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A NARRATIVE BASED MODEL OF DIFFERENTIATING RIOTERS

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Abstract

The present study applied a narrative analysis upon rioter accounts of their motivations during the August 2011 England riots. To the authors' knowledge, this piece of research was the first to utilise narrative theory to explore the phenomenon of Rioting. Narrative accounts of twenty rioters were compiled from media, online and published sources. Content analysis of the cases produced a set of 47 variables relating to offenders' motivations given when describing their criminality. Data were subjected to Smallest Space Analysis (SSA), a non-metric multidimensional scaling procedure and results revealed four distinct themes: the Professional Rioter, the Revengeful Rioter, the Victim Rioter and the Adventurer Rioter in line with previous research conducted on differing crime types (Canter et al, 2003; Youngs and Canter, 2011). The four narrative themes are consistent with motivations identified in previous theories.

Keywords: Rioting, August 2011 England riots, rioters motivations, narratives

The world recently bear witness to large scale riots engulfing both the Middle East as well as Europe, which despite differing in terms of culture, time and their punitive backdrop, what remained consistent was the mass gathering of groups of people engaged in seemingly atypical illegal behaviours.

Rioting generally refers to collective group criminality involving acts of violence and destuction of property arguably motivated by the current political climate. Traditionally, definitions have varied upon the differing contextual arenas in which consideration is given, such as political, legal and academic stance points. Currently legislation in England and Wales defines rioting as

"12 or more persons who are present together, use or threaten unlawful violence for a common purpose and the conduct of them (taken together) is such as would cause a person of reasonable firmness present at the scene to fear for his personal safety..."

(Public Order Act, 1986, p. 2).

Within the United Kingdom although rioting is uncommon, occurences have been sporadically encountered during recent times. In 2001 the north of England experienced clashes between the police and British born Pakistani and Bangladeshi young men (Kalra and Rhodes, 2009). Similarly, rioting spread across the Lozells area of Birmingham in 2005 after conflict emerged between asian and black youths (King, 2009) as well as the recurring sectarian disorder experienced throughout Northern Ireland (Leonard, 2010). Nonetheless, such events were relatively small scale and short lived in comparison to rioting that occurred over four days in August 2011.

August 2011 Riots

Following the fatal shooting of Mark Duggan, a young black male in London on the 4th August by armed police officers, four days of disturbances ensued throughout urban England.

Beginning in the Tottenham area of South London on Saturday 6th an initially peaceful protest outside a police station erupted into violence when community leaders and members of Mark Duggan's family failed to gain answers from senior officers regarding why their son had been shot; police and crowds clashed. Precipitating this, rioting and looting began to spread throughout other areas of London over the following two days. Day three saw disorder spring up in other cities including Liverpool, Birmingham, Nottingham, and Leeds and by day four disturbances developed in Manchester and Salford as well as spreading further throughout both the East and West Midlands. Calm resumed by day five Wednesday 10th August, but by then significant damage and criminality had already occurred, on a somewhat unprecedented scale to that seen throughout the UK in recent times.

A panel, set up in the aftermath of the riots, found that in all 66 areas encountered approximately 15,000 individuals engaged in incidents of rioting and or looting across the country (Riot Communities and Victim Panel, 2011). Furthermore, the total monetary cost was said to equate to around £500 million and the human cost equated to five deaths and over two hundred police officers injured (Riot Communities and Victim Panel, 2011). The events described by academic professors and chief newspaper editors alike as, "arguably the worst bout of civil unrest in a generation" (Aufheben, 2011, p. 13) and became responsible for eliciting a renewed interest into the motivations and explanations of rioting.

Competing aetiologies and motivations of rioting

Apolitical explanations

Over time numerous theoretical accounts of rioting have emerged, focusing primarily upon the underlying factors or motivations that give impetus to rioting, rather than the specific events that triggered them (Waddington and King, 2009). Explanations and underlying

motivations of rioting have historically been distinguishable in line with an acceptance of a political dimension to disorder versus a rejection of such a perspective.

Traditionally researchers and politicians alike have posited rioting to be the result of the already criminal element of society taking advantage of a tense situation merely as a means of carrying out their usual offending behaviour. This explanation widely termed the Convergent approach or *apolitical* explanation, resulting from its failure to except any underlying political motivations for rioting (Cooper, 1985), was popularised by the work of early theorists such as Floyd Allport. His position was that any criminal, violent and generally destructive behaviour within rioting crowds could be explained as the result of those involved already being of such character. Allport (1924) explicitly pertained that "the individual in the crowd behaves just as he would alone, only more so" (p.295) suggesting riots to be a product of and solely undertaken by, the professional criminal element of society.

Interestingly, despite many contemporary researchers explicitly rejecting the explanation, describing it as being inaccurate, ideological and largely unsupported by research evidence (Fogelson, 1971; Cooper, 1985; Drury and Stott, 2011; Ball and Drury, 2012; Akram, 2014), others more closely aligned with critical criminological theory agree that beyond any micro-political protest which initally precipitated the events of August 2011, riotous disorder can be better explained as a consequence of british consumer culture and essentially equated to an opportunity to shop for free (Winlow et al, 2015; Treadwell et al, 2012; Hall, 2012; Moxon, 2011). Central to the argument is that beyond any common sense of injustice at specific incidents of police malreatment or broader feelings of social inequality grounded in an apparent political orientation, lies a self-driven indiviualistic rioter whose goal is merly to attain consumer goods which afford them the degree of social status they stive for (Treadwell et al, 2012; Winlow et al, 2015). Unsuprisingly, the apolitical

explanation remains heavily drawn upon by politicans when accounting for rioter motivations. For instance, in the wake of the august 2011 riots Prime Minister David Cameron proclaimed rioting to be, "criminality, pure and simple" (Heap and Smithson, 2012, p. 55) declaring that "young people stealing flat screen televisions and burning shops was not about politics or protest, it was about theft" (Reicher and Stott, 2011, p. 269). Similarly, the British Justice Secretary Kenneth Clark attributed disorder to a feral underclass (Aufheben, 2011), and Home Secretary Theresa May stated gang members to have made up a large proportion of those involved (Heap and Smithson, 2012).

Politicians drew upon figures published in the aftermath of the disorder to support such a notion, which displayed approximately 2000 offenders appearing before the courts within eight weeks immediately preceding the disorder of whom 76% had previously been convicted or cautioned for a criminal offence; furthermore, those convicted of offences during the riots had an average of eleven previous convictions each (Ministry of Justice, 2011). Despite appearing highly supportive of the government stance point on rioter motivations, closer scrutiny brings into question the conclusivity of such statistics.

Drury and Stott (2011) usefully outline the logic that those already known to the police are evidently those most likely to be the first caught and prosecuted as a result of their identities, addresses and fingerprints already being logged within police databases. Therefore as figures reported were based upon the first two months preceding the riots, it seems likely that conclusions drawn may have been biased. Furthermore, a variety of independent and government research investigating the presence and impact gangs had on the totality of events, displayed the influence of such to have been substantially overstated by the government, equating to only 13% of arrestees in total (Ministry of Justice, 2011; Lewis et al, 2011; Ball and Drury, 2012).

Overall, with a proportion of proposed empirical evidence for the *Convergence* theory coming by way of recent statistics, the reliability of which clearly being brought into question, the utility of the concept as a unified theory of rioting remains to be seen. This in addition to research findings that have time and again displayed rioters to be representative of varied members of society and social backgrounds (Fogelson, 1971; McPhail, 1971; Reicher, 2001 cited in Hogg and Tindale, 2001), seemingly discredits the premise that rioters were merely professional criminals motivated by their propensity to offend.

A contrastingly less popular apolitical explanation is the concept of rioting for fun. Early on Herbert Blumer (1969) theorised rioting to be no more than elementary forms of collective excitment, underpinned by individuals primitive urge to act. For Blumer the collective disorderly behaviour present in a riot occurs when routine activites of normal life are disrupted by an exciting event, arousing interest. This collective emotional excitement and what he describes as an 'implcit need for adventure' then leads individuals to exhibit a willingness to breach normal social rules and engage in disorder, an idea not without empirical support.

Examination of the 1960's American 'race riots' led well known sociologist Edward Banfield to conclude rioting was primarily about fun and profit, as a pose to any political rebelion, attributing rioters motivations to the lower classes propensity for animalistic excitable outburst (Banfield, 1974). Interstingly, despite criticism surrounding Banfields theorising regarding how he came to the conclusions he did as well as useful commentary eluding to the vaugness surrounding the time-spans of Blumer's supposed mechanisms of elementary collective behaviour (Bagguley and Hussain, 2008), contemporary research has nonetheless continiued to identify fun and the associated sence of adventure, as playing a role in rioting motivations.

Recent examinations of sectarian rioting in Northern Ireland led researchers to conclude common place street rioting to be little more than localised entertainment undertaken solely for fun and excitement, which the authors deemed 'recreational rioting' (Jarman and O'Halloran, 2001; Carter, 2003). Leonard (2010) tested this premise further in a well designed study interviewing 80 catholic and protestant teenagers many of whom were directly involved in rioting in Belfast. Results showed that whilst political ideology appeared influential in their participation in disorder, motivations were largely centred around the associated sence of recreation and adventure. Similarly, research in the aftermath of the 2011 England disorder also found evidence of such a premise whereby rioters cited "the buzz" of being involved and having "something exciting to do" as their sole motivation (Morrell et al, 2011, p. 27).

Political explanations

Current thinking within academia tends to favour the view that rioting has politically motivated undertones *(however for a detialed contempoary alternative see Winlow et al, 2015)*. A wealth of research has argued that those involved in the 2011 English disorder were motivated by feelings of anger and victimisation, either as a direct result of governement marginalisation or the perceived lack of assistance received in responce to unfair practices of the police and other state organisations (Newburn et al, 2011; Wain and Joyce, 2012; Platts-Fowler, 2013). Reicher's (1996) observational research suggested that use of oppressive and 'heavy handed' tactics by police on a day to day basis as well as during the policing of crowd events, impacts on the dynamics of a crowd to the extent that individuals can be drawn into riotous behaviour despite previously having no intentions to do so.

Accounting for how such victimised and revengful feelings transend into riotous behaviour, the Elaborated Social Identity Model (ESIM) posits that alongside a unique

personal identity, individuals within a crowd also express social identities and when such a social identity is shared amongst crowd members, collective norms and thus action becomes possible (Drury and Stott, 2011). Moreover, whereas the concept of *deindividuation* suggests a loss of identity and subsequent loss of control whilst in the presence of a group (Zimbardo and White, 1972), the ESIM pertains that the individual in fact gains an additional identity that is context specific and which occurs concurrently alongside current personal identities (Drury and Stott, 2011). When combined with the notion that "crowds are a place in which normally subordinated identities can change through empowerment to allow for the expression of underlying antagonisms in ways that other more mundane circumstances do not allow" (Reicher and Stott, 2011, p. 1), newly adopted social identities can explain the production of riotous motivations and subsequent behaviour on mass.

Interestingly, examinations in the aftermath of various riots led researchers to report findings seemingly consistent with such a model. Research showed that where the police exerted somewhat indiscriminate force on elements of a crowd who identified themselves and those around them as posing minimal threat to public order, repeatedly led to the formation of a new social identity and categorised sence of 'us and them'. Consequently, this appeared to increase the overall mobilisation of members of the crowd towards engaging in riotous disorder, from students protesting about university fee's (Reicher, 1996) to intially peaceful demonstrations around motorway extensions (Drury and Reicher, 2000) and increased taxation (Stott and Drury, 2000).

Rioter motivations linked to feelings of victimisation and a need for revenge appear to go beyond any immediate given situation however, with historic accounts evidencing issues related to prolonged and constant expressions of anger and helplessness at perceived social injustices. Lord Scarman's (1981) report on the Brixton riots and Cooper's (1985) commentary on the Merseyside riots of 1981 both cited coercive policing strategies to be

significant determinants in the outbreak of rioting and factors which the community constantly brought up. Waddington and King (2009) examining commonalities between UK and French riots since the 1980's cite long spells of deteriorating police-youth relations, said to be grounded in repressive policies and the pre-requisite for rising tension between the two. Similarly, a plethora of research in the wake of the August 2011 disorder outlined factors such as welfare cuts (Taylor-Gooby, 2013), lack of job opportunites (Lewis et al, 2011) frequent stop and search procedures (Klein, 2012; Riot Communities and Victims Panel, 2012), and numerous deaths of individuals from within the community during the course of a police arrest (Angel, 2012), to be so reminiscent of features evident within previous riots that they're, "impossible to ignore" (p. 25).

Research on Rioter Motivations

Despite the plethora of rhetoric and literature around what the motivations of rioters may be, few studies managed to conduct systematic interviews with those responsible for such rioting. Lewis et al (2011) undertook interviews with 270 rioters involved in the August 2011 disorder, directly around their motivations to riot. The study findings identified in detail a number of factors described by offenders as important determinates for the onset of rioting, most of which centred around negative experiences and attitudes towards government policies and police procedures. Regularly mentioned were issues related to a perception of social injustice such as, increased university fees and cuts in youth services as well as the perceived routine unfair police tactics such as, frequent stop and search procedures. Significantly, the report found that 85% of rioters interviewed considered policing to be either an "important" or "very important" factor in why the riots occurred (Lewis et al, 2011, p. 4). However, Lewis et al (2011) also identified factors outside the realms of the rioters purported sense of injustice, more in line with David Cameron's 'criminal underclass', with

rioters commonly citing a lack of perceived law and order on the streets, to be a 'once in a lifetime opportunity' to loot.

Whilst Lewis et al's (2011) study is undoubtedly a good step towards providing a more comprehensive and detailed understanding of the August 2011 rioters it does so from a somewhat criminological stance point without providing any detailed framework for differentiting between such. Previous research conducted by Canter and colleagues displayed the utility of examining offenders' accounts from a more psychological stance point, whereby offender narratives are explored in relation to how offenders conceptualise themselves and the role they played within their offending behaviour (Canter et al, 2003; Ioannou, 2006; Youngs and Canter, 2011).

The Criminal Narrative Approach

In terms of criminal behaviour Canter (1994) was the first to explore how the narrative approach might be applied to the understanding of offender's personal stories and how such relate to the characteristic roles and actions offenders assign themselves during the commission of their crimes. Canter posited that an examination of the narrative accounts offenders provide when detailing their crimes, to be an important means of understanding how offenders interpret and give meaning to their criminality and general lives, termed as an "inner narrative" (Canter, 1994).

Working from the premise that within differing criminal contexts there will be a predominant narrative that an offender will express, Canter, Kaouri and Ioannou (2003) analysed interviews conducted with 161 offenders convicted of varying crimes, including robbery, murder and rape, finding evidence to suggest the presence of a generalised set of offender 'inner narrative' roles available to an offender upon making sense of their crimes. A number of studies provided evidence for an interpretable structure of offender narrative roles

consistent with four generalised themes termed; Professional, Revenger, Victim and Adventurer/Hero across a number of different crimes (Ioannou, 2006; Canter and Youngs, 2009; Youngs and Canter, 2011a; 2011b). It is therefore suggested by these authors that the four crminal narrative themes provide a framework for differentiating offenders and may constitute a generalised set of dominant themes that offenders draw upon to account for any given crime.

Adopting such a psychological approach upon examining rioter narratives, would not only permit clearer differentiation between motivations given for rioting but also allow for richer and more detailed interpretation of distinctions between rioters in the August 2011 disorder to be made. The present study therefore aims to explore the potential of this framework for identifying distinct variants in the overall structure of rioter motivation themes within narratives accounts of their offending.

METHOD

Sample

The sample consisted of 20 narrative accounts of offenders (18 males and 2 females) involved in the August 2011 disorder. Due to the method of data collection adopted, outlined below, complete demographic details of the sample could not be fully established however, for those whom details were known, ages ranged between 16 - 39 and were responsible for committing a variety of offences within the context of the August 2011 UK riots, including; Property offences - Theft, Burglary, Criminal Damage, Arson; Violent offences - Assault, GBH, Affray and Public order offences – drunk and disorderly.

Procedure

Data were collected from from a variety of media and online sources including, televised documentaries, news reports, radio interviews, footage uploaded to video streaming websites (i.e. YouTube), and a recently published report from the London School of Economics (LSE) (Lewis et al, 2011). Twenty rioter narrative accounts were selected to be included in the study where sufficient detail regarding the motivations given for offending were present and were deemed to be credible accounts of rioters involved in the August 2011 disorder. This approach involved corroborating the disorder described within accounts with media reports of the occurrences where possible, as well as establishing the source of the account to also be credible. Narrative accounts were therefore only excluded from the research on the basis of lacking such detail and where accounts could not be deemed sufficiently reliable.

Adopting the content analysis of narrative accounts approach used in numerous previous studies examining thematic distinctions between differing offenders (Canter and Fritzon, 1998; Salfati and Canter, 1999; Canter and Youngs, 2009; Youngs and Ioannou, 2013), 47 varying motivations rioters provided were identified and coded dichotomously in terms of the presence or absence of each variable. Previous research has demonstrated that content analysis any more refined than presence/absence dichotomies is likely to be unreliable (Canter & Heritage, 1990; Canter & Ioannou, 2004). Full variable descriptions are given in the Appendix.

Analysis

The data was analysed using SSA – I (Lingoes, 1973). Smallest Space Analysis allows a test of hypotheses concerning the co-occurrence of every variable with every other variable. In essence the null hypothesis is that the variables have no clear interpretable relationship to each other. Smallest Space Analysis is a non-metric multidimensional scaling procedure

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based upon the assumption that the underlying structure, or system of behaviour, will most readily be appreciated if the relationship between every variable and every other variable is examined.

Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) represents the co-occurrence of variables, in our present study rioter motivations, as distances in a geometrical space. The SSA program computes association coefficients between all variables. It is these coefficients that are used to form a spatial representation of items with points representing variables. The closer any two points are to each other on the spatial configuration, the higher their associations with each other. Similarly, the farther away from each other any two points are, the lower their association with each other.

A number of studies of criminal actions have found such MDS models to be productive (e.g., Canter & Heritage, 1990; Canter & Fritzon, 1998; Salfati, 2000; Ioannou & Oostinga, 2014). The particular power of SSA-I comes from its representation of the rank order of co-occurrence as rank orders of the distances in the geometric space (the use of ranks leads to it being considered non-metric MDS).

The measure of co-occurrence used in the present study was Jaccard's coefficient. Jaccard's coefficient calculates the proportion of co-occurrences between any two variables as a proportion of all occurrences of both variables. This has now become the standard coefficient used with this type of data since the initial Canter and Heritage (1990) study. Its great advantage is that it only calculates co-occurrence across recorded events. Any absence of activity is not used in the calculation. This means it only draws upon what was known to have happened and does not take account of what was not recorded to have happened. With this sort of data such lack of recording can be in error, whereas noting that something occurred is less likely to be inaccurate.

To test hypotheses, an SSA configuration is visually examined to determine the patterns of relationships between variables and identify thematic structures. Rioter motivations with similar underlying themes are hypothesised to be more likely to co-occur than those that imply different themes. These similarly themed rioter motivations are therefore hypothesised to be found in contiguous locations, i.e. the same region of the plot. The hypothesis can therefore be tested by visually examining the SSA configuration. The coefficient of alienation (Borg & Lingoes, 1987) indicates how well the spatial representation fits the co-occurrences represented in the matrix. The smaller the coefficient of alienation is the better the fit, i.e. the fit of the plot to the original matrix. However, as Borg & Lingoes (1987) emphasise there is no simple answer to the question of how "good" or "bad" the fit is. This will depend upon a combination of the number of variables, the amount of error in the data and the logical strength of the interpretation framework. In summary, the SSA was used to explore the co-occurrences of rioter motivations and allowed for the testing of the hypothesis that they can be differentiated into narrative themes.

RESULTS

Rioter Motivations in the Present Study

Results revealed that motivations linked to looting were the most frequently mentioned: 65% and 60% respectfully, citing rioting for monetary gain and taking advantage of the opportunity to steal. Also prominent but slightly less frequent were motivations linked to revenge, such as showing the government they cannot get away with unfair policies (50%), a display of force (45%) and getting payback on the police (45%). These were followed by police brutality, police hounding, show police that they cant get away with ill treatment, make police take note, police show lack of respect, lack of government support, lack of jobs

all present at 35% of the accounts. Interestingly, the least frequent motivations included disorder provided a chance to get drunk (10%), to get revenge on employers who failed to employ them (10%) and because they felt unnoticed by employers (10%).

Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) of Rioter Motivations

Figure 1 shows the distribution of the 47 rioter motivations identified from 20 narrative accounts on the two-dimensional SSA. The coefficient of alienation of 0.15 indicates a very good fit of the spatial representation of the co-occurrences of the motivations. The regional hypothesis states that items that have a common theme will be found in the same region of the SSA space. To test the hypothesised framework of rioters motivations, it was therefore necessary to examine the SSA configuration to establish whether different themes could be identified.

As can be seen in Figure 1, visual examination of the SSA plot confirmed that it can be partitioned into four distinct narrative themes, namely Victim, Professional, Adventurer and Revenger, identified previously for various types of offences (Youngs and Canter, 2011; Ioannou, 2006; Canter et al, 2003).

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INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE

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Victim Rioter Theme

As it can be seen from Figure 1 there is a region at the top left side that contains eight rioter motivations that make up the Victim Rioter theme: looting to survive (1), the cutting of the education maintence allowance system (2), lack of opportunities to prove their worth (3),

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payback their employers (4), being unnoticed by employers (5), feelings of inequality (6), feeling impoverished in comparison to the rest of society (7) and feeling rebellious as they have nothing to lose (8).

This type of rioter could be described as a victim of circumstances, in that the offender draws on excuses in accounting for riotous criminal actions. The Victim rioter attributes criminal behaviour not to themselves but as a consequence of other external factors as well as feelings of worthleseness, inequality, poverty for their need to engage in looting to survive and rioting as they have nothing to lose. Portraying themselves as victimised predominately by the state, the Victim rioters liken themselves to a somewhat helpless victim who had no choice but to commit the crimes and therefore attribute blame for offending outside of their own control.

Professional Rioter Theme

In the bottom left side of the SSA plot there is a region that contains eight motivations that make up the Professional Rioter theme: solely to steal (9), getting involved for monetary gain (10), felt like Christmas came early (11), to take advantage of the opportunity to steal (12), to steal things for thmselves (13), want to get free things (14), there to riot and steal (15) and looting because they can't be stopped (16).

This type of rioter could be described as a task focused individual who in his/her approach to crime adopts more tactical methods to achieve the end goal. The professional rioter acknowledges that the risks of getting caught are somewhat reduced given the circumstances, which helps form their decision to offend. This type of rioter may therefore be considered as somewhat more skilled and competent in regards to their offending than other types of rioters, possibly basing their criminal actions on previous criminal experiences.

Adventurer Rioter Theme

In the bottom right of the plot, four variables together form the Adventurer Rioter theme: got caught in the moment (17), chance to get drunk (18), just for a laugh (19) and show they can do whatever they want due to police lacking control (20).

This type of rioter could be described as a thrill seeker, offending primarily on impulse, either not thinking or not caring about subsequent consequences of his/her criminal actions. The Adventurer rioter engages in riotous actions in a somewhat unskilled manner as a means of obtaining pleasure and excitement which is the primary motivation for engaging in disorder and looting. Furthermore, in contrast to the Professional rioter the Adventurer rioter may be less concerned with taking measures to conceal his/her identity and weighing up the chances of getting caught, being instead more concerned with simply seeking out an adrenaline rush and thriving off the risk of being caught.

Revenger Rioter Theme

In the top right side of the SSA plot twenty-seven motivation variables form a distinct Revenger Rioter theme: lack of police tolerance (21), to show police they have lost control (22), as a display of force (23), to piss of teh Police (24), to repay ill treatment (25), payback on the Police (26), because Police take libertirties (27), Police injustice (28), to make Police take notice (29), there solely to riot (30), lack of respect from Police (31), police hounding (32), show police they cant get away with ill treatment (33), chance to show the government they can't get away with unfair policies (34), chance to cause damage to make the government take note (35), fed up with current policies (36), police brutality (37), lack of care shown by government (38), chance to physically hurt police officers (39), lack of government support in general (40), lack of jobs available (41), frequenctly stopped and searched (42), resources focused on the wealthy (43), no future for young people (44), lack of

support for single parents (45), increased university fees (46) and feelings of racial targeting by the Police (47).

This type of rioter justifies their criminal behaviour, proposing their criminal actions to be somewhat symbolic in nature and grounded in a genuine grievance primarily at the hands of the police as well as the state. The revengeful rioter engages for the most part in rioting alone, more concerned with causing maximum damage as an expression of force than obtaining monetary gain. The revengeful rioters aims are based primarily around what is believed to be a mission to gain back control and power over their adversaries. Criminality, as a means of displaying force and power, is thought to be instrumental in achieving such goals.

Testing the framework

Although the SSA analysis indicated that motivations may be classifiable into four distinct thematic regions, it did not distinguish or assign each individual case as belonging to just one of these themes. Each of the 20 cases was individually examined to ascertain whether it could be assigned to a specific narrative theme. Each rioter narrative was given a percentage score reflecting the proportion to which it contained variables distinguished as *Adventurer, Revenger, Professional* and *Victim* themes.

The criterion for assigning a case to a particular theme was that the dominant theme had a greater number of behaviours/variables present than the sum of the other three themes. The percentage of intratheme occurrences was used rather than the actual number of occurrences, because the actual total number of motivations in each theme varied. A case was not classified if it contained less than a third of the variables in any theme or if it contained equal numbers of variables from more than two themes or simply when there was no predominant theme.

Using this approach (see Table 1), a total of 70% (14 out of 20 cases) could be classified as exhibiting one of four dominate narrative role themes, Professional, Revenger, Adventurer or Victim. Breaking these 20 cases down, it could be seen that the majority of rioters predominately expressed either a Professional (7 cases, 35%) or Revenger (4 cases, 20%) narrative theme. Only 2 cases (10%) expressed a dominant Adventurer narrative theme and just one rioter displayed a predominately Victim narrative when expressing motivations to riot. Finally, six cases (30%) could not be classified. These results would seem to suggest that the themes as revealed by the SSA (see Figure 1) are a very good representation of different narrative role themes drawn upon by rioters when accounting for their crimes.

INSERT TABLE 1 HERE

DISCUSSION

The present study identified distinct variants of rioter motivations based upon narrative accounts from the 2011 English disorder that parallel narrative themes identified across a variety of differing crime types including rape, murder and fraud (Ioannou, 2006; Youngs and Canter, 2011). These themes were differentiated in terms of the varying motivations offenders described to be the reason behind the commission of their crimes, interpretable in terms of a generalised criminal narrative framework (Canter et al, 2003; Ioannou, 2006; Canter and Youngs, 2012). The current findings demonstrated the utility of the framework for distinguishing rioter motivations, suggesting the motivations expressed within rioting narratives to be consistent with those expressed across a range of differing offence types, namely Professional, Adventurer/Hero, Revenger and Victim.

Most of the cases fell clearly within either the Professional, Revenger, Victim or Adventurer narrative themes (Ioannou, 2006; Canter and Youngs, 2009; Youngs and Canter, 2011; Canter and Youngs, 2012), highlighting the importance of differentiating among motivations and allowing the integration of a number of previously identified motivations in the literature. The differences in rioter motivations identified from the analyses can be explained according to existing theories of rioting and crowd behaviour. In this way, the modelling of rioters and their differing motivations, may provide a framework for integrating varying explanations from within the literature and identifying different rioter types.

The most prominant narrative expressed within rioter motivations, occuring in more than a third of all cases, was the Professional rioter theme. The Professional narrative role as the name suggests is characterised by expressing criminality in a professional manner whereby, offending is refered to as a form of job undertaken based on previous criminal experience (Canter et al, 2003) and with no external blame attribution given, with offenders instead owning offending behaviour in its entirety (Canter and Youngs, 2012). In the context of the 2011 English disorder, the Professional rioter was revealed to provide motivations including; getting involved for monetary gain, to steal things for themselves and simply to get free things also recognising disorder as providing an unusual opportunity to steal. In a somewhat proficient manner the professional rioter calculated that periods of unrest in particular areas presented unique opportunities to obtain their goals, largely focused around acquiring goods for both personal and monetary gain. The Professional rioter also displayed a degree of confidence in offending, outlining how criminality is routine and thereby acknowledging it to form part of usual life activities. Theories that advance rioting to be the product of the already criminal element of society, opportunistically taking advantage of a tense situation in order to carry out their usual offending behaviour, are clearly relevant. The Convergence perspective of rioting is fundamentally an apolitical phenomenon, whereby the

current political administration is seemingly unaccountable and blame is attributed solely with societies habitual criminal underclass. The convergent premise that generally criminal behaviour within rioting crowds can be explained as the result of those involved already being of such character (Allport,1924) thereby accounts for the motivations evident with this rioter type.

The Adventurer rioter is one in which motivations focused around enjoyment: rioting just for a laugh, getting caught up in the moment and providing rioters with a chance to get drunk and to do whatever they want. This Adventurer narrative is understood as a carefree expression of fun, characterised by offending being considered enjoyable and undertaken for somewhat of an adventure (Canter et al, 2003; Ioannou, 2006). For the Adventurer rioter involvement in disorder occurs as a result of apparently impulsive actions whererby motivations revolve more around obtaining excitement than any professional attempt to obtain goods or politically motivated sence of revenge. Theoretically, this type of rioter can be explained as exhibiting a mere sense of collective emotional excitement. Blumer (1969) accounts for the occurence of disorderly group behaviour as a result of the disruption of routine activities arousing interest and excitement around an unusual event. Where involvement in disorder is explained as an attempt to get "the buzz" or "for something to do" (Morrell et al, 2011, p. 27), rioting may be accounted for as just crued sense of emotional expression for recreational purposes (Jarman and O'Halloran, 2001; Leonard, 2010).

The second most prominant rioter narrative expressed was one in which motivations centred around revenge. Here rioters cited involvement as being the result of: police brutality, frequently being stopped and searched, unfair goverment and police policies as well as providing a chance to get payback on the police and show the police they've lost control. Importantly, being motivated solely to riot rejecting opportunities to steal, was characteristic of the Revenger rioter. Overall, the Revenger narrative role is representative of the offenders'

need and determination to impose their will on another, with control being of central importance (Canter et al, 2003; Ioannou, 2006; Canter and Youngs, 2012). This rioter variant clearly displayed aggravation at what was perceived to be unfair treatment, injustices and a need for change, leading to feeling compelled to get revenge for such misgivings to those believed to have done them wrong.

The rarer, least common rioter narrative expressed was the Victim rioter whereby motivations centred around feeelings of victimisation. Here, the offender seeks to attribute blame for criminality undertaken outside of themselves. The Victim narrative role is characteristic of the offender assigning their actions as being a product of factors such as necessity and circumstance (Ioannou, 2006) and present a worldview where they are mere powerless victims of an unfair system (Canter and Youngs, 2012). The Victim Rioter offends as a result of feeling impoverished from the rest of society, lacking worth and being unequally treated. Other motivations included feeling unnoticed by employers, lacking the opportunities others experienced, explaining the riots to present a chance to get payback on those who failed to employ them.

Both the Revenger and Victim Rioters are consistent with theories that account for rioting behaviour as an expression of feeling aggrieved and angered at the perceived ill treatment received from the police and state organisations. For Reicher and colleagues, when a collective social identity is shared within individuals in a crowd such as a mutual sense of injustice at police practices for example, underlying antagonisms are expressed and collective action becomes possible (Reicher and Stott, 2011; Drury and Stott, 2011). The Elaborated Social Identity Model of rioting thereby accounts for motivations underpinning the Revengful and Victim rioter by explaining that political factors described such as illegitimate police practice lead to the crowds developed a sense of identification with other rioters in their 'in-

group' and the percepton of police as the other 'outsider' group which is the target of groups mobilisation.

To the authors' knowlege this was the first attempt to distinguish rioter types based upon analysis of their criminal narratives. As such the present findings provide preliminary support for a framework of differentiating rioter types and the motivations that underlie them. The findings have important theoretical implications for the understanding of differences in rioter narratives in relation to traditional theories of rioting as well as policy implications regarding the best means of policing, prosecuting and sentencing the variants of rioters identified, with descalation and recividism in mind.

By exploring the narratives of rioters from a viewpoint which considers offenders to be active agents in their decision to offend and posits that the characteristic roles and actions offenders express within accounts of their criminality to be an indication of how offenders interpret and give meaning to their crimes (Canter, 1994), the study was able to provide a more useful means of differentiation between the rioters involved. In light of such distinctions made between the four differing rioter types, what seems clear is that no one of the aforementioned traditional explanations of rioting account for the behaviour of all rioters and may in fact be better understood as explanations of one specific type of rioter. The implications this might have upon policy in regards to policing rioting crowds is that with findings identifing clear differences in the motivations rioters have for engaging in disorder, it may be that no one method of policing will stop all offenders.

Moreover, it stands to reason that heavy handed and confrontational policing tactics enforced upon the Revengeful rioter, who riots as a response to perceived injustices at the hands of the police and state, will be unlikely to thwart offending behaviour and may instead exacerbate the situation. Reicher and Stott (2011) previously outlined how policing tactics which enhance the perception of police legitimacy among protesting crowd members such as

engaging in dialogue with crowd members to help elevate the concerns they may have as well as avoiding pre-emptive hands on engagement with group members, can function to prevent the initial onset of a riot. With the current research findings identifying rioter types such as the Professional, who takes advantage of disorder as a means of conducting normal criminal activities and the Adventurer who gets involved merely as a means of obtaining entertainment, the successful management of such different rioter 'types' needs could potentially have an impact on prevention.

Although the present study identified a framework for differentiating rioters, a number of limitations should be noted. With some research suggesting as many as 15,000 offenders were involved in the 2011 England disorder (Riot and Communities Panel, 2011), the sample in the present study was very small. Therefore, future studies would benefit from larger samples as well as establish its relevance to a more diverse sample. The data used in the present study was obtained by sourcing secondary accounts rather than conducting first hand interviews. Although the inclusion criteria was necessarily stringent requiring statements to be detailed enough for the current aim to be explored as well as to be deemed credible and reliable accounts of rioters involved, future research would benefit from conducting first hand interviews with rioters where complete demographic information could be gathered and a freedom of questioning was afforded to follow up interesting responses in greater depth.

Examination of the narratives offenders draw upon in accounting for their crimes in consideration of the motivations provided for rioting led to what is likely to be the first systematic framework for differentiating between rioters. This framework contributes to the understanding of why different individuals engage in riotious behaviour generally and specifically in terms of the English riots of August 2011. By providing a systematically organised representation of the differences found between rioters, it is hoped that the future riots in the United Kingdom can be better understood and therefore better managed.

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APPENDIX
Variable Content Dictionary
1. Loot to survive - Looting for money to survive
2. EMA - Scraping of the Education Maintenance Allowance system
3. Worthless - Lack of opportunities to prove their worth
4. Payback employer - To get revenge on employers who failed to employ them
5. Unnoticed - Unnoticed by employers
6. Inequality - Feelings of inequality
7. Feel impoverished - Feel impoverished compared to the rest of society
8. Nothing to lose - Become rebellious against state as they feel they have nothing to lose
9. Solely steal - There solely to loot
10. Monetary gain - For monetary gain
11. Christmas early - Felt like Christmas had come early
12. Opportunity steal - To take advantage of the opportunity to steal
13. Steal for self - So that they could steal things for themselves
14. Free things - Want to get free things
15. Riot and steal - There to riot and steal
16.Can't be stopped - Looting because they can't be stopped
17. Caught in moment - Just got caught up in the moment
18. Chance drunk - A chance to get drunk
19. For a laugh - For a laugh
20. Show can do what want - Show they can do whatever they want due to police lacking control
21. PoliceLackTol - Lack of Police tolerance
22. ShowPoliceLostControl - To show Police they have lost control
23. Display Force - As a display of force
24. PissoffPolice - To piss off the Police
25. Repay Ill Treat - To repay ill treatment
26. Payback Pol - For payback on the Police
27. Liberties Pol - Because Police take liberties
28. Injustice Pol - Injustice at the hands of Police
29. MakePolTakeNote - Cause damage to make Police take note
30. Solely Riot - There solely to riot
31. PolLackRespect - Police show a lack of respect
32. Hounded - Because of Police hounding
33. Show Police - To show Police that they can't get away with ill treatment
34. Unfair Gov Pol - To show the government they can't get away with unfair policies
35. MakeGovTakeNote - Cause damage to make the government take note
36. Fedup Policy - Fed up with current government policies
37. Brutality Pol - Because of Police brutality
38. No Gov Care - Lack of care shown by government
39. Hurt Police - Chance to physically hurt police officers
40. No Gov Support - Lack of government support in general
41. Lack of jobs - Lack of jobs available
42. Stop Searched - Frequently stop and searched
43. Wealthy - Resources focused on the wealthy
44. No Future - No future for young people
45. Single Parents - Lack of support for single parents
46. UniFees - Increased university fees
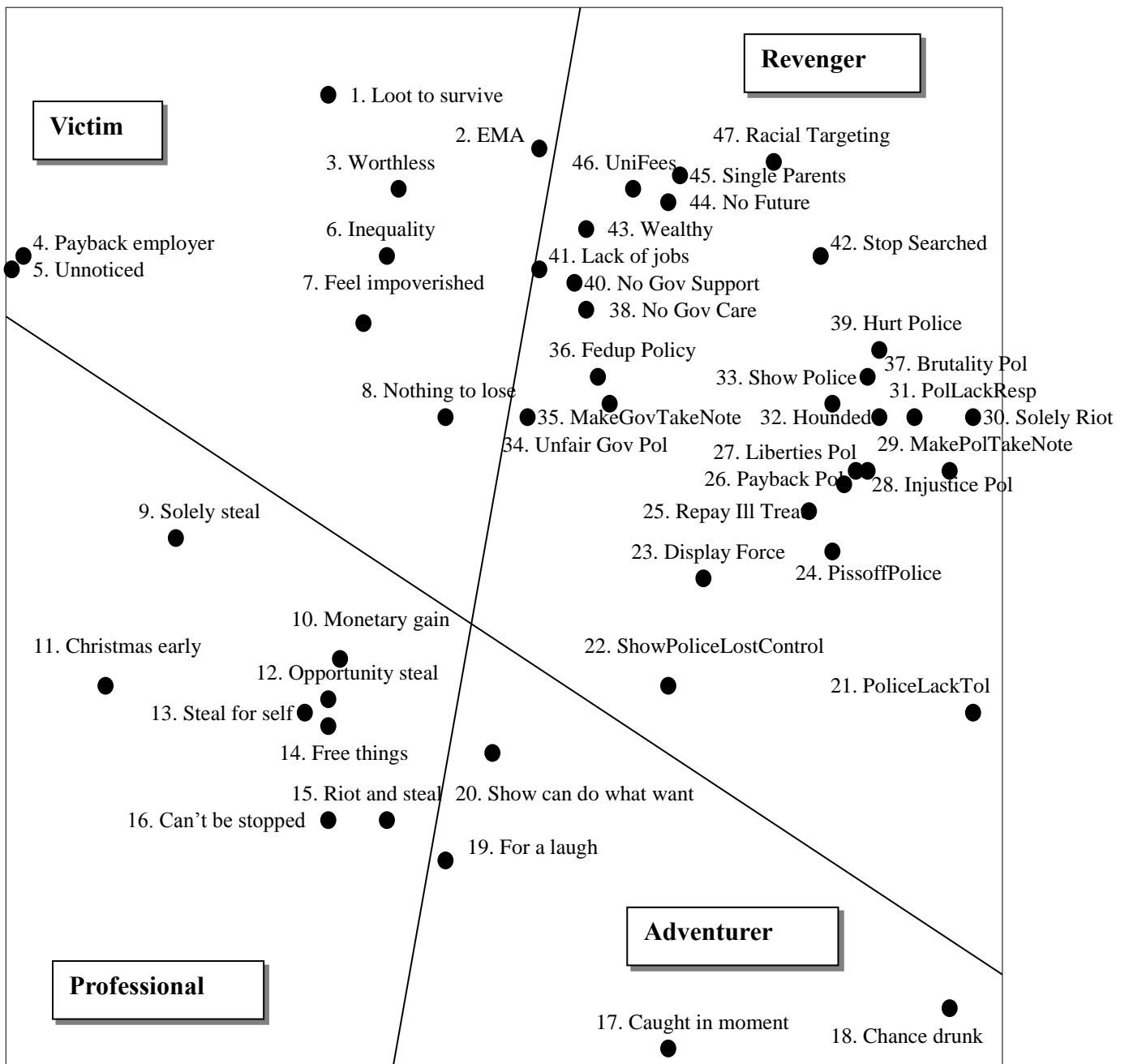**47. Racial Targeting** - Feelings of racial targeting by Police

FIGURE 1

Two-dimensional Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) plot of Rioter Motivations with regional interpretation (coefficient of alienation= 0.15)

TABLE 1

Distribution of cases across rioter motivation narrative themes

Narrative Theme	Number of Cases
Professional	7 (35%)
Revenger	4 (20%)
Adventurer	2 (10%)
Victim	1 (5%)
Non-classifiable	6 (30%)