccadilly Gardens #Manchester
55	VICEUK	9 th August	18:31	More from Manchester - ""They're trying to clear Piccadilly Gardens with little success. Big show of force though"" http:// su.pr/24wOhY #Riots
56	CaitSithz	9 th August	18:11	#arndale #manchester #manchesterriots TONS of ppl outside of arndale in balaclavas pic.twitter.com/p1liFiW
57	joeblogsmusic	9 th August	17:47	Several shop windows smashed on Market street - Thomas cook, arnfalw centre etc... #Manchester

No.	User (add #)	Date (2011)	Time ²⁷⁸	Comment
58	UKRiotUpdates	9 th August	17:48	BREAKING: Customers locked in a Tesco store: http://yfrog.com/kjj9bgoj #ukriots #manchesterriots
59	tehancocks	9 th August	17:48	Manchester Arndale just been evacuated after Market Street TESCO looting. #Manchester
60	timinbarking	9 th August	18:41	People running down Market street now #Manchester
61	phildonohue	9 th August	18:43	Just saw DOZENS of people running up Market Street shouting and screaming towards Piccadilly Gardens #manchester
62	samjustsamyeah	9 th August	18:43	About 50 kids on Market street basically playing cat and mouse with police. Some arriving by tram #Manchester
63	WKWilliams	9 th August	18:30	Over 100 hooded youths heading towards Deansgate from St Annes Square #Manchester
64	elle_c_emm	9 th August	18:33	50 youths or more just bounded up Deansgate from Salford. Just opp John Rylands. #manchester 7 police on foot towards them now.
65	Pedro_L	9 th August	19:13	Mounted police in Manchester dispersing crowds from fire in Market Street #UKRiots
66	sagesagesage	9 th August	19:47	The way police are clearing Market St means lots of bystanders being caught amongst the trouble. #Manchester #ukriots
67	kitty_says	9 th August	19:45	Not Dawsons?! RT @manchestermule: Windows out in music shop on portland street #Manchester
68	13twelve	9 th August	19:23	I've been moved on into the NQ #ManchesterRiots
69	cr4sh44	9 th August	19:34	Rioters pushed to canal street #ManchesterRiots

No.	User (add #)	Date (2011)	Time ²⁷⁸	Comment
70	politibat	9 th August	19:56	Market Street, Piccadilly Gardens and bus station are ALL closed. #Manchester
71	draddee	9 th August	19:57	BBC: Manchester Piccadilly Gardens not accessible, more than 100 riot police there with batons present #UKRiots
72	mshafiquk	9 th August	19:59	Piccadilly gardens is now clear but heading towards Victoria #Manchester #riots
73	Tombrookspolloc	9 th August	20:27	Just seen youth try to smash window of House of Fraser on Deansgate. Cheered on by others. Cdnt take pic as leered at #manchester
74	MartinRHill	9 th August	20:43	Afflecks palace has had it #riot #manchester
75	BazCross	9 th August	21:25	The Great Unwashed looting Afflecks Palace. Put your energies into finding a job.Lazy scum bastards. #ukriots #manchesterriots
76	NeilKnighton	9 th August	21:36	Soulless bastards looting Afflecks Palace. Disgusting, shallow, selfish cretins. You don't deserve to set foot in my city again. #manchester
77	BoySean	9 th August	17:40	We've all been locked in the Tesco on Market St in Manchester. Nobody allowed to leave #Manchesterriots
78	ArianaSana	9 th August	17:43	Fuck I'm locked in tescos market st its kickin off #manchesterriots #manchesterriots
79	politibat	9 th August	19:42	Portland Street #Manchester 200 smashing fuck out of shops No police presence
80	adlynch	9 th August	20:27	Newsagents, music shop and natwest bank on Portland Street, Manchester smashed in. #ukriots #manchesterriots @JamesCridland
81	tombrookspolloc	9 th August	22:44	Some normality restored to Piccadilly end of Portland St. Traffic and people moving again #manchester

No.	User (add #)	Date (2011)	Time ²⁷⁸	Comment
82	SimonJ68	9 th August	21:36	Portland Street #Manchester Same 200 odd, taunting cars - no police. Whatever GMP tactic is, it has failed. Police arrive as I type
83	Imranalime	9 th August	21:38	Fuckin savages going after the hotels on portland street #manchester
84	backinvenice	9 th August	19:17	#Manchester miss selfridge on fire. Zara evacuated and Harvey nics too.
85	shaistaAziz	9 th August	19:44	Pitch battles around Piccadilly Gardens #Manchester #ukriots

Other sources

Angela Roche (2011, 10 August) *Manchester Riots: Joy riding on stolen JCB outside Islington Mill* [YouTube video M[71]]. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2ZaRokYhf0s>

alysongmagurno (2011, 9 August) *Manchester Under Attack – Riots – 09/08/2011* [YouTube video M[24]]. Retrieved from

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=orgktY5EejA&index=25&list=PL2E_2-O169coYni0ltbEPyT5AQ39e-g93

aristarcus69 (2011, 11 August) *Police retreat Salford riot*. [YouTube video M[49]]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pbP_VbUHQbY

Aufheben (2012), posted by Kay, J. (2011, 17 November). *Intakes: Communities, commodities and class in the August 2011 riots*. Retrieved from <https://libcom.org/library/intakes-communities-commodities-class-august-2011-riots-aufheben>

BabyShotzZ (2011, 10 August) *Manchester Riots 2011 Shops and cars torched in Salford and Manchester*. [YouTube video M[2]]. Retrieved from

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pb6_Xj8MRqo&list=PL2E_2-O169coYni0ltbEPyT5AQ39e-g93&index=2

Ball, R., & Drury, J. (2012). Representing the riots: The (mis) use of statistics to sustain ideological explanation. *Radical Statistics*, 106, 4-21.

Barr, D.S., (2018). *Robust Policing and Defiant Identities: A Social Identity Study of the Greater Manchester Riots 2011*. (Unpublished doctoral thesis). University of Manchester, Manchester, England.

Bazargan, D., (2013, 20 August) *The Riots In Their Own Words – The Police*. [YouTube video M[50]]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qktOvVNXwc>

BBC News, (2011a, 10 August). Police ‘overwhelmed’ by riots in Manchester and Salford. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-manchester-14467588>

- BBC News (2011b, 10 August) *Police 'overwhelmed' by riots in Manchester and Salford*. [Video file] Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-manchester-14467588>
- BBC News UK (2011, 15 August) *England riots: Maps and timeline*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-14436499>
- Beyond Contagion. (2016). Playlists [YouTube Channel]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCLKsjFC5HBgnDTE7R2HFTiw/playlists>
- BhamUrbanNewsUK (2011, 9 August) *UK Riots (Manchester) 2011* [YouTube video M[1]]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h6vOKV7H6_o&list=PL2E_2-O169coYni0ltbEPyT5AQ39e-g93&index=1
- Bianchi, D., (2011, 10 August). *Tolleranza Zoro Edizione Estiva 2011 – Riots in Manchester* [YouTube video M[51]]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SvoQ6KpiQRA>
- Bonaldi, B., (2011, 9 August). *09082011024.mp4* [YouTube video [M53]]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D4R56euPPI8>
- Broadhurst, S., (Photographer). (2014). *Images 1 and 2 depict police officers in riot gear in the vicinity of Brydon Close on Tuesday 9th August 2011* [photograph] in Jeffery, B., & Tufail, W. (2014). "The Riots Were Where the Police Were: Deconstructing the Pendelton Riot". *Contention*, 2(2), 37-56.
- Cameron, D. (2011, 9 August). London riots : Prime Minister's statement in full. *The Telegraph*: Retrieved from <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/8691034/London-riots-Prime-Ministers-statement-in-full.html>
- Ceasefire magazine. (2011, 10, August) Live Blog UK Riots 2011. Retrieved from <https://ceasefiremagazine.co.uk/live-blog-brixton-riots/>
- CH4CHARMER (2011, 10 August) *BAD Bits PART 1/3 shops on fire SALFORD MANCHESTER RIOTS* [YouTube video M[72]]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tfOMYecOnY8>
- Clifton, H., & Allison, E. (2011, 6 December). Manchester and Salford: a tale of two riots. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2011/dec/06/reading-the-riots-manchester-salford>
- College of Policing (2018a). *Public Order Command*. Retrieved from <https://www.app.college.police.uk/app-content/public-order/command/?highlight=PSU?s=PSU>
- College of Policing (2018b) *Stop and Search*. Retrieved from <https://www.app.college.police.uk/?s=Section+60&module=stop-and-search>

- Denef, S., Bayerl, P. S., & Kaptein, N. A. (2013, April). Social media and the police: tweeting practices of British police forces during the August 2011 riots. In *proceedings of the SIGCHI conference on human factors in computing systems*(pp. 3471-3480). ACM.
- FunJustinJustin (2011a, 9 August) *Salford Riots 1* [YouTube video M[53]]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RcploWs5knw>
- FunJustinJustin (2011b, 9 August) *Salford Riots 2* [YouTube video M[54]]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RcploWs5knw&list=PL2E_2-O169coYni0ltbEPyT5AQ39e-g93&index=55
- GMP (2011a, 9 August). *Update on the ongoing situation in Manchester* [YouTube video M[55]]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7XztMQTrXQA>
- GMP (2011b) *Operation Valant: Disorder in Greater Manchester Tuesday 9th August 2011*.
- The Guardian & LSE. (2011). *Reading the riots: Investigating England's summer of disorder*. London: The Guardian & LSE.
- Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary, HMIC (2011) *The Rules of Engagement. A Review of the August 2011 Disorders*. Retrieved from <https://www.justiceinspectores.gov.uk/hmicfrs/media/a-review-of-the-august-2011-disorders-20111220.pdf>
- Home Affairs Committee. (2010) *Policing large scale disorder: Lessons from the disturbances of August 2011. Sixteenth report of session, 12*. Home Office
- Home Office. (2011, 24 October 2011). *An Overview of Recorded Crimes and Arrests Resulting from Disorder Events in August 2011*. Home Office.
- hudson, a., (2011a, 9 August). *Manchester Riots – Gardens* [YouTube video M[56]]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BpDrmtfKtgs>
- hudson, a., (2011b, 9 August). *Manchester Riots – Gardens* [YouTube video M[26]]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9-UhO6pqogE&index=27&list=PL2E_2-O169coYni0ltbEPyT5AQ39e-g93
- Indymedia uk (2011, 10 August). An eyewitness perspective on the riots in Salford and Manchester. Retrieved from <https://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2011/08/483314.html>
- illegal (2011, 10 August) *Manchester Riots: Sky News 9th August 2011* [YouTube video M[21]]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dC9Ewtej1XU&list=PL2E_2-O169coYni0ltbEPyT5AQ39e-g93&index=22
- Itsonitswayy (2011, 9 August) *UK Riots – Manchester Arndale, Salford, City Centre Mayhem!* [YouTube video M[57]]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q0XoszA0qzg>
- itzmikeybyeh (2011, 10 August) *salford madness!!!* [YouTube video M[58]]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PD1PVIgmNRY>

- jamestheposh (2016, 16 October) *Manchester Chavs Interviews! – reasons why they rioted*. [YouTube video M[4]]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rBptqkamnR8&index=4&list=PL2E_2-O169coYni0ltbEPyT5AQ39e-g93
- Jeffery, B., & Tufail, W. (2014). The Riots Were Where the Police Were: Deconstructing the Pendelton Riot. *Contention*, 2(2), 37-56.
- Kasinski, P., (2011, 9th August). *Lidl on fire UK, salford riots*. [YouTube video M[59]]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cTP1V9-uQ1s>
- Keane, D., (2011a). There is disorder in the city – stay away. *Mancunian Matters*. Retrieved from <http://www.mancunianmatters.co.uk/content/090853601-manchester-police-admit-there-disorder-city-%E2%80%93-stay-away>
- Keane, D., (2011b) Manchester – Piccadilly Gardens rioting in pictures. *Mancunian Matters*. Retrieved from <http://www.mancunianmatters.co.uk/content/090853609-looting-rampant-manchester-piccadilly-gardens-rioting-pictures>
- Keane, D., (2011c). How I almost became a rioter: An account of the Manchester riots. *Mancunian Matters*. Retrieved from <http://www.mancunianmatters.co.uk/content/130865666-how-i-almost-became-rioter-account-manchester-riots>
- Kingston, S. (2011a, 9 August). Salford Precinct Riot Alert Salford Police Block Off Precinct As Riot Fear Spreads. *Salford Star*. Retrieved from <http://www.salfordstar.com/article.asp?id=1059>.
- Kingston, S. (2011b, 9 August). Salford Riots Flare As Cars Torched And Lidl Goes Up. *Salford Star*. Retrieved from <http://www.salfordstar.com/article.asp?id=1060>
- Lewis, P., (2011, 5 December). A fire lit in Tottenham that burned Manchester: the rioters' story. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2011/dec/05/tottenham-manchester-rioters-story-england>
- Lewis, P., Newburn, T., Taylor, M., McGillivray, C., Greenhill, A., Frayman, H., & Proctor, R. (2011). Reading the riots: Investigating England's summer of disorder.
- Lightowlers, C. L. (2015). Let's get real about the 'riots': Exploring the relationship between deprivation and the English summer disturbances of 2011. *Critical Social Policy*, 35(1), 89-109.
- Lugg, B., (2011, 10 August) Evacuating the city centre: Fleeing from riots, looters and hoodies in Manchester. *Mancunian Matters*. Retrieved from <http://www.mancunianmatters.co.uk/content/100865663-evacuating-city-centre-fleeing-riots-looters-and-hoodies-manchester>
- m6guvnor (2011, 10 August) *Salford riots 2011*. [YouTube video M[19]]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W0qxq8PsbNw>

- Manchester City Council. (2011a, 14 September). *Manchester City Council Report for Resolution: Disturbances of 9th August 2011*. Manchester City Council Executive.
- Manchester City Council. (2011b, 21 December). *Manchester City Council Report for Resolution: '5 Days in August' Darra Singh Panel Interim Report on the 2011 English Riots*. Manchester City Council Executive.
- Manchester Evening News* (2011, 10 August, updated 18 Jan 2013). How the two proud cities of Manchester and Salford descended into violence and mayhem. Retrieved from <https://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/how-the-two-proud-cities-of-manchester-867731>
- Manchester Evening News* (2011a, 25 August). *CCTV: Rioters go on rampage at Manchester's Arndale Centre* [YouTube video M[60]]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F7wC1Wox8lY>
- Manchester Evening News* (2011b, 9, August). *Looting from Foot Asylum in Manchester's Arndale Centre* [YouTube video M[61]]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0x3hpFlsbPo>
- Manchester Evening News* (2011c, 25 August). *Manchester riots: Attack on Diesel* [YouTube video M[32]]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zKACOF2cl4E&list=PL2E_2-O169coYni0ltbEPyT5AQ39e-g93&index=33
- Mapfumo, S., (2011, 9 August) *salford riot*. [YouTube video M[62]]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=olvOGvZ_74w
- Matthews, H. (2011, 10 August). The Salford riots and the greed of the disenfranchised. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/aug/10/salford-riots-greed-disenfranchised>.
- Meakin, J. (2011, 9 August). *Manchester Riots 2011*. [YouTube video M[48]]. Retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xbsW49vG_k0
- McDermott, C., (2011, 9 August). *Manchester Riot Live Blog*. Retrieved from <https://cm.org.uk/news/manchester-riot-liveblog/>
- Mirror.co.uk*. (2011, 9 August. Updated 2012, 4 February). Manchester riots: '2,000' thugs rampage through city centre. Retrieved from <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/manchester-riots-2000-thugs-rampage-184718>
- Mokrosz, T., (2011a, 11 August) *Riots in Manchester :Scenes from Arndale* [YouTube video M64]]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bHzUbwwTg40>
- Mokrosz, T., (2011b, 13 August) *Manchester Riots:Police Brutality???* [YouTube video M[35]]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XYi2gBF9j2Y&list=PL2E_2-O169coYni0ltbEPyT5AQ39e-g93&index=36

- Moosemasher (2011, 15 August) *Riot Night – England Riots 2011 Documentary*: [YouTube video M[64]]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5hlcvga-bZY>
- Morrell, G., Scott, S., McNeish, D., & Webster, S. (2011). *The August riots in England: Understanding the involvement of young people*. NATCEN.
- Newburn, T., Cooper, K., Deacon, R., & Diski, R. (2015). Shopping for free? Looting, consumerism and the 2011 riots. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 55(5), 987-1004.
- Nowell, A., (2011, 9 August). Riot rumours circulate and police vans arrive in Piccadilly Gardens. *Mancunian Matters*. Retrieved from <http://www.mancunianmatters.co.uk/content/090855969-manchester-remains-tense-riot-rumours-circulate-and-police-vans-arrive-piccadilly>
- OfficialFlip (2011, 10 August). *Salford Riot* [YouTube video M[65]]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oQ82KdQFT78>
- OfficialLondonRiots (2011, 9th August). *Manchester: Salford Riots 2011 09/08/11* [YouTube video M[66]]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZoxLxGN_tr8
- Raw Cut Archive (2015, 16 March). *Manchester Riots /15M-PD018* [YouTube video [M67]] Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fcrYwqjmgog>
- Salford Star (2011a, 9 August) Salford Precinct Riot Alert Salford Police Block Off Precinct As Riot Fear Spreads [*Photographs 1-8*]. *Salford Star*. Retrieved from <http://www.salfordstar.com/article.asp?id=1059>.
- Salford Star (2011b, 10 August). Salford Riots Flare As Cars Torched And Lidl Goes Up. [Photograph 11: *Salford Riots August 2011*], [Photograph 15: *Salford Riots August 2011*], [Photograph 16: *Police watch the smoke rising over Salford Precinct from the Police Station*]. *Salford Star*. Retrieved from <http://www.salfordstar.com/article.asp?id=1060>
- Seamark, M., Martin, A., Kisiel, R., Evans., (2011, 9 August). We ran for our lives as thugs ambushed bus: Chaos across the capital as orgy of violence rages on. *MailOnline*. Retrieved from <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2023949/London-riots-2011-Hackney-Croydon-violence-shows-sign-abating.html>
- Senior, A., (2011, 10 August). PHOTO TIMELINE: Manchester city centre riots and looting in pictures. *Mancunian Matters*. Retrieved from <http://www.mancunianmatters.co.uk/content/100865665-photo-timeline-manchester-city-centre-riots-and-looting-pictures>
- Slattery, J., (2011, 10 August). UK riots: Attacks on journalists and cameramen continue as trouble spreads outside London. Retrieved from <http://jonslattery.blogspot.com/2011/08/uk-riots-attacks-on-journalists-and.html>
- Stone, P., (2011, 10 August). *Manchester Riot part 2* [YouTube video M[60]]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v9ekh9P90zc>

- Stott, C., & Reicher, S. (2011). *Mad Mobs and Englishmen?: Myths and realities of the 2011 riots*. Hachette UK.
- Stott, C., Drury, J., & Reicher, S. (2016). 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.
- Stott, C., Ball, R., Drury, J., Neville, F., Reicher, S., Boardman, A., & Choudhury, S. (2018). The evolving normative dimensions of 'riot': Towards an elaborated social identity explanation. *European Journal of Social Psychology*.
- Sw10sstudios (2011, 9 August) *MANCHESTER RIOT SHOCKING FOOTAGE YOUTH SETS FIRE TO MISS SELFRIDGE STORE CAUGHT ON CAMERA* [YouTube video M[23]]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wfJqg15oRTo&index=24&list=PL2E_2-O169coYni0ltbEPyT5AQ39e-g93
- Twitter Harvesting Dashboard (2018). Retrieved from <http://35.178.239.174:8000/>
- ukriots2011 (2011a, 9 August) *Boy joins riots in Salford – MANCHESTER, RIOTS, AUGUST, 9TH, 2011, PICCADILLY GARDENS* [YouTube video [39]]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a9dpf7SJLWw&list=PL2E_2-O169coYni0ltbEPyT5AQ39e-g93&index=40&oref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.youtube.com%2Fwatch%3Fv%3Da9dpf7SJLWw%26list%3DPL2E_2-O169coYni0ltbEPyT5AQ39e-g93%26index%3D40&has_verified=1
- ukriots2011 (2011b, 9 August). *Manchester today around 6pm (1) MANCHESTER, RIOTS, AUGUST, 9TH, 2011, PICCADILLY, GARDENS*. [YouTube video M[43]]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hq-2G7uRW-0&list=PL2E_2-O169coYni0ltbEPyT5AQ39e-g93&index=44
- ukriots2011 (2011c, 9 August) *Overhead view of looting on Oldham Street – MANCHESTER RIOTS – AUGUST 9TH 2011 – PICCADILLY* [YouTube video M[10]]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FtsYGhkdyXQ&list=PL2E_2-O169coYni0ltbEPyT5AQ39e-g93&index=10
- ukriots2011 (2011d, 10 August) *Police Beat Teenagers On Bikes – MANCHESTER RIOTS – AUGUST 9TH 2011 – PICCADILLY* [YouTube video M[13]]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JZm7PY5Flts&list=PL2E_2-O169coYni0ltbEPyT5AQ39e-g93&index=13
- ukriots2011 (2011e, 10 August) *City Centre Northern Quarter Ridelow – MANCHESTER RIOTS – AUGUST 9TH 2011 – PICCADILLY* [YouTube video M[25]]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uHRh2MEZGHM&index=26&list=PL2E_2-O169coYni0ltbEPyT5AQ39e-g93
- ukriots2011 (2011f, 9 August). *Manchester Riots 11 – MANCHESTER RIOTS – AUGUST 9TH 2011 – PICCADILLY* [YouTube video M[44]]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GrIDxGju5YA>

- ukriots2011 (2011g, 9 August). *SALFORD - MANCHESTER RIOTS - AUGUST 9TH 2011 - PICCADILLY* [YouTube video M[31]]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3uKOX7Hz2Wc>
- Wainwright, M., Clifton, H., Beal, J., & Shepherd. (2011, 9 August). Lockdown in London, while trouble flares in Nottingham and Manchester. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2011/aug/09/riots-salford-wolverhampton-west-bromwich>
- Washington, D. (2011a, 13 August) *Cash converter salford*. Retrieved from [YouTube video M[69]] <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UhKVzBstuq0>
- Washington, D. (2011b, 13 August) *Start of Salford riots 2011*. Retrieved from [YouTube video M[70]] <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XX84uUvqddM>
- Williams, J. (2016, 9 August). A look back to a dark day in the history of our city : Five years on from the riots that devastated Manchester. *Manchester Evening News*. Retrieved from <http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/manchester-riots-five-years-on-11722466>