

Wednesday, 16 September 2026

(10.00 am)

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Yes, Mr Moss.

Introductions

MR MOSS: May it please you sir, today is our fifth seminar and it covers violence-fixated individuals' access to and the attraction of offensive weapons and bladed articles.

So, sir, the focus of our seminars is shifting slightly, looking at knives in particular and other bladed items and their interface with violence fixation.

Whether there should be greater restrictions on knives and other bladed items is within the Inquiry's Phase 2 Terms of Reference. The wider societal issues of knife crime are obviously very important, but they are not as such within the Terms of Reference. But we hope that if and when today's seminars presentations touch on some wider issues relating to knife crime, it will help to inform the Inquiry's focus on the VFI risk and other issues that are within our Terms of Reference.

Our four speakers today come from very different, but we hope, complementary perspectives in relation to knives. Our first speaker, giving an academic perspective, will be Professor Iain Brennan. Sir, Professor Brennan is Professor of Criminology at the

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offensive weapons. Sir, as is very familiar to you, that work included the independent end-to-end review of online knife sales, now known colloquially to us all as the Clayman Review. That report has informed legislative reforms and the development of Ronan's Law. In his national leadership role, Commander Clayman works with police forces, the Home Office, Border Force, retailers and technology companies to develop evidence-based approaches to prevention, enforcement and public protection.

Sir, our third speaker will be Patrick Green. Mr Green is the Chief Executive Officer of the Ben Kinsella Trust. That Trust is one of the UK's leading anti-knife crime charities. Mr Green joined the Trust in 2016 having worked previously for Victim Support and he has overseen the growth of the charity from a London base into a nationally recognised organisation, dedicated to preventing knife crime through education, campaigning and youth engagement.

Mr Green is a prominent advocate for tackling serious youth violence and has worked closely with Government, policing, schools and community organisations to promote evidence-based prevention initiatives. He was invited to participate in the Prime Minister's Serious Youth Violence summit at Number 10 in

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University of Hull, a chartered research psychologist and the University's Institutional Lead for Open Research. His academic specialisms are of particular assistance and benefit to the Inquiry because his research includes violence prevention, weapon-carrying and serious violence, with a particular emphasis on evaluating interventions through robust research.

In these capacities he has led or contributed to more than 20 funded research projects worth over £8 million and serves as an adviser to organisations including as the Home Office, the Youth Endowment Fund, the College of Policing and the National Police Chiefs' Council, and indeed police forces across the UK. The Professor has published extensively on violence and criminal justice, authored more than 60 academic publications and is editor of the British Journal of Criminology.

Sir, our second speaker today will be Commander Stephen Clayman. Commander Clayman is the National Police Chiefs' Council lead for knife crime. He importantly heads the National Knife Crime Centre which was launched in 2026 to coordinate policing, Government, industry, and partner activity aimed at reducing knife crime across England and Wales. He has also, sir, led national work on tackling the online sale of knives and

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2019 and is widely recognised for developing the Trust's Choices and Consequences programme, which help young people understand the realities and impacts of knife crime and encourage positive decision-making.

Sir, our fourth speaker will be Tim Weston of the national gamekeepers association. Mr Weston is the Director of Environment, Policy and Politics at the National Gamekeepers' Organisation, which is the representative body for gamekeepers and shooting interests in England and Wales. Despite his seniority in the Gamekeeper's Organisation, I think, sir, at a fair bet that Mr Weston would have been very surprised to receive the call from the Inquiry's Secretariat to help us in this seminar programme.

However, in considering the potential for tighter controls on bladed items, including knives and machetes, it is important that the Inquiry takes account of a full and wide spectrum of views. In particular, we are keen to avoid the risk of any urban-centric bias and to hear from those who use forms of bladed items in their everyday work. Mr Weston is very well placed, we consider, to provide us with exactly that. He has worked in the rural sector since 2000, with experience spanning fisheries, farming, game management and wildlife conservation. In his current role, Mr Weston

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leads the National Gamekeepers' Organisation's work on environmental policy, countryside management, conservation, firearms licensing and wildlife management issues and he engages in those roles with Government regulators and rural stakeholders. He is also an experienced deer manager and advocate for sustainable wildlife management, biodiversity enhancement and the long-term stewardship of rural estates.

So those are our speakers for today.

Professor Brennan, please.

Presentation by PROFESSOR BRENNAN

PROFESSOR BRENNAN: Good morning. Thank you for the opportunity to address the Inquiry.

I have been asked to address three specific questions. What does the evidence tell us about why young people carry weapons? Why do certain weapons appeal to young people or become more likely to be chosen and used in attacks? How do online spaces contribute to the normalisation, display, promotion or acquisition of weapons and what does this mean for prevention, disruption and early intervention before weapon carrying escalates into violence?

As you note from these questions, they focus more on violence in a general population than perhaps previous seminars to this Inquiry. Focusing on weapon-carrying

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Of the million or so violent incidents that happen, that are reported by people aged 16 and over, around 20% of those involve a weapon. That is really consistent. No matter how much violence we have, and we had twice maybe three times as much violence at the turn of the century, the proportion of incidents that involve a weapon is always in or around 20%. We have seen a steady decrease in violence since 2000, and we are still at that 20%. There is something constant in the rate of weapon use within a society.

Of that 20 per cent -- sorry. Of that 20%, around 40% involve a knife. So 8% of all violent incidents across the entire of England and Wales, regardless of severity, involve a knife.

Crime Survey for England and Wales is really good at telling us about violence within the general population but it doesn't pick up on the most serious violence.

For that we need to turn to hospital data, that is hospital admissions for a violent injury. So if anybody attends hospital for a violent injury they are asked how it happened and there are a series of questions that are asked about the mechanism: so was it a knife, a shotgun, a variety of things. We have very good data on this relatively small number of violent incidents happening.

From these we see that around 20% of the 80,000 or

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and the use of violence in general population will tell us something about VFIs, but it will be unlikely that VFI proportions are in the evidence -- have appeared in the evidence that I will be presenting. I will draw parallels with VFIs wherever I can.

I will address those questions in turn. Before doing so I need to provide some context for what's to come and that is to talk about the contribution of knives to serious violence in England and Wales. I was going to talk about how frequently they are used, but also how widely they are carried and to look at specific types of knives and other weapons within the overall violence that happens in England and Wales.

Hopefully that will introduce some of the other topics that are going to be discussed by subsequent seminars.

Just thinking about violence in total across the entire population, our best indicator of how much violence actually happens is a national survey that's run every year, called the Crime Survey for England and Wales. It interviews around 30,000 people about their experience of victimisation. That's the best indicator that we have about the general prevalence, and people who complete these surveys answer lots of questions about the nature of the violence that happened to them.

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so hospital admissions for violence involve a knife. So, we are seeing a jump from 8% to 20% in the more serious incidents.

If we focus on the most serious violence we have, homicide, the pattern increases, the escalation, the proportion that involve a knife increases. So we have around 500 murders per year in England and Wales, remarkably low, and around 40% of those involve a knife; 70% in total involve a weapon.

Again we are seeing, as the severity of the violence increases, the proportion that involve a knife increases as well.

That won't come as a surprise to most people. Knives are in some -- in the way they are used are the tools of violence, so it demonstrates their effectiveness but it also demonstrates an opportunity for intervention that I will return to later.

So how common is weapon-carrying within the general population? This is actually a remarkably difficult thing to measure. The answer at a total population is we don't know. Two sources of data we could use is the rate of -- the number of people who are charged for the possession of an offensive weapon or we could simply ask people: have you carried weapons? Police data is not a reliable indicator of the total prevalence of

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weapon-carrying; it is more a reflection of police activity and there are requirements such as Police and Criminal Evidence Act that influence whether somebody will be searched, and police are not searching at random. So it is not a good measure of the overall prevalence of weapon-carrying. For that we turn to surveys and, as I said, we don't have a good indication of the total amount of weapon-carrying across the general population, but in recent years we have developed really good measures and very frequent measures of weapon-carrying within young people's populations.

So just a few examples in terms of the prevalence that we have established from these: the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime and Youth Endowment Fund have both found that around secondary school-aged children, around 2 to 4% carry a weapon each year. The Crime Survey for England and Wales, looking at a slightly younger population, 10-15-year-olds, found that around 2.5% of 10-15-year-olds carried a weapon last year, around 40% of that was knives, and using a similar methodology with 16-29-year-olds we see a smaller percentage, around 1.5% carried a weapon with two-thirds of those weapons were knives.

Just to sum up the survey data, there is a bit of

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Finally, just in terms of what are the patterns in weapon-carrying and the different knife types in England and Wales, we again have to rely on self-reporting for this. There is no standardised way to measure the types or to record the types of weapons that, for example, police detect. It seems like a really simple thing to have, but remarkably complicated. But we don't have a standardised way of saying this is a hunting knife versus even a kitchen knife, not well defined. So having this sort of tight definition is important.

So we don't have this measure of general weapon-carrying, or weapon-recovery in the population. However, within homicides we do have much better data on this and for the last five or six years, the Home Office have been publishing the types of weapons that are involved in homicides. From this we can see from the 200-250 homicides that happen every year with a knife, around 40-45% involve a kitchen knife. We don't know the type in around 20% of cases because maybe the murder weapon was not recovered, but in the remaining 35-40%, we see a range of weapons such as combat knives, flick knives, hunting knives, lock knives, machetes, swords and others.

I think it is important not to just focus on homicide because that is by definition the most

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variation across the different methods in the prevalence but it is relatively low. And when I say a percentage it is "Did you carry this weapon in the last year?"; it is not "Do you carry this weapon all the time?" So there is a relatively low prevalence of weapon-carrying, but, within that, knives are often the weapons of choice particularly among the older young people.

We have other statistics such as longitudinal datasets that follow people over time. The Millennium Cohort Study, the study followed 19,000 people from birth, between 2000 and 2002, and repeatedly engages with them, asks them questions about their lives in loads of different ways, health, but also family, things like that, employability, education, but also violence, and here we can follow the same people and see how those trajectories of weapon-carrying change within the same people.

From this we see that, among 14-year-olds, around 4% of -- around this cohort -- around 4% carried a weapon at 14 and that rose to around 6% by the age of 17. That is fairly consistent with the other data. We see a peak in weapon-carrying around the late teens, sort of 16/17, and then a fairly steady drop-off and there is a cohort or core group who continue to carry weapons well into their 20s and 30s.

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dangerous, most lethal type of violence. There may be other patterns in types of weapon-carrying. Again, we can turn to the Youth Endowment Fund survey to ask about the types of weapons that young people carried.

So 2% of their 11,000 people who they surveyed, aged between 13 and 17, carried a weapon and of those around one-third carried a kitchen knife at least once and at least one in four carried a zombie knife. We can extrapolate up from that to there being around 19,000 people, 13-17-year-olds who carried a zombie knife or a machete in the previous year and around 20,000 who carried a kitchen knife in the previous year.

One additional piece of information is not just to focus on carrying but to focus on access, because you can go from not carrying a weapon to carrying one very, very quickly and access is the crucial part. So with our colleagues at Behavioural Insights, four years ago we asked a survey of -- a representative survey sample of adults in England and Wales if they could access any of a range of knife types. 7% said they had access to a machete; 7% to a combat knife; 5% to a sword; 4% to a zombie knife; 2% to all types of knife that we asked about; and importantly access to a kitchen knife was nearly universal at 97%.

I will return to these two pieces of information

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later on. I think it is really important to recognise the disparity between the proportions between the kitchen knives and this large blue bar on the left, that they are nearly universal but their actual use in homicide is only around half of violent incidents. Given the low accessibility of these different types of knives but the fact that they account for nearly 40% of homicide, there is something going on there, there is some effort that is being made to access these particular types of knives in homicides and it is a crucial static to recognise.

So, I'm going to move into specifically answering the questions about patterns in weapon-carrying -- sorry, patterns in the characteristics of young people who carry weapons. To answer this type of question we can look at two pieces -- two sorts of information. One is statistical analysis of surveys and longitudinal datasets, but also crucially we should also rely on qualitative evidence, interviews with people who have carried weapons, who have been victims of weapons or who have been around them because they can offer some crucial insights that large-scale surveys can't give us.

I should also say, as well, that I'm drawing on an international literature and for good reason: the vast majority of research on violence comes from the

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evidence, so one thing preceded another and gives us a better sense of the causal relationship.

I will just move a little bit faster in this. The evidence about who carries weapons in the general population is very similar to the evidence on who carries -- who is involved in violence, and we will come as no surprise that boys, men, are more likely to be involved in weapon-carrying.

The rate or ratio varies depending on the method we use in this data source. So the Youth Endowment Fund study found that boys were around 40% more likely to carry a weapon in the past year, but the Crime Survey for England and Wales found that they were 300 per cent, three times more likely to carry a weapon in the past year.

Slightly different samples, slightly different ages but a big disparity. I think the important thing to focus on the fact that it is boys who are at greatest risk of carrying weapons and most attracted to carrying weapons.

I have already talked about age. We have seen this escalation from 10 into maybe late teens and it peaking -- carrying weapons peaking around the turn into adulthood.

There's little evidence that weapon-carrying or use

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United States.

Some of this translates well. Young people have similar experiences growing up in the US and the UK. The problem is the different landscape in terms of access to firearms and the culture of firearms that exists in the United States, relative to our culture of weapons in the UK.

So, I'm going to rely as much as possible on UK evidence but where I can't, I will focus -- bring in something from the US.

I should also say a lot of the evidence that we have is cross-sectional. So cross-sectional being that somebody is asked at one point in time about what they have done in the past year. So a young person might be asked: did you carry a weapon in the last year? Were you excluded from school in the last year? With a type of design like that we can't tell what came first, we can't establish the causal order. It could be that exclusion from school led to them spending lots of unstructured time in the community being exploited and carrying a weapon because of that. Alternatively, it could even be that they were excluded from school because they carried a weapon. We don't necessarily know with these types of designs. When I talk here I'm going to rely as much as possible on the longitudinal

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is associated with ethnicity. It has been tested multiple times with UK samples. Once you adjust for other demographic, interpersonal behavioural factors, we see no ethnic association.

Moving to the ones that are strongest -- strongly connected to weapon-carrying, experience of childhood adversity, consistently a risk factor for weapon-carrying. So a longitudinal study using the Millennium Cohort Study found that household poverty, poor parental mental health up to the age of 14 was a very good predictor of weapon-carrying at age 17.

We have known about the influence of adverse childhood experience and involvement with violence for a long time. Some of these studies focusing on weapon-carrying adds a bit more nuance to this. For example, we know now that the accumulation of adversities is really important. The more adversity an individual experiences, the greater their risk a few years later of being involved in violence. We are also seeing the clustering of these experiences is important. If somebody experiences a flat number of adversities over their childhood, they are at less risk of carrying a weapon later on than somebody who had a lower rate and then a very high rate and maybe went down to a lower rate. There is something happening, a tipping point

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perhaps that is having a longer-term impact rather than a steady experience of adversity.

Also the trajectory in which these adversities are experienced is important. So children who have lots of adversity earlier in their lives but the number of adversities decreases over time are at lower risk of weapon-carrying and involvement in violence than children who are on an escalating trajectory, experiencing more and more as they head into the teenage years. Good evidence of this from several different datasets. I think it is a robust finding.

Bullying is emerging as an important factor in the carrying of weapons. So a new publication funded by Youth Endowment Fund, by my team, it is actually published today, found that both bullying and victimisation and bullying perpetration are associated with weapon-carrying three or four years later. These studies measured bullying experience at ages 8, 10 and 12, and then looked at weapon-carrying at 15, and police records and self-reported violent offending at 17, found that experience of bullying as a victim adds to the likelihood of carrying a weapon up to three or more years later by about 50%. But it doesn't have any impact on their use of violence. Bullying perpetration, on the other hand, doubles the risk of weapon-carrying

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that time.

Just focusing on the qualitative studies a little bit more. There are two types of self-defence, I suppose, active self-defence and passive self-defence. A passive self-defence may be the one associated with bullying, where somebody feels the need for protection. Active self-defence is more associated with violence perpetration. We see this in prisons as well as in communities. We have done lots of interviews with weapon-carrying prisoners, within the prison environment, and weapons are an expression. They are a form of self-protection. Developing a reputation for being dangerous is a useful way of protecting somebody from being attacked, a useful way to protect somebody from being challenged; it helps them establish an identity that they are seeking to create.

So we have what are criminologist might call "street capital" or a psychologist might call an "aggressive identity" that's expressed through being known for carrying weapons. So they send a signal as well as having practical use. All of this connects to fear of victimisation.

Perpetration of violence or experience of violence, probably the strongest predictor of anything to do with weapon-carrying. So we see repeatedly that the more

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but also doubles the risk that they will be involved in violence at age 17 and that they will have a criminal record for violence by age 24.

This shows there are probably two different trajectories by bullying into weapon-carrying, one maybe perhaps focused on self-defence and protection, another focused on a more aggressive stance.

Fear of victimisation, self-defence, protection also absolutely crucial factors in the decision to carry a weapon by a young person. The qualitative evidence that is the most common explanation when young people are asked why they are carrying a weapon. Youth Endowment Fund did this in a different way. Rather than qualitatively, they asked the 2% of their 11,000 people in their sample: why did you carry a weapon? And 47% of them said it was for protection.

Importantly though, 37% said it was because somebody asked them to do it. 31% said "to scare others", and 18% did it because their peers were doing it. And the statistically-minded among you will note that those numbers add up to more than 100 per cent. There are multiple reasons why people carry weapons. Often these might seem contradictory but they are reflecting the environment in which people are living and how they feel about self-defence and how they feel about violence at

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somebody experiences violence the more likely they are to carry weapons later on. So a study from the 2000s, or using data collected in the 2000s, found that for each incident of violence that somebody reported in year one, which would have been 2003, the chances that they would carry a weapon in 2004 when they were followed up increased by 6% for every subsequent act of violence up to around six incidents.

So there is a strong dorsal relationship between the amount of victimisation somebody experiences and the rate of weapon-carrying.

Looking at cross-sectional data as well, we see the same thing. People in the Youth Endowment Fund survey who had been a victim of violence, 79% had carried a weapon in that past year. Again, can't say about the causal direction here. They are very closely interlinked. 79% carried a weapon in the last year and the people who had not been victimised -- excuse me, of the people who did not carry a weapon the victimisation rate was 15. So there it's a difference around five times more likely to carry a weapon if you have been a victim of violence.

We see a similar statistic if we just focus on perpetration. So perpetrators of violence are seven times more likely to have also carried a weapon in the

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past year. So a really strong connection between these.

Peer influence, quite important. So, some really good American research has found that once a weapon is introduced into a peer network, it spreads and dissipates across that network. Similarly, in the UK, using that same offending Crime and Justice Survey from the early 2000s, my research found that having more than a few friends who had been in trouble with the police, highly predictive of carrying a weapon the following year. So there is some sort of peer influence there, and as we saw in the Youth Endowment Fund evidence from earlier that 37% of people who carried a weapon did so because somebody asked them to and 18% did it because their peers were carrying weapons.

Moving to the final risk factor, trust in authorities. Weapon-carrying is strongly related with low trust in the police. It is probably strongly related with low trust in other authorities and statutory agencies. Unfortunately we don't measure that. When we do things like the source for this information is the Crime Survey for England and Wales, it is a victimisation survey, very focused on victimisation experience naturally, and there are a lot of questions about how much they trust the police and their experience of the police. Not much evidence -- no

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self-defence.

Similar UK evidence said the same thing, that in a systematic review of qualitative data, interviewees justified weapon-carrying as a rational response to real threats of violence.

So, moving to my last two questions: why do certain weapons appeal to young people or become more likely to be chosen and used in attacks; and the longer part of this question is what role did the design, symbolism, concealability, perceived effectiveness or cultural meaning of specific knives and weapons play?

We have remarkably little research on this. There is theory but very little evidence. We know from real world -- our own real world experience that certain types of weapons are valorised, they are promoted particularly to young men and they are attractive to young men. It is the way we socialise boys to be accepting of violence, to playing with tanks and guns and things like from an early age. But we have remarkably little good evidence about this. I want to suggest a theory that my team and I developed that allows us to understand why certain weapon types are chosen and to give us some levers that can be pulled as well, if we want to modify access to -- or the use of particular types of weapons.

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questions about their experience of social work or their experience of education. So there is a very good chance that general trust in authority is connected to weapon-carrying. We just can't say for certain.

Trust in the police is important because -- just to show how people can end up carrying weapons. We generally think about trust in the police in two ways. One is trust in police competence, and that is competence to keep us safe, to manage the social contract. We agree to obey laws in return for safety. But also trust in police fairness, the belief that the police will treat everybody fairly. The evidence clearly shows that it is trust in police competence is the really important factor in driving weapon-carrying.

So, as we have seen in these statistics already, people who carry weapons have extensive histories of victimisation that demonstrates, at least for them, that the police are not able to keep them safe, and interviews with young gun-carriers in the United States, Bernard Harcourt, who is one of the important researchers in this area, described this weapon-carrying in response to not trusting the police as a sort of entitlement, a need to carry weapons because they are on their own, the State isn't there to protect them, it can't protect them, so they must arm themselves to

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This can be thought of as an interplay between four factors: there is availability, accessibility, affordability and attractiveness.

So availability relates to the prevalence of that weapon type within the community. So a particular weapon type might be highly desirable or attractive but if it doesn't exist practically, then such as being banned or its availability is going to be low. And there are variations on availability, so if for example it is banned nationally but international postage could overcome that issue, its availability is slightly higher.

Accessibility, it relates to availability, but it focuses on more how quickly can a person procure that weapon. So a kitchen knife might be a person's weapon of choice but if a vigilant parent will miss it, that reduces its accessibility. It makes it slightly harder for somebody to get their hands on.

Similarly, effective online sales, use of age restrictions and things like that, reduces the accessibility of some knives. So it is available, it could be bought or it could be imported, but whether they can actually get their hands on it is a different question.

Affordability is the final of the sort of push

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factors in this, it's the costs of procuring a weapon. This can be literal cost in terms of pricing but also it can be the potential legal consequences, but it can also be the social capital cost of procurement. So if you want to access a firearm, you probably -- and you don't have one, you probably need to know somebody who will trust you to give you that firearm. Similarly, if you want to buy something on -- a knife on a grey market you may need somebody to introduce you or you need to demonstrate your credibility to that seller. So there is an affordability component to this.

Most important however is the one that's balanced against all this is the attractiveness. There are certain reasons why people go out of their way to access certain types of knives, to overcome the affordability, accessibility and even availability of these weapons. They are highly attractive and these forms of attraction are both affective and instrumental. So, instrumental we can focus -- someone might choose a particular type of weapon, so a long blade because it is more effective for hurting multiple people simultaneously, can inflict more harm. Maybe there's a physical characteristic of the weapon, such as a guard, not present in a lot of kitchen knives but present in lots of other knives and that keeps their hands safe, allows them to use the

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there is a reduced sense of vulnerability. Being armed in any way can make people feel safe and protected, but you get enhanced confidence from larger, scarier knives.

Then the last two, a source of power or mattering for marginalised young people, and it holds shapes and reputation. Again this is about choosing particular weapons to say something about oneself to other people, to convey a dangerousness and to give somebody power that they may not have within their community, give them a sense of mattering, although it is an illegal sense of mattering and respect.

Final question: how do online spaces contribute to the normalisation, display, promotion or acquisition of weapons?

For young people today, seeing real world violence is a very common feature of being online. Youth Endowment Fund found that around 34% in 2024 and the same percentage -- or 35% in 2025, of 11-17-year-olds, saw young people carrying, promoting or using weapons online in the past year. In the question they emphasise that this is not news, it is not games, it is not films, it is real world people they might know in their communities carrying weapons. So it is a very frequent feature of the online -- a young person's online existence.

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weapon more efficiently. But also a more menacing weapon can say something, confer the coercive power without violence. People will remember the Crocodile Dundee knife, "this is a knife". That is a perfect illustration of the coercive power of certain types of knives and their semiotic meaning. Also the greater sourcing effort that somebody has to go through might signal somebody's commitment to violence. So if somebody is carrying a knife that is well known to be illegal and prohibited, that might say something about this person's commitment to violence and their dangerousness.

There is an affective component to this as well, emotional reward coming from possession and identity. Going back to that childhood socialisation of just being attracted and being told that army ties and things are attractive. Some of that still sticks in the male mind, I suppose. So there is a thrilling sense of having access to these things in the real world rather than playing.

The affective or emotional reward can also be a sense of breaking rules. So criminologists often talk about the seductions of crime, that it's not rational, they know they could be caught but there is something thrilling about that experience. But also practically

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What we also see is the older these young people are, the more serious the violence and the more illicit and large the weapons that they are seeing are. So there is an escalation here. They aren't, in fairness to the study, as a critique of the study, they didn't account for the fact that older children spend more time online so they might see more of these things. But it does suggest that there is this trajectory and it fits with this idea that older teenagers are probably at the greatest risk of carrying and using weapons.

So, it is important to think about how this might actually translate into weapon-carrying. So, we know -- we see 34/35% of children seeing this type of violence online, yet only 2% carrying a weapon and a relatively small number, proportion being involved in violence. So it is not translating, at least for everybody, into this large-scale change in the nature of violence, and this is one of the places where we have a huge gap in the literature in relation to VFIs, is that very plausibly that -- among those 35% of people, there are people for whom this exposure to media violence and exposure to online violent content is actually having long-term and very serious implications.

So this is one of the shortcomings of the research in the literature in general, is our inability to

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1 separate out people really extremely involved in
2 violence from the general population.

3 One other thing to note is that the literature on
4 children -- or the impact of exposure to media violence
5 and actual violent behaviour is hugely contested. It
6 has not covered itself in glory in terms of the methods
7 that are used and there has been general disagreement
8 among two factions of the psychology research community.
9 So one strongly saying that violent media is a direct
10 cause of violent behaviour and another group saying,
11 when we do it or when we look at these we see nothing.

12 So I would urge caution at this stage on making any
13 assumption about the connection, at the general
14 population level about the connection between exposure
15 to violent media and violent behaviour. The final point
16 on that is of course we have a confounding potential
17 here, is that children who choose violent media may have
18 a greater potential or propensity for violence in the
19 first place that actually is just expressed later on and
20 it is not necessarily the media that is driving this.

21 Again, you can't say anything in relation to this in
22 relation to VFIs because of their rarity within the
23 general population, our inability in these surveys and
24 data to pick these things up.

25 Just moving on to my final three points. What does

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1 could be there but it is also very likely that it is
2 present in non-VFIs at similar rates. So it would not
3 be a single good protector on its own. Possession of
4 flick knives, combat knives, machetes and zombie knives,
5 however do indicate that the individual is putting
6 considerable effort to overcome the availability,
7 accessibility and affordability issues, so these weapons
8 are really attractive to them. It does say something
9 about their planning and commitment to violence.
10 I think we should take that seriously. That likely
11 translates into increasing risk of perpetrating serious
12 violence, and increased safeguarding risk to their
13 person but again it is something that is speculative and
14 based on the Four As theory.

15 Finally, we don't know about the displacement
16 effects of limiting access to certain knife types. So
17 our goal should be to create extremely low availability,
18 accessibility, affordability, even attractiveness of
19 zombie knives. The question is, how much pressure on
20 those three can this attractiveness sustain? If it just
21 becomes really almost impossible to source these
22 weapons, will that lead to a displacement towards
23 kitchen knives? We need to be careful -- or keep an eye
24 on the use of kitchen knives and see that as a potential
25 backfire effect or side effect of efforts to control

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1 this mean for prevention, disruption and early
2 intervention before weapon-carrying escalates into
3 violence?

4 Firstly, the types of weapons being carried and used
5 in violence offline but appearing in violent content and
6 social media should be routinely recorded and monitored.
7 We are flying blind in terms of trying to answer some of
8 these questions.

9 First thing we have to do is have some standardised
10 way of categorising knives and also then a standardised
11 way of recording their use. Maybe we use police data,
12 maybe we use surveys, but there needs to be a joined up
13 way of measurement. In particular, if we start to use
14 police data, we need to think about digital ways of
15 collecting this information, standardising it, and also
16 a bit of accounting for the administrative burden on
17 police forces of actually photographing or recording the
18 type of knife and costing this in. But I think that is
19 a really necessary first step for us to get a handle on
20 the types of weapons that are being used.

21 The accumulation of weapons by a young person should
22 continue to be regarded as a risk factor for serious
23 violence. For statistical reasons, it is unlikely that
24 possession of a particular type of weapon on its own is
25 a good predictive of violence fixation. It very likely

30

1 access to these.

2 Finally -- sorry, penultimately, given that kitchen
3 knives are the most frequently used weapons in homicide,
4 efforts to reduce their lethality, such as replacing
5 sharp-tipped knives with blunted knives should be given
6 strong consideration.

7 Finally, I wouldn't be an academic addressing
8 anybody if I didn't say that we also need much more
9 research on this topic. Thank you very much.

10 **MR MOSS:** Thank you, Professor.

11 Sir, may we please come back for a prompt start at
12 10.55 am. But perhaps before you rise, sir, I know
13 Commander Clayman has been conspicuously careful in his
14 presentation and mindful of the current audience but
15 could I just remind those for whom it may be distressing
16 that there is some knife imagery in his presentation.

17 **SIR ADRIAN FULFORD:** Thank you. I will sit again at 10.55
18 am.

19 (10.46 am)

(A short break)

21 (10.55 am)

22 **SIR ADRIAN FULFORD:** Yes, Mr Moss.

23 **MR MOSS:** Thank you, sir. Commander Clayman, please.

Presentation by COMMANDER CLAYMAN

25 **COMMANDER CLAYMAN:** Thank you. So before I sort of get into

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the main presentation I just wanted to -- a couple of framing points really because I'm going to cover the questions which will cover the review I undertook, the purchase, sale, delivery and importation of knives, the legal frameworks. But I wanted just a couple of things just to frame certainly around crossbows and archery. It's not something I look at in my portfolio, however I will be touching on some of the crossover and read across there will be with these particular weapons.

Secondly, more importantly, in relation to VFIs, I don't have any explicit policy on VFI. The reason for that is that the work that I'm doing with the team is around general prohibition to certain weapons, either by the type of weapon of course or the age of the person trying to purchase it.

As we mentioned there are three slides containing some general pictures of knives. There is no violent content I should add, but I will give another warning just before. Just on language, the National Knife Crime Centre I will probably refer to as "the Centre" or "the NKCC", and I will also refer to the independent review I did as "the review", and of course where I mention the perpetrator, I will mention them as AR.

So the independent review, this was commissioned in 2024 by the previous Home Secretary, Yvette Cooper. It

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one, but they are the three questions which I will take you through. The first one is really what did the review and the wider experience in policing terms, looking at the vulnerabilities of the sale, purchase and importation of weapons and the bladed articles.

Now, I suppose the first thing to say here as a starting point is that the -- effectively the retail side of knives is effectively unregulated and that causes a number of issues, as I will explain.

You have a number -- quite a number of UK-based retailers, legitimate, I would suggest, retailers, who keep customer records, accounts etc, registered with Companies House and of course whom the police can make lawful requests for data as and when required in the course of its investigation. Alongside that of course you have an illicit market, the term I would call "the grey market", of retailers or these are individuals who will sell, and I will go into more detail, illicitly but you have also got overseas retailers who of course don't have to abide by our restrictions and legislation.

So it becomes -- you have got effectively -- the lines are blurred as I have said between these registered and these unregulated retailers. It makes a difficulty for law enforcement to then manage this as I will explain.

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was delivered with a dedicated team made up of members of my National Knife Crime working group. The terms of reference are shown there.

The catalyst for this was threefold really, of course the dreadful events that this Inquiry sits was one of those reasons. The other driving force behind this was Pooja and Nikita Kanda whose son Ronan Kanda was murdered back in -- as you can see there in 2022. His killers purchased Ninja swords online without verification, collected from a post office, again not asked for any verification. She has been a driving force and I think at the opening address that Ronan's Law was mentioned, this is very much part of Ronan's Law. And the third element was the work that the National Knife Crime portfolio was beginning to uncover around illicit sales, bulk sales and how those bulk sales translate into what I will describe as a grey market.

I am happy to say that the Government supported all the recommendations. Two were immediately drafted into the Crime and Policing Act. I will be referring to this as I go along and I will signal where the recommendations meet legislation or potential future legislation as I go through.

So the three questions I will just go on to each

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So, making a practice of selling knives without some form of regulation unlawful -- and I make no apologies for repeating this several times as I go through because it is such an important part in terms of what we do in the future. But I will take you through three vulnerabilities, in effect.

The first is the point of sale. Now, the review looked at this and found that a defence available to a seller around who they sell to, particularly children, and it is more about the process than the person really. There was no robustness. When we talked to retailers, when we talked to a range of retailers from sole traders to very large global retailers, and not all of them could really give us any sense of a robust age restriction or identification process, principally because it was more about the age and not the identity of the person.

Now, I am pleased to say that that was one of the recommendations that was immediately drafted into the Bill. We now -- that I will come back to -- we don't have an enactment date as yet but the verification will become identity, so using a passport/driving licence, so much more robust.

If you think about many of the accounts that we all have in our own homes, where you have a standard log-in,

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1 you log in and once you are logged in pretty much your
2 payment details are locked in. That doesn't take much,
3 particularly for a child, to overcome and order a knife
4 online. So those vulnerabilities were really clear, and
5 some sites had a better system than others.

6 So, very much our recommendation was to make the age
7 verification identity more robust but more importantly
8 this leads onto the second vulnerability which is around
9 "What about the delivery?" Because you can make the
10 purchase and then of course where does it go? How is it
11 delivered? And how is it verified?

12 Simply there is a couple of things here around the
13 delivery. The couriers of course are reliant on knowing
14 that there is a knife inside a package, so the package
15 should be clearly displayed that it contains a blade.
16 That doesn't always happen. Not many could really give
17 confidence to us that the age checks at the door were
18 being carried out successfully. I'm not saying they
19 never happen, but often they could not tell us with any
20 confidence that it did. We still hear stories of knives
21 being left on the doorstep, so it is still not robust as
22 we would like.

23 So the suggestion, we said, was that this -- we go
24 one step further with the identity is that the person
25 ordering should be the person who is receiving at the

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1 this in the review, but mis-declaration is a problem.
2 We have some retailers overseas who boast about
3 mis-declaring the knife so it won't get picked up. They
4 might call it a fruit knife, they might call it
5 something else. So you have some positive actions by
6 suppliers to overcome import duties and our legislation.

7 So mis-declaration is a problem I will come back to
8 it. Border Force themselves cannot scan every single
9 parcel that comes through. It is too much. They do
10 have a priority of course in terms of control strategy.
11 Drugs remains their number one priority. But of course
12 they do intercept knives and when they do they will
13 inform law enforcement and it depends whether that knife
14 is "legal to own" knife, in which case they have to have
15 onward transmission to the person ordering it but the
16 police will be notified. And if it is a prohibited
17 weapon, of course the police will be notified for
18 action.

19 So two slightly different contexts depending on if
20 the knife is prohibited or not. But what Border Force
21 do need is better intelligence to intercept. I will
22 come onto how that has been working very well, in the
23 future.

24 The other issue is a lot of people will go online,
25 they will go on what they think is a UK domain, order

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1 door; the two should be connected.

2 Yes, that does create probably a more complicated
3 delivery, especially that last mile delivery, but it
4 will make for a much better and more robust and safe, in
5 our opinion, delivery mechanism. So this was pretty
6 clear.

7 The other thing about being a courier, it doesn't
8 take much to set up a courier. I could do it tomorrow,
9 there is no real regulation around being a courier even.
10 But of course there are some big players here, not least
11 Royal Mail and parcels. They, I imagine, will have to
12 think very carefully because this aspect is also into
13 the Bill and obviously we are awaiting the guidance, so
14 they will have to look at this very carefully, as will
15 other large carriers and couriers, and some of course
16 have their own courier service built into their
17 business.

18 The third vulnerability and I will go into a bit
19 more detail in this a little bit later, particularly
20 with two use cases that I will describe, but
21 importation. This, in my view, is probably the growing
22 and biggest threat for me particularly since the Centre
23 has been launched we have been looking at this and
24 uncovering more because we are looking at it more
25 closely. The issue interestingly, and we dealt with

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1 knives and it is not a UK domain at all, it is actually
2 overseas and this is very, very common. So they think
3 they're buying -- why they do this? We were posing that
4 question the other day, it might be for buyer
5 confidence, thinking they are buying from a UK supplier
6 but actually they are not. These could be Europe,
7 America, it could be East or South Asia.

8 I will come back in much more detail about
9 importation but of course the audit trail of how -- once
10 it reaches the country and where it goes, there are some
11 things beginning to settle in place, but it does very
12 much depend on the type of knife of course that's been
13 purchased.

14 The read across for other weapons, I mentioned the
15 crossbows. Now, I know that the Home Office have taken
16 the review recommendation that I made and they have
17 translated that across to crossbows, which is good, and
18 I do know they are looking to do some further
19 consultation on either ban or licensing in relation to
20 the crossbow. So there is definitely a read across
21 there.

22 Now, Professor Brennan mentioned the Four As,
23 something that I'm aware of. The issue around it -- the
24 issue of a kitchen knife. Now I mention it here because
25 we are very much -- my knife crime (unclear) is very

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supportive of Leanne Lucas and the Let's Be Blunt campaign.

Now, domestic-related violence that I have seen tends to involve a kitchen knife, for obvious reasons. It is something we all have in our homes, it is easily accessible. The point of the evidence that Leanne and her team has presented is that you are far less likely to sustain a lethal injury with a rounded tip than you are with a pointed tip. So the evidence is certainly there, so there is an argument for rounded tip in perhaps vulnerable households because they tend to be -- an incident of domestic-related maybe in the moment grab for a weapon, for example.

So there are definite benefits. It comes back to the point around the Four As. Whilst I do get lots of people saying, well, there is millions of knives out there, it is an impossible thing, that doesn't mean we shouldn't start to make a societal change and there definitely are some changes in that regard.

So, where some of these vulnerabilities meet the Inquiry's concern is -- now I know that AR contacted retailers, he was asking specific questions around discreet packaging delivery, collection points etc. Now that behaviour wouldn't be subject to any reporting mechanism at this stage, and actually, even as I will

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will be -- won't be happy for more regulation of their own retailing but equally we need to be very mindful of how we then disrupt the illicit activity.

The point about licensing, it does several things. By making the act of selling a knife an illegal activity without a licence, actually has a tremendous more widespread effect on what I'm talking about today. So, it would mean UK websites, if they are not registered they would not be able to sell the knives. If they were a site that has third party sellers even, even international ones I would suggest it's not in law yet. I would suggest if they are not licensed they should not be on a UK site. It would definitely affect positively the grey market situation that I'm going to talk about, but more importantly than that, this does go beyond online, this goes into in-person.

So whether it is a street transaction, a boot sale, a shop front, bricks and mortar store, by having a licence it means you can impose licence conditions, which really brings responsible retailing into a legislative framework. Many retailers volunteer to adopt a responsible retailing position. If there is a shop, for example, where knives are displayed, obviously there are requirements to display age-restricted products etc, but by doing something like

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explain, the forthcoming mandatory bulk sales may not catch that type of behaviour, but I will talk a bit about the voluntary referral pathway which we are developing which would conceivably do that.

So the bulk sales under the Crime and Policing Act I will go into in a little bit more detail shortly but it will miss some of the suspicious purchasing which falls under the six or more in 30 days. We need to be aware of that.

We are always trying to think one step ahead in how someone with a criminal intent will think. So we have to -- we are always constantly trying to think if we do this. A bit like the displacement effect that we just heard about, from a policing perspective we are trying to think how criminals will adapt their behaviours to prohibitions that we will put into place.

I mention regulation. I just wanted to say why I think it is so important that there is regulation. When I talk about licensing here I'm not talking about owner licensing for the ownership of a knife. That would be -- I do not think policing, other agencies would be able to cope with that. I don't think it is necessary. However, what we do think is necessary is a tighter regulated retail market.

Why? Because I guess a lot of legitimate retailers

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this it means we can put those restrictions or those conditions on a licence, and if they don't comply, then of course it is something that we can enforce with, I would suggest, the local authority trading standards as a joint enforcement.

I say and talk candidly about regulation, fully understanding that it is quite a big deal, it is expensive, it has to be administered and of course it has to be enforced, but I say it with a degree of confidence but it won't eradicate but it will make, in my view, a huge difference.

Now, it would also allow tech, as I said social media channels, to take a more robust approach, although it can be difficult sometimes to say who is selling a knife. But what I do know is if they have someone selling kitchen knives, that it is not an illegal activity per se unless they know they are selling to children, but then any sale of a knife, unless it's on one of their market places, should be removed immediately. So there are some benefits to this.

The Government consulted on this from December to February this year. We are awaiting the consultation response which I understand should be imminent, and then from then on it is then the next steps for me.

What are the next steps in legislation? Timescales,

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guidance and speaking to retailers to get feedback and understanding of how this would work. Until we see the consultation it is difficult to comment too much.

So in summary, I have talked about some of the legislation that is coming in through the Crime and Policing Act and what is in the pipeline. I should have mentioned with importation that the consultation from the Government also included import licensing as well. That was captured in the consultation and is another element to tackle the importation which I will come back to momentarily.

So the second question is about the grey market, and I will explain that bridge between the legitimate market and the street and where a significant amount of the operational effort that I'm involved in now sits, and also some of the legislation that we are using, but I hope I will demonstrate that it is not quite as straightforward for law enforcement as you may think. Just to let you know, the next two slides contain images of knives from grey market sellers.

So, what does the grey market look like? Three elements to the grey market: you have the acquisition of the knife; you have the -- how it is advertised; and how it is then distributed.

As I said, when we did the review we found UK

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should not be able to buy them here but you can. In fact, the one on the right some of you may have seen a similar one or the same type was seized in the Notting Hill Carnival recently, the d-handle zombie knife. The other one, as I say, is actually legal to purchase and own at home but not on the street, of course.

The language on the side just gives you an idea of the sort of language. Now "gladdys" is a gladiator-style sword, "flizzys" are flick knives. This is the sort of language that's used. This one is probably slightly more overt in the fact they are supplying the weapons. Many of them are a lot more subtle than that and you do need a degree of experience to understand. The people who are buying do understand. It may even be emojis that are used to indicate a sale, and the name "yanks", "shanks", is the knives. This case has been concluded and the person convicted.

The second slide, again there are some images of knives. This is a Telegram site from the north of England, as it happens. These are prohibited knives. The thing here, this demonstrates -- I mean this is what we are seeing every day. But this demonstrates that it is not just prohibited weapons that are being sold here. There is pepper sprays, Tasers, easily concealable

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retailers selling 300-plus knives to one individual. Now if I went into a shop and walked out with 300 knives, I think eyebrows would be raised. The retailer, in fairness, didn't have any managerial responsibility to tell us. We subsequently found out of course. But what was happening is these sellers were buying these knives in bulk and some of these knives were pre-additional banning, Ninja swords or some of the zombie knives, and then they were re-selling. The thing about the grey market is they advertise through informal channels, social media channels. All the social media channels are involved here, and they will hook someone to then bring them off into a separate platform to make the trade, so to speak. So the distribution is either by hand, it's through the post.

They are pretty indiscriminate. They hide behind anonymity. They have total disregard for any age restriction. They will sell to children, young people, those vulnerable, violent. They don't really care. The images you see in front of you are from a range of platforms, Telegram, TikTok and Snapchat.

Thing to note, the image in the centre, one set of knives is prohibited and one actually you can lawfully own in your home. The ones on the right are zombie-style knives, they are illegal to buy. You

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knives are being sold, and interestingly you can buy fake IDs on this site as well. The point here is that often the grey market sellers are not exclusively knives. We have had sellers who are selling firearms, drugs. So there is an element of polycriminality going on. I often ask the team: give me a profile of a grey market seller. We probably don't know enough yet for a profile because we have some people who are quite heavily involved in criminality. We also have children selling these, these grey markets, 15 year olds selling knives, some with no previous convictions, others with connections to violence and other dangerous people. So there is a whole array. We will get a better view and threat as we delve into this a bit more.

But that just gives you an indication. Often there are videos and they will demonstrate the type of knives but these are prohibited knives. You will often find displays in the bedroom that show you the type of knives that you have, but I will come on to some later examples of importation which will put a very different -- you get a bit of an understanding of the backdrop to how they are getting prohibited knives when they have been banned in the UK. You should not be able to buy these but yet you can.

When you look at the grey market you begin to get

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a sense of why it is quite difficult to police. The sellers are operating anonymously. From a policing perspective we have to deal and go through the social media channels to get account details, account data, and effectively attribute that account holder to a person to allow us to make a referral and then for action. That is not necessarily easy.

The other thing is that many of these accounts, over 50% that we find, are actually overseas. They might present -- you will see them on your feed but they are not actually in the UK at all.

Let's not forget, again it was touched on previously, an algorithm will place this content in the hands of a child or young adult. Sometimes when they don't even ask for it, they will see it and so it is presented to them and of course the grey market sellers will thrive on that and then of course they will take them off to a separate channel.

It is interesting, about a year ago, I was up in the north of England talking to some -- it was a provision that supports young -- children -- and we asked them about knives, they were asked, "If you were to need a knife where would you go?" It was suggested in the kitchen. They said, "No, it is so easy to buy one online". That's where they would buy them from, and

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is too great not to have some form of voluntary referral process for suspicious sales because there is a difference between a bulk sale and a suspicious transaction. If you go back to the beginning when I talked about AR's behaviour, a suspicious buying behaviour could be making an enquiry about the packaging, "Is it discreet packaging? Where can I collect?" It could even be you used fake ID and it has bounced the sale.

There are a number of things and we have spoken to some retailers. Some of them are very open to doing this and I think for smaller traders they probably know their customer better and they would be in a good position. I think it would be more problematic for really large retailers, but that's fine, we will work with retailers to do this. But the good news is everyone feels supportive that we will build a suspicious transaction element to what we are pulling into next year. But if you think about chemical precursor, that's essentially voluntary as well. I am confident if we work with retailers and industry, we will get their support, I hope, to do this.

Now I talked about the legislation we then use with these grey market sellers. Now, the Knives Act 1997, I mentioned this and I will come back to the digital

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that was from a group of young people and it reinforced what we feared.

The bulk sales of course is the feeder for some of these grey market suppliers, as I said. And buying them in bulk, the retailer not having any obligation to tell us, now that is going to change which is good. So, six or more bladed articles, not a set of knives, but it will include potentially steak knives, so the volumes are going to be quite high. The enactment we think is going to be from next spring. In the meantime -- the Centre is going to be the recipient of the data -- we are looking at the appropriate reporting platform, so we are looking at what's already out there and then looking to procure the right type of platform that will allow retailers to engage with us.

We suspect that the overall volume will only be interested in a very small percentage but the trick of course is how we then analyse, attribute and deal with the information that we have. But conceivably, if someone is buying across different retailers, we should start to pick up the links as I said.

I could add then, the key thing here is we had always envisaged perhaps that the licensing would come in and the mandatory and suspicious would be a package. It is not quite how it turned out. So for me the risk

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element, but of course this offence is not -- wasn't designed for grey markets, it was actually originally designed around magazines and hunting magazines, that was its origin. If you think about it, 1997, this was before Facebook, the iPhone. I would suggest it was before the internet really sort of exploded and has become so intertwined with our lives. But of course the marketing offences would apply to what I would call a clear web or open website. We use it quite a bit with grey market. But the point I wanted to sort of raise with this, it is an underused piece of legislation from both the policing perspective and knowledge, I would suggest, of prosecutors.

Even actually in the stated case, *R v STC*, even the appeal judge said it has largely lain unnoticed, and that was back in 2021. I would suggest it has not changed a great deal. So there is some work to do and I had a conversation only this week with the CPS Head of Policy who is hugely supportive that we work together to look at the guidance, because there is existing guidance on it but I would suggest it just needs to be refreshed. But actually the point I think needs to be made, we may need to think about is the legislation itself still fit for purpose in a digital age?

If you look at some of the words, "tactical",

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"survival", "combat", on its own some of that we may feel derives a suggestion of violence. However, the threshold to charge and the experience of police officers is generally that doesn't tend to get us across that threshold to charge.

I give you an example -- this is the last slide with some knife images on. These are all legal to buy knives I should add. These are actually from a fairly recently concluded Crown Court case. It related to a fixed premises, a shop, but they also had a website. These images are a few years old. It took a number of years, I should add, for the case to get to Crown Court.

What we found is -- I will sort of flick across -- if you look at some of the names here: "cold steel", "combat", "tactical", the names that, as I say, will suggest that these are for use in violence and combat, this went to a jury decision on 18 marketing offences and the jury acquitted on all counts. I mention this not as a criticism at all of the jury but just to illustrate the difficulty in reaching that evidential threshold in relation to the knives.

What we are finding is that there needs to be additional context. That could be with the grey market, some of the contact between the seller and the buyer. It might be other things on the website that they are

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you won't see a response. So my question to tech and industry I will ask is: what can we do to minimise what people get and get returned on a web search? I'm not a technical person. So I'm sure there are lots of complications with that, but I refuse to believe it is not possible to influence what's displayed on that search response, considering, if I did a search, for child sex imagery I should not see it on the open web.

We are getting some software. CGI developed some software for us, it's a web-crawler software. We will put in some keywords and it is looking for potential marketing offences on the open web. It does it at scale. Now the internet is a big place so we need to firstly take out the sites which are not in the UK, and then even the trial we did, we got returns of over 9,000 web pages, so we need to know how we are going to work to sift through all that data. But ultimately it may catch retailers who are not age-restricting products properly or, of course, they are selling prohibited weapons or they are conducting or displaying any marketing offences, and that's something the Centre will do. It won't be the whole business of the Centre because you will see some of the other threats which are coming, and I will come onto the site at the Centre -- it packs a powerful punch but it is not big.

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suggesting that they are for use in violence. If they are selling prohibited weapons, of course we have offences there. Sometimes more problematic where they are legal to buy, unless of course they are selling to children.

But this is a concern and I just think we probably need to do some work. I know the Inquiry referred a number of sites to us of -- nine sites, three of which are outside the UK, just demonstrating that issue that what looks like a UK site isn't. They have all been referred to forces. One I know is taking some formal action, the others are still having -- making their decisions. They are difficult cases in their present form to get a threshold to charge.

So the suggestion from me is we do some work around (a) the guidance or actually we go one step further and look at the law and does it need to be refreshed given how the market has certainly changed.

I mentioned algorithms a bit earlier. When we launched the Centre we did an internet search on a search engine for "flick knives in the UK" and we were given a number of suppliers. Well, bearing in mind that they've banned since 1953 that was a concern. So there is something about what gets presented back. If I do a clear web search for things that are clearly banned

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But I think what we will do is we will see how this moves in due course. The other thing is of course content removal. So the Government, as it happens, is bringing in under the Crime and Policing Act content removal notices which will be applicable to social media companies and named executives. Our experience actually is that the social media companies in general will remove content at our request, and normally within 48 hours.

We don't necessarily see them removing it. There are some problems for them actually understanding what is and isn't illegal and what breaches their community guidelines. I met with TikTok very recently, very positive meeting in the sense that we will start to share more, and we will do this with all the social media companies that we are in contact with, we will share more about what we find, the language that's used, the type of imagery, to help them with their reviewers and also they have AI-based reviewing tools, how that can teach the AI model as well. We would rather they remove it at source so we don't see it. But of course things will naturally -- when you see the volumes of videos uploaded it is astounding how many videos are there and they do remove a huge amount which is only a fraction of the number that are uploaded. It was

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quite eye-opening. But we do work and we will work closely with them.

In summary, with question 2 again, a pointer to where the legislation is changing, the National Centre is of course where we will look at the public protection side of it, but there is a lot that is going on, as I have explained, but again come back to the regulation element is probably the single most important thing that we can do.

Then, lastly, what's policing's response in the National Knife Crime Centre in terms of national coordination and how we work across the system? I think the thing here, it is now six months since we launched officially. The Centre's operational focus is to take down illicit sellers because I have explained how they work. We will identify them, we will build initial intelligence, the evidence base, and then we will refer to forces which is what we do, and then we will work with the Forces to make sure they understand the legislation being used et cetera, and of course we get the feedback on the result of the enforcement too. The Centre will continue to work very closely with the Home Office to deliver the remaining recommendations and make sure that we hope the law is fit for purpose for policing certainly, and some of these importation

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illicit supply and we are doing something about it, and the offences range from Knife Act supplying offensive weapons, importation, of course drugs and other offences we come across.

I wanted to highlight two UK use cases really on the importation, which I think really define what the Centre is there to do. The first operation relates to a European retailer who was selling knives into the UK. These knives were both legal to own and prohibited.

Now, when we contacted them, they said they didn't know it was illegal to sell this weapon. I would have thought due diligence should have been you check before you sell. In fairness to them, they have now stopped selling into the UK, but they were selling into the UK prohibited weapons as well as legal to own.

In a year, a period of 12 months, over 2,800 knives were sold. Over 900 of those were prohibited weapons and knives. We then found over 300 unique customers. Of those we could identify, because not everyone gives their real ID. We then isolated those who had made multiple purchases, concentrated on the prohibited weapons, but what we did do was note those buyers for intelligence on the Police National Database. And there is a good reason for that, especially in the context of why we are here today, is if that person were to come up

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challenges and changes coming. And of course we are building those relationships with the tech and the social media companies and that's an ongoing bit of work that we are going to do.

That will include retailers as well. We met quite a few retailers during the review. We are going to be more engaging now in terms of the reporting responsibilities that we want them to do, because we do need to have that buy-in, so that's something the Centre will help coordinate.

As I say, the team is actually quite small, very highly skilled but quite small. I suspect some of the future legislative provisions that the Centre is going to pick up may need some additionality in the Centre, but that's something I will pick up separately.

We did run a proof of concept for nine months before and that brought down 136 grey market sellers identified and 170 accounts, many of them have multiple accounts as you can imagine. A number of referrals to the Forces. We had arrests. This is not entirely up to date, there has been additional activity, and over two and a half thousand weapons recovered. In the first six months the Centre has already exceeded the numbers of takedowns and of the sites themselves.

So, we are definitely finding the content and the

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in a search, they may be a suspected VFI, you would get that intelligence that they have been purchasing weapons.

To date there is over 30 arrests. We have recovered over 500 knives, both prohibited and legal to own. So that's just one single overseas supplier.

The second one, slightly more disturbing in some respects. This is in relation to one individual. It is a London Metropolitan Police job. In fact I think the media has recently gone out on this. He was buying hundreds and hundreds of knives from suppliers in east and South Asia. He was a grey market supplier but also a supplier to grey market sellers, had a huge network which resulted in obviously the Met dealt with him as an individual.

What the Centre did was then look at the mechanism of how he got the weapons in. It allowed us to work very closely with Border Force. I talked a bit earlier about intelligence and how we target. Through the work that we did with Border Force we could examine how these goods came in. They were all misdeclared. They were not coming into the country as knives.

And through that work we could intercept them as they came in. We could also find out where they had been. So we made referrals to forces. So as a result

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of this, there were 43 referrals to forces, some of which were intelligence only, some of which turned into enforcement. Over 630, or around 630 weapons located, many of these never hit the street, I think is the important point. We seized many of these at the border, so they never hit the street. The important point about that of course is we rely on techniques like stop and search, maybe a warrant we execute to find weapons, quite a lot of time and energy in that. This took them out at source, which I think is an important point to make.

When we looked back at previous consignments we saw a huge number, certainly in value, and over 370kg of again misdeclared. I can't say with confidence they are all knives but actually from the dip sampling we have done we think the majority of that is knives. This particular guy was sort of 30/40 kilos of knives. That is the sort of volumes. These suppliers overseas are quite happy to sell prohibited weapons, made to your design, with your own naming convention they will sell it to you. They have a catalogue of knives, whether they are zombie-style knives, whatever you like, they will sell it, they will mis-declare it and try and get it into to you through the fast parcels network. We are going to get better but we are not getting them all as

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every European country has the same focus that we have on knives, hence may be they look on suppliers and how their suppliers act is something we can try and influence through Europol. But we often talk about whole system. This for me is a system approach. You could apply that to any type of crime but this is important.

Lastly really, as I sort of sum up, I talked about the types of knives. It is actually quite difficult to -- I showed you the picture a while ago of two sets of knives that look very similar: one is legal to buy, one isn't. So for an operational cop or member of the police staff, when they see that knife they need to understand what they are dealing with and what legislation applies. We have a project called Aluma which was started in the Met. We've now picked it up and developing it nationally. We're building a growing network of trainers who go to frontline teams, and just trying to make sure they understand the types of knives they see, the defences, the legislation, whether it is public or private, what matters.

We are extending that training to Border Force, actually anyone who wants it, we will certainly do it, but the CPS and Border Force as well. I talked about tech development. We are working with police AI on

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they come through the borders.

What I have described here are two jobs. A number of sites overseas, one particular one in Europe. That's just what we found so far. So it does give you a sense of scale.

It sort of links in really to the role of the Centre in terms of the retailers. I have mentioned the retailers and what we need to do now in terms of getting their support, particularly in future change but particularly with the reporting regime that is going to be set up. We have good relationships with social media and tech. Could they do more? Yes, I think they probably could, certainly around algorithms, as I have said before. Border Force, NCA, Europol, we are engaged with all three because of course we can't solve this alone, some of this is international. So we are very much working closely with them.

Very interesting, we have asked Europol some feedback on how other countries tackle knife crime and it is quite interesting. I have only literally had some results back but one or two have some really strong legislation but actually that's not their problem, they actually have a far worse problem with explosives and firearms which is interesting, sobering in some respects that we have such good control on firearms, but not

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effectively a recognition application which will do what I've just said but automatically. It's being tested, there is a prototype. So when an officer finds a knife, or a collection of knives, photographs it, the system will look, see if it knows the knife already and will tell them what it is; if it doesn't it will look at the features of the knife and suggest to the officer this is prohibited or not. The officer will say whether they are in public or private and it will give them the legislation.

Now it is the officer who makes the final decision. The app won't say "That's a prohibited" or give him the indicators. But what it will do is in the moment it will be less of a burden we hope for the officer to recognise the types of knives that are in existence. The other thing it will do and it's to a point that came up in a previous -- in Brennan's it said, it will start to give us real time data on the types of knives being seized by the police across England and Wales and where -- so it will give us general location we hope, the types of knives. We can link that to the importation work. The Centre's role is to do a threat assessment in time. We will be able to build a better picture. I have sort of bigged up the technology. It is being tested so I hope it delivers. I think if it

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delivers we will know because police officers will use it. It will only work if police officers use the technology we give them. Of course there are traditional technology, such as (unclear). There is new technology being developed with hand-held devices which the Home Office are very much leading on as well and hopefully there will be some new developments towards the end of this year.

So, I have really talked about the sort of key things that I think need to happen around licensing, the activity reporting, importation. Just another point on data. I mentioned what this application may do. The point was made about police data. Police data is not where it needs to be in terms of accuracy, the types of weapons used in crime. As it happens, the Metropolitan Police are ahead of the game. They have changed their crime recording system which gives the broad category of knives we would look for. You are not going to be able to get every single knife, but whether it is a machete, whether it is a hunting or military knife or a zombie-style knife or a kitchen knife.

We are working with the Home Office to make that standardised across all forces, so that is reported into the Home Office, and then on an ONS, Office of National Statistics basis, we'll start to get a better idea. So

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work we have done. The ability to seize knives in a private place if we suspect they are going to be used in crime, that's any knife. Possession with a knife with intent to cause fear or violence. Also what's quite key is a number of offences we deal with importation, offering to sell, are summary only. The law is going to change, where it will become obviously an either way indictable offence or summary, which will give us longer investigation timelines and additional police powers. That's actually quite important for policing to do a more robust investigation.

So those things we are still awaiting enactment dates. I'm hoping it won't be too long. That will make a huge difference.

I suppose the last thing -- and of course the coordination I have talked about, and this is where the Centre has to stitch a lot of these things together. The last point to make is what I have talked about here is one aspect how we are tackling knife-enabled crime, in terms of enforcement, illicit supply and policing is often the first responder to knife-related incidents. The key element of course is understanding why someone would pick up the knife in the first place, how they acquire it and why they carry it. That is obviously always fundamental. As I'm often asked, "That is all

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the Met will be able to tell you what their -- this is incumbent on the officer getting it right, I should add as well, when they record it, but we should be in a position at some point nationally to start talking about the knives we do see used in certain crimes. Although for knife crime, the knife doesn't always have to be seen. That's one thing to note.

I think I have already covered the fact that a lot of the lessons that I have talked about here with knives could be translated across to other areas, perhaps other dangerous articles as well. I think that I have covered.

Lastly, we come to the review recommendations I have covered. The only thing I haven't covered is the aspect of a prohibited person. The prohibited person is someone -- we found and know there are one or two retailers, not many, who have criminal backgrounds that are not conducive in our opinion to be retailing knives. So a prohibited person would be someone with that background who would not be able to apply for a licence. That's the nature of a prohibited person.

So, effectively, it leaves us, 18 months on from the review, very much focused on the regulation. As I have said, the legislation and some of the provisions -- there is new legislation coming in as well from previous

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fine, you talk about this, what about that?" These aren't separate, these are complementary. Thank you very much.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Thank you very much.

MR MOSS: Thank you Commander. Sir, may we please resume promptly at 11.55 am.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: I will rise.

(11.45 am)

(A short break)

(11.55 am)

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Yes, Mr Moss.

MR MOSS: Thank you, sir. Mr Green, please.

Presentation by MR GREEN

MR GREEN: Sir, members of the Inquiry, thank you for the opportunity to contribute to these proceedings.

At the outset I would like to express our sincere condolences to the families of Alice da Silva Aguiar, Elsie Dot Stancombe and Bebe King, who were murdered in Southport and to all those who were injured and affected by this horrific attack.

We are a charity who was set up by a family who lost their son to knife crime and our thoughts remain with them.

This submission presents a perspective on The Ben Kinsella Trust and on the relationship -- sorry,

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presents a perspective on The Ben Kinsella Trust on the relationship between violence exposure and the development of violence-supportive attitudes, and the distinction between individuals who are exposed to violence and those who appear to be developing increasingly entrenched and fixated beliefs associated with violence.

Before I start I would like to give a brief overview of The Ben Kinsella Trust. We were established following the murder of Ben in 2008 and have since developed extensive experience in delivering violence-preventative education to children and young people, and through our work The Trust has gained insight into how exposure to violence, both online and offline, influences people's perceptions of safety, risk, conflict and social relationships.

I suspect that we are one of the smallest organisations participating in this seminar. The Trust employs just 12 staff members. In fact I'm joined this morning by our Head of Programmes and our Training Manager, so 25% of The Ben Kinsella Trust staffing is here today which gives you some idea of our size.

That said, with thanks to those staff members and freelance facilitators, we work with around 8,000 young people every year. So we are working with quite

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safe.

The principal arguments I will advance in this present is that prevention and early intervention should be regarded as essential components of any strategy intended to reduce violence and identify individuals who may be progressing towards more concerning forms of violence-related fixation.

I will argue that while regulation and legislation and enforcement are of course important, they are likely to be insufficient in isolation. A comprehensive response must also address the underlying factors that shape attitudes and beliefs before harmful behaviours emerge.

I should also note that alongside the submission of slides I made on 25 August to the Inquiry, I did provide a more detailed commentary on the slides that I'm about to share but given the limited time for this presentation, I will not cover the material in the same depth. However, I hope the accompanying commentaries will serve as a helpful supplementary reading should further details be required.

I should also say that the three questions that I was asked to cover, those were: what does The Ben Kinsella Trust's work with young people tell us about why young children and people may be vulnerable to

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a considerable number of young people and hearing from a large number of young people.

In terms of our size, we are not unique in this regard. The preventative sector, the charitable sector, working here is largely made up of small organisations with limited resources, that often rely on the skills, experience and commitment of individuals who are passionate about supporting young people. This brings a number of the distinct strengths including lived experience, authenticity, local knowledge, diversity and cultural competence.

Together these qualities enable organisation to build unique connections with young people and develop the trust that is essential for effective engagement and positive outcomes. However, our resources are extremely limited. Many of the organisations in this sector deliver their services on a shoe string budget. As a result, our voices are not always heard when key policies and decisions are being shaped. I am incredibly grateful for the opportunity to contribute to this Inquiry. In doing so, I will not only speak as the CEO of The Ben Kinsella Trust but I will do my best to reflect the views, experience and concerns of the wider preventative sector whose organisations work tirelessly every day to support young people and keep young people

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carrying knives and what opportunities exist to intervene before a weapon is obtained?

Over the first 13 slides I will attempt to answer that question.

What are young people reporting or demonstrating on online promotion, normalisation or glamourisation of knives and weapons and how does this affect fear, status and peer pressure or perceived need for protection?

Again I will cover those principally between slides 14 and 17.

The final question: how can schools, families, youth services, safeguarding partners, community organisations, retailers and platforms work together to reduce young people's exposure to weapons, challenge weapon-carrying cultures and intervene earlier?

I cover that more or less on slide 20.

So, as I said, our charity was set up following the murder of Ben and the work to do so -- initially our work concentrated a lot on looking at the families' experience through the Criminal Justice System, being witnesses through that system and also looking at some of the justice and rights for victims of serious crime. Much of our work in the early days was focused on legislation and indeed campaigning for justice and action for victims.

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1 There was no Public Inquiry following Ben's death.
 2 There generally isn't for young people who are murdered
 3 through knife crime. And in many cases families take on
 4 the journey that this Inquiry is trying to do. In our
 5 case, Ben's family did exactly that. His sister Brooke,
 6 some of you may remember, was an actress in EastEnders
 7 and took time out of her acting career to try and find
 8 the answers to many of the things that this Inquiry is
 9 trying to find the answers to.

10 How come a 16-year-old boy can leave home to go out
 11 for a night out with friends and never come home? How
 12 can that happen in our society? And what is being done
 13 to address that?

14 Over the course of three years between 2008 and
 15 2011, Brooke visited lots of organisations up and down
 16 the country who were doing great work to try and stop
 17 knife crime. She also talked to lots of young people
 18 about knife crime and did a number of -- a couple of
 19 documentaries on the subject as well. Her extensive
 20 work is mostly summarised in a paper she wrote for the
 21 Home Office which is called "Tackling knife crime
 22 together" which was published in 2011 and led to
 23 significant funding going to certain streams in terms of
 24 tackling knife crimes.

25 There was a takeaway from us as an organisation from

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1 Choices and Consequences, was born.

2 I have been CEO for ten years. I have been involved
 3 with the Trust long before I was CEO on a voluntary
 4 basis. The most difficult part of my job which I've
 5 never got right is trying to explain how Choices and
 6 Consequences work and how the exhibition works. It is
 7 an immersive experience. Everybody responds to it
 8 differently. But what it is, it is a series of
 9 interconnecting rooms which you travel through, which
 10 start to tell stories. The stories are real. They are
 11 trauma-informed, and I will talk about this a little
 12 later about engaging with young people.

13 But through the course of those interconnecting
 14 rooms and those stories, there is a moment which we see
 15 visibly sometimes in young people where a connection is
 16 made in humanising knife crime, which is not done
 17 through statistics, which is not done in many of the
 18 other ways that we communicate with young people, which
 19 makes them realise: this piece of metal that they may
 20 think they carry to protect themselves, or may think you
 21 carry to protect yourself -- because not all young
 22 people carry -- carries with it heartbreak, pain,
 23 suffering and tragedy of an unimaginable scale. And
 24 when that point is reached, that empathetic point is
 25 reached, we see young people starting to think

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1 Brooke's work when we sat down following the publication
 2 and looked at the stories that Brooke had heard and the
 3 feedback we were getting about what needed to be done.
 4 There was some great work being done.

5 But something that young people told us, and
 6 something young people told Brooke that she was working
 7 with, was they wanted knife crime to be on the school
 8 curriculum. They wanted to learn about knife crime with
 9 their peers because they felt that this was important
 10 for their learning going forward. How can they grow up
 11 as an adult and go out into an adult world if they don't
 12 understand how to stay safe?

13 So they were really keen on that to happen. One big
 14 thing though, they didn't want somebody, like I'm doing
 15 now, standing and telling you what to do and what not to
 16 be. It had to be authentic, it had to be real and it
 17 had to match their personal experience.

18 We took much of that away in terms of thinking about
 19 how you might be able to do that. Coincidentally, Ben's
 20 father, George, happened to see the -- an exhibition by
 21 the Anne Frank Museum which was traveling the country,
 22 and an idea started to emerge about using real stories,
 23 lived experience in a positive way to help young people
 24 understand the real impact that knife crime can have.

25 It is from that that our intervention with young people,

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1 differently about the subject we are talking about.

2 We are reaching you in a way you haven't been
 3 reached before. We do that in two hours through that
 4 purpose-built space, using real life narratives, helping
 5 you understand with real stories, young people your age,
 6 of what happened. It is interactive.

7 One of the two key things we don't do. It is
 8 an anti-knife crime exhibition. There are no pictures
 9 of knives. You do not need pictures of knives to talk
 10 to young people about knife crime. In fact, if you do
 11 you end up creating the opposite effect of what you
 12 start off doing. They are seeing knives all the time,
 13 and the conversation is not about the knife.

14 The second thing we are doing is we are not telling
 15 them what to do. At no point through the two-hour
 16 workshop do we say to you: don't carry a knife. The
 17 experience of being there should do that for us, and we
 18 trust the experience about helping you -- so you are
 19 making your own mind up through the experience, you are
 20 not being coached or talked through this.

21 It is quite a technical feed -- when we created
 22 exhibitions they are quite "manipulative" is probably
 23 the wrong word, but they help you create an environment
 24 where you can control the environment, control the
 25 emotions. You can use bright colours, you can make

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things that can be difficult to talk about done so in a really positive way. Importantly, they are energising. They leave you at the end of the experience wanting to talk more. If you visited the Anne Frank exhibition, one of the key things you note as you leave there, is you want to talk about where you have been. Similarly with our exhibitions, we have young people who are chattering away as they leave and talking about this subject matter positively.

We trained facilitators, we recognise this work is very sensitive and very important and delivery is crucial. We use actors rather than people to display moments of lived experience -- again, controlling the environment. But bust safeguarding and wellbeing processes, our thoughts are always with the young person and how they are feeling. We recognise that the content can be difficult and giving you spaces to disappear into and take this at your own time.

I probably haven't explained it well again, but there we go.

So what are we looking to achieve? We have a theory of change as you would expect. Confidence to make safe decisions, resistant to negative peer influence. Struck by Professor Brennan's presentation this morning when he talked about the role that peers have around you. We

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about that, but helping them understand that these things are myths, that often the content that they are seeing or being told about doesn't actually help them stay safe, and giving them the environment to do that is hugely important and if we are doing this, remember, as universal prevention, we are doing this mostly before harmful behaviours emerge. In other words, we are catching you before you do something wrong while your process is leading you in that direction. I talked about, yes, the point about it being part of a group activity.

Okay. So our rationale on this: your environment, really important around you, and how that -- you are perceived, your safety, belief systems, social norms, a lot of these are formed in peer groups. We want to challenge those. We want to help you understand, based on evidence, how these will support you and how these will -- you know, in terms of leading you towards violence or leading towards safety.

Why do we work with young people at the age we do? Our catchment age is 10-18 but our footfall, predominant footfall, about 70% of the young people we work with are years sixes, year sevens. They are young, 10, 11, 12. Why? Because in early childhood and particularly in adolescence you are malleable, your belief systems are

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all know that, we were all young people, we were all influenced by groups, we probably still are. But we work with you, with your school friends. This is something that young people told us they wanted to do. They wanted to do this with their peer friends.

When you start changing peer dynamics and the conversations within the group, you are starting to change multiple young people, and we start to see that in terms of not just the young person changing but they are changing within the group as well and how the group talk.

I talked all about empathy; empathy is huge. We see this as a major part of our work. That identification and placing yourself safely, placing yourself emotionally in some of this content. Really helpful in terms of moving young people on. You do not need to scare young people when it comes to knife crime; you need to help them in terms of that emotional journey.

Misconceptions around knife crime, myths around knife crime. I have been telling young people carrying a knife doesn't protect you for ten years. We will have a group coming tomorrow morning. 24% of those young people will think you carry a knife to protect yourself. Something is not getting through. It just shows you that the messaging that's out there, and we talk a lot

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forming and we believe and we are working towards -- I will talk about this a bit later -- getting in at this point, helping you before knife carrying becomes a real big issue for you, giving you a narrative and experience you can draw on, can help you make better decisions going forward. I will talk about how we intend to prove that. We can show that in the short term in terms of what we do, but we are working hard to show a longitudinal study on that.

I mentioned this: we need to catch you before -- there is an opportunity to catch you before you do something wrong. One of the things that we observed, particularly Brooke observed when we looked at knife crime -- we came into -- the Kinsella family knew nothing about the knife crime until they lost their son and indeed Brooke's brother, was why do we wait for a young person to do something wrong before we start to worry about them and spend lots of energy trying to get them back into a good place. Surely there must be a way to get in there earlier? This is what we believe we can do in terms of our model.

Just a lot of this, I will focus on a couple of things here. We are looking predominantly about you developing outcomes to make safer choices. We are trying to clear the noise that you are getting about

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1 myths, misconceptions and we are trying to help you to
2 develop those really appropriate outcomes to the
3 situations you may find yourself in.

4 We find that the immersive experiences, learning
5 experience is a safe space both emotionally and
6 physically for young people to develop in this topic,
7 and incredibly they open up. We get an awful lot of
8 learning and an awful lot of honesty from young people
9 in this area. And as I mentioned about the idea of
10 doing it, rather than doing at risk groups, which we are
11 always asked about, universal provision we see as a much
12 more effective way of working with young people. Of
13 course, the ability to be trauma informed and of course
14 our ability then to pick up safeguarding issues really,
15 really early.

16 So, we are constantly changing it as you might
17 imagine. Knife crime isn't static. In fact what we
18 learn is it moves incredibly quickly and the drivers
19 move incredibly quickly and children change
20 dramatically. From the young people we were seeing
21 maybe five, ten years ago, they are very different to
22 the 10/11-year-olds who are coming to see us now, and
23 I will talk a little bit more about that.

24 We have to continually listen and learn from young
25 people, which we do. Listen and learn from the

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1 violence reduction units, violence prevention
2 partnerships. I know the Greater Manchester's Violence
3 Reduction Unit spoke at a seminar I think two days ago.
4 They are hugely important. They recognise not only what
5 prevention is but the mechanism for funding it, how you
6 get to groups, how you bring community groups in in
7 terms of commissioning etc. I think we see these as
8 a real, real positive.

9 I also want to acknowledge that we now have
10 a ten-year plan in terms of tackling knife crime and
11 a publicly measurable target. We have never had this
12 before. It is a blunt tool but it is something we have
13 to hold to Government to challenge them in terms of
14 direction. This is really positive and I think over the
15 last few years I see this as something that is starting
16 to move us as the first line of defence.

17 However, challenges remain. It will be no surprise
18 to you that I will mention resources, money. Violence
19 reduction units are a good example of this. We have
20 them but funding has been in short cycles. Much of the
21 ten-year plan is also relying on short-term funding and
22 we need greater confidence in terms of funding in terms
23 of much of what we do.

24 I just want to point out right at the bottom here,
25 the 24-25% and that universal and early identification.

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1 facilitators that deliver our work. We have youth
2 ambassadors who work with us to help us keep the voice
3 of young people not only strong within the exhibition,
4 but strong within the organisation and they help us in
5 terms of doing a lot of our campaigning work.

6 We have always been and continue to be really strong
7 in evaluation. We don't know how good we are until we
8 really look and we don't know what's working until we
9 look at what feedback is coming. Every young person who
10 comes to us, there is a before and after survey. We are
11 evaluating every voice that comes into our organisation.

12 We have three sites, two in London and one in
13 Nottingham. Consistency of delivery is hugely
14 important. If you are measuring something it has to be
15 consistent, but there has to be flexibility. We
16 recognise that with different cohorts there has to be
17 a degree of flexibility in delivery to meet the needs of
18 each individual group.

19 This is a sort of commonly held view I think,
20 prevention as the first line of defence, and I have to
21 say that in my experience actively this is not something
22 I have generally seen. Often prevention feels like
23 an afterthought in terms of policy. That's changed.
24 And positive developments here for us in terms of
25 recognition of prevention have been the creation of

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1 24% of young people who come to us, and it is a big
2 sample size, that's based on a sample size of 10,000
3 young people, come to us thinking a knife protects them.
4 They are not carrying knives. We already know that from
5 Professor Brennan's presentation. But that mindset,
6 that in certain circumstances you may be safer carrying
7 a knife is there. Immediately from a two-hour workshop
8 that drops dramatically down but it does leave
9 a percentage of young people who still leave thinking
10 that. I think this is where universal prevention has
11 identified those young people long before schools have
12 even noticed there is a problem, or these young people
13 have been involved in the Criminal Justice System, or
14 excluded from school et cetera, and it helps in that
15 early identification process.

16 Following on from that, those violence-exposed young
17 people -- and it is a term we apply now to most young
18 people as I think we have -- earlier presentations have
19 shown, the amount of violent content that you see,
20 although not seeking it, particularly through using
21 digital devices and social media. But we find that the
22 conversations we are able to have, the interventions we
23 are able to bring with those young people, really help
24 them in terms of becoming better reliant in terms of
25 their thinking around violence. And we are able to

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1 identify some of those characteristics that we see in
2 terms of further down the line with violence-fixated
3 individuals.

4 So we will see some testing from young people, or
5 from comments they will make about carrying knives etc.
6 These help us in terms of making onward referrals. But
7 there is definitely -- definitely signs with some of the
8 young people that we see along these characteristics,
9 which I note, as we get further upstream in terms of
10 violence fixation, they continue.

11 I was asked -- one of the questions asked about
12 young people and why they carry. I can probably tell
13 you, if you spin this around, if you feel safe, if you
14 are not worried about knife crime, if you don't believe
15 a knife will protect you, if you don't know anybody who
16 carries a knife, you are not going to carry a knife.
17 That's pretty -- a pretty strong statement but that's
18 pretty much what we see.

19 These numbers again, they are based on a sample size
20 of 10,000, show that quite a considerable number of
21 young people do meet those characteristics and therefore
22 those worries about how you stay safe, where you go, how
23 you go to places, who you go with, they all form part of
24 that sort of thinking about how do you keep yourself
25 safe. Fear we see as really the big -- fear or

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1 to the violence that's fed to them, not always, or only
2 in small cases do they search for, are contributing
3 factors to the idea that you need to keep yourself safe,
4 contributing factors to those myths and misconceptions
5 about knife carrying. All of those -- all of these
6 exposure outcomes are all pushing young people to not
7 feel safe. Important to say that most young people
8 exposed to violence will not become violent, or not seek
9 to carry a knife or not going down a pathway. But there
10 isn't enough information or research and I think, again,
11 this was covered in earlier presentations.

12 We feel we are playing catch-up a lot in this area.
13 Because it is not just the focus on violence. This is
14 having an effect on young people in terms of social
15 interactions, where they go, who they go with, how they
16 see the world. There is a big gap which we are trying
17 to fill by listening to young people on this, but we
18 need vastly more research to really understand what is
19 happening and it is happening at pace.

20 With that in mind, at the time I was putting this
21 presentation together, I think 24 hours before the
22 Children's Commissioner produced a report and I thought
23 bingo, this is exactly what I was looking for. I know
24 it has come to the Inquiry. But I just want to echo
25 much of what was covered in that excellent report about

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1 protection really is a big driver towards that idea
2 about knife carrying.

3 I want to pick up a point which again was made in
4 earlier presentation by Professor Brennan, particularly
5 around boys. Yes, undoubtedly research shows boys are
6 more likely to carry. But it is important we don't
7 forget about girls in this, and remembering that the
8 three victims in Southport who were murdered were three
9 girls. Girls are every bit as vulnerable to knife crime
10 as boys. It often manifests itself slightly differently
11 with girls. Our interventions and workshops are with
12 girls are slightly different because of coercion,
13 exploitation, that they will see. But we are really
14 aware of violence against women and girls as well and
15 the roles that knives play here. I think it is really
16 important that the narrative just doesn't focus solely
17 on boys. We need to recognise that girls are equally
18 affected here.

19 Moving on to social media. Yes, I mean, covered
20 brilliantly in previous presentations. There is
21 probably not much to add here, only I have drawn stats
22 here from the Youth Endowment Fund which I think
23 Professor Brennan has also used.

24 It is an everyday occurrence and it is not going
25 away. What we are seeing with young people's response

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1 what we see, and really I think there are significant
2 lessons covered in that report.

3 We are seeing the normalisation of violence. Young
4 people are internalising it, absolutely. This was
5 covered -- the point I want to make was covered in
6 an earlier seminar by Professor Smith, and probably
7 covered yesterday, I didn't get to see all the coverage
8 but I wanted to talk about the AI and digital tools and
9 the impact they are having.

10 The algorithms we know, but AI tools, we need to
11 understand AI from a young person's perspective. It is
12 really helpful. It is great. You know it helps you
13 with your grammar, it helps you construct sentences, it
14 helps you make prepare essays, it gives you information
15 really quickly. "I trust AI. It is really helpful in
16 my life." However, that echo chamber it creates and the
17 fact it feeds back to you some of your belief systems
18 makes conversations with young people all the more
19 difficult when they come back, "Well AI said that's the
20 case," and "I believe AI because AI has been helping me
21 with lots of other things."

22 We have to understand that AI is really, really
23 influential in terms of young people and particularly
24 the young people that we are seeing now, the 10, 11,
25 12-year-olds who have grown up with it, and the impact

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that that's having. Again, in terms of the work that we are doing, we are challenging their perceptions of AI.

There's nothing -- brilliant presentation by I think four very eminent -- three doctors and one professor on this and there's nothing I can add. However, this is the slide that I have taken probably most self-reflection on in terms of where we are as an organisation, and also the wider sector that I work in in terms of prevention.

I'm going to be perfectly frank and honest here. We feel there isn't -- I feel there isn't enough training and knowledge base within our sector to understand how, particularly with social media, AI, online, how these factors and escalation points are manifesting. We think there needs to be a huge investment in training coming down to the frontline.

I was struck by a report that was shared with me from the Crest in terms of a review of high level boards, MASH, MAPPA, etc, in terms of their understanding, information sharing around this subject matter and it struck me that at the very best, where I would see myself at the frontline, we would have similar gaps in terms of our understanding and probably those gaps might even be wider in some cases.

I think this is a critical area of development for

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the frontline and I spoke about prevention being the first line of defence. This is the barriers that we need to put up and these are lots of issues we need to address.

I am painfully aware that the Inquiry has a broad remit which extends way, way beyond regulation and legislation, but I feel very strongly, based on ten years as CEO of a knife crime organisation, that we have got it wrong with knife crime far too often and we have got it wrong with knife crime because there has been an over-reliance on regulation and legislation.

In terms of a narrative that has sometimes come from politicians, still does in certain cases and is particularly present in the media, is you can arrest your way out of this. Our response to a terrible situation is: we need more legislation, and legislation and regulation are in fact a deterrent to people getting involved in crime.

That's not the case. We know that's not the case. And I really want this Inquiry and the results of this Inquiry not to fail where I think we have really had a hard job in terms of pushing prevention and early intervention in terms of knife crime. Regulation is important. I will be supporting regulation in terms of social media, absolutely. Legislation is important,

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particularly frontline organisations seeking to work with young people and tackle violence, and indeed those enhanced or fascination or fixations that some young people seem to drift into.

This is a slide that will probably be familiar to many of you. It is something that's regularly used. I use it because it is a brilliant -- it is how I would love things to work. We would see our universal preventative programmes, making referrals up to targeted Early Help and then for them to move things on. I see our work as that sort of funnel. We get young people -- we close the number of young people who go into the next line, we close the number that gets to the next line. If it all works brilliantly this is how this works.

The reality on the ground I have to say is there are lots of moving parts to this model and not all of them move as well. There is significant challenges in moving from one box to another. We see big challenges in terms of thresholds, we see big challenges in terms of resourcing and we see big challenges in terms of capacity right across the sector.

This is how things should work, this is how things when they do work, work really well, but there are significant challenges for us in this. I think this is again an area where resourcing is so, so important at

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absolutely. I am a strong advocate of licensing of knife crime retailers. I think it is a hugely important piece of legislation coming through. But if I run back through all the slides I have come on before, the most important thing is our ability to get round young people, to help them on that journey, to understand them, to be able to be empathetic to them and to move them safely and quickly through systems. That we don't do well enough and that we don't resource well enough, and I think that's the challenge that I would like to see.

I would like to -- I'm finished there. Thank you so much for your time and it has been a pleasure to be here.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Thank you very much indeed.

MR MOSS: Mr Green, thank you. Sir, may I invite you to rise and if we can perhaps resume at 12.50 pm?

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: We will. Thank you very much. (12.32 pm)

(A short break)

(12.50 pm)

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Yes, Mr Moss.

MR MOSS: Thank you, sir. Mr Weston, please. Thank you.

Presentation by MR WESTON

MR WESTON: Thank you. Good afternoon everyone.

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1 My name is Tim Weston. I work for the National
2 Gamekeepers' Organisation as introduced. I have come
3 here to talk about the use of knives in a rural context.

4 So, it is a very different landscape than what we
5 have been talking about this morning and I have actually
6 had to Google the definition of the word "weapon" in
7 terms of this context, because every day gamekeepers,
8 farmers, land managers, conservationists will probably
9 take a knife to work with them. It is an everyday tool.
10 It is an article like a spanner for a mechanic.

11 A knife in the context I'm going to talk about is
12 very different I think than what we have been speaking
13 about this morning.

14 The rural use of knives and other bladed articles is
15 vast, and I tried to list them all and I wasn't able to
16 because each time I started writing the list, somebody
17 else said "Oh well, what about that?" I think we can
18 say that the use is vast and it is used by the
19 profession I'm from, which is gamekeeping, game
20 management, conservationists, farmers in all their
21 things, dairy, shepherds, livestock, arable, tree
22 surgeons, arborists, foresters et cetera. The list is
23 endless. Government officials, so Forestry England
24 rangers will carry a knife with them as a safety tool.

25 So that is another thing we have to remember, that

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1 We have regulations, we have meat hygiene regulations,
2 because these things are going to the food chain, so
3 there are certain processes we have to do within
4 a certain timeframe and you can't do that without
5 a bladed article; it is impossible.

6 Processing of certain things as well is really,
7 really important. So, if we think veg pickers will all
8 have a knife. To put it into context, the various
9 knives, if I'm on the farm at home I will have a fixed
10 blade knife on my belt in a sheath all the time, and it
11 is on a belt that's on a pair of trousers; it is not
12 disgusting, I do wear the same pair of trousers for
13 about a week because otherwise you are otherwise just
14 constantly cleaning stuff. So it stays on the belt but
15 kept downstairs and not allowed upstairs.

16 In the morning I get up, put my trousers on, do my
17 belt up and my knife is on my belt. Occasionally I need
18 to get petrol. I don't change my trousers. As a rural
19 person I will walk into a rural petrol station with
20 a knife on my belt because it is currently in use, I'm
21 at work. So just trying to put some things into context
22 of why somebody might carry a knife with them. It's a
23 very different reason. We have talked carrying a knife
24 and we've talked about young people.

25 We have other things. We use a lot of wire in our

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1 for us a knife is a piece of equipment that can help to
2 keep you safe and we can put that into context.

3 We have all just remembered the most beautiful
4 summer we have had. It has been amazing. For those of
5 you who live outside of London there have been tractors
6 flying around everywhere, it has been so dry.

7 We have had the quickest harvests on record. Now
8 with the quick harvests comes quick machines doing quick
9 things. Hay balers, straw balers, with automatic knot
10 tiers. Automatic knot tiers are not very good and they
11 tie other things up. You need a knife to be able to cut
12 them. Farmers are notoriously laissez faire when it
13 comes to health and safety. So things like turning a
14 machine off before you put your arm in it is not always
15 at the top of their agenda. A knife in your pocket can
16 genuinely help you get out of that situation.

17 So, the context we are talking about is vast and the
18 use of knives in the countryside. There is more deer
19 management being undertaken in the rural environment now
20 than ever before. The UK deer population is at its
21 largest and so at the minute we are -- we have been
22 tasked with reducing the deer population. And that's
23 for ecological reasons, for maintaining habitats
24 predominantly. With that undertaking you will have to
25 carry a knife. That's something you will have to do.

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1 job, so you have wire knives, you have tool-making
2 knives. You have all probably heard the term a "lamb
3 knife". A lamb knife is a specific-shaped blade knife
4 for trimming lambs' feet. That's what it is for.
5 A shepherd will always have a lamb knife in their
6 pocket, whether they have lambs or not, it is just
7 habit, it is their tool.

8 We have fencing knives. A fencing knife is
9 generally always in the vehicle and the reason why
10 a fencing knife is always in the vehicle is you don't
11 know when you are going to come across a broken fence.
12 A fencing knife is a multi-tool. It is a longer blade
13 knife and it does have a hook on the top, not like the
14 ones you have described. It has one hook, and the idea
15 of the hook, it actually has a purpose. You put the
16 hook in the wire, you pull the knife back, the wire goes
17 straight and hard and then you can hit the staple back
18 in. You have a temporary repair with one tool. You
19 didn't need to bring a whole toolbox with you, and that
20 one tool was probably on your belt. So context is
21 really, really important when we are talking about
22 knives.

23 Knife crime is something I'm definitely not
24 an expert on. It is relatively uncommon in the area
25 I live in -- well, completely uncommon in the area

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1 I live in. But other rural crime isn't. And sometimes
2 perpetrators will use a knife. So knives are not always
3 good. So I'm saying -- so what I'm trying to emphasis
4 the point, the context is really important.

5 The other uses -- I talked about some smaller knives
6 but if we come onto some of the bigger knives we have
7 been shown today, some of the machetes, hatchets, bill
8 hooks and slashing tools, colloquially we don't refer to
9 those as machetes or any of the other names; we call
10 them slashers. The reason for that is those tools will
11 generally be kept in the vehicle and they will generally
12 be used for foliage clearance.

13 So you might be driving down a track you haven't
14 been down for two weeks and there is a small branch in
15 the way. Instead of driving through the branch or
16 getting out to hit it, you can use the tool to remove
17 the branch. That's what they are for, and that's
18 actually what they're for -- that's what they were
19 designed for.

20 So the use of that particular tool is actually
21 essential. I would estimate -- so on the farm I live on
22 we have five vehicles. All five vehicles have
23 a slashing tool of one kind or another in it, whether it
24 is a small hand hatchet or a machete-type knife. But
25 they are quite a specific type. So they are heavy, and

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1 We have also talked a lot about young people using
2 knives. And, again, I want to put this into context.
3 I think the only way I can do that is by giving you some
4 real life stories. So April 2026, April this year,
5 I keep some Soay sheep. Soay sheep are a Hebridean-type
6 sheep. For those of you who are not farmers, you are
7 not even batting an eyelid. For those who are farmers
8 will be wondering why I keep Soay sheep. They are the
9 Arnold Schwarzenegger of mini sheep. They are
10 impossible to keep, impossible to keep in a field. I
11 don't know why I have them. So we were lambing in
12 a shed and in the shed you have to put -- they are tiny,
13 they are really small sheep but they can jump about
14 12 feet. They are evil things.

15 So a ewe was lambing, she wanted to get out of the
16 shed while she was lambing and unfortunately she tried
17 to jump over the wall which she couldn't do, and the ewe
18 died. The lamb didn't. So at 10.00 o'clock at night
19 I didn't have any lambs milk, Lamlac. At 10 o'clock at
20 night I'm on the phone to my neighbour, "Have you got
21 any lamb milk? I have got a lamb we need to feed".

22 "No problem. I'll send my daughter across on the
23 quad bike with a litre of lambs' milk."

24 It is about 10.30. She turns up on the quad bike.
25 She's 15, to put it into context, and does have a quad

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1 they are heavy for a reason. They are heavy because
2 they are used to cut things. They are not ornamental.
3 Most of them are rusty. These are probably not
4 desirable items. They are totalitarian tools and that's
5 what we use them as.

6 I think the common thread here is a fitness for
7 purpose. The tool you have got must be fit for the
8 purpose you are trying to use it for, or for what you
9 are doing on that day.

10 I think you can do your job safer with a knife,
11 I genuinely believe that. I have had some instances
12 myself where I have needed one. When I was younger
13 I remember climbing over a barbed wire fence. So we've
14 all been taught how to climb over a barbed wire fence.
15 I've been taught how to climb over a barbed wire fence.
16 So hand on the post, leg in the middle of the wire and
17 then flick yourself over. It is really, really easy,
18 until it's not, and then when you are like that on top
19 of a barbed wire fence and you fall off, your foot gets
20 caught on the fence and you end up upside down on the
21 floor, on your own. Much easier if you have got
22 a knife, because what you can do is cut your shoelaces
23 off your boot and then your foot comes out of your boot
24 and you are not upside down on a fence. So a knife is
25 an important safety tool in a rural context.

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1 bike licence. She is allowed to drive it.

2 I didn't have anything with me because I was
3 actually in a pair of shorts because my trousers lived
4 downstairs and I realised this had happened on the
5 camera, so I've gone out in a pair of shorts to sort the
6 lamb out. I hadn't put my trousers so I didn't have my
7 knife. The car was out there. I said, "Oh damn it, we
8 can't open the lamb's milk." She had her pocket knife,
9 which she gave to me so I was able to open the lamb's
10 milk. It is just some context, some real life stories.

11 We have an apprentice at home. Our apprentice is
12 now 17. He is not allowed to go on the estate on his
13 own without a pocket knife of some kind, probably
14 a multi-tool knife, for the safety reasons I have told
15 you about. Again it's context. If he left the estate
16 and went into town with it, I would be pretty cross. So
17 a young person using a knife in the setting I'm from
18 isn't out of the ordinary.

19 Right now the other question I was asked is how
20 common is this use? I think I have already told you.
21 It is daily, generally daily. To put it into context
22 about numbers, so in terms of gamekeepers there are five
23 and a half thousand full-time gamekeepers in the United
24 Kingdom. So that's probably five and a half thousand
25 knives. They probably also have a knife in their glove

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box. So there are tens of thousands of knives.

There are a similar number of dairy farmers, there are slightly more sheep farmers and a similar number of arable farmers. You are in the 25,000s now. In addition to that you have people who are involved in other country sports. So game shooting, deer management, angling. There are around and about 300,000 firearm and shotgun certificate holders across the UK, of which about 100,000 are members of a shooting organisation. So the 200,000 may be involved in a different arm of the sports, but 100,000 of those will probably be involved in some form of country sport. They will almost certainly have some sort of bladed article with them when they are undertaking that activity. But it is a legitimate use.

I think what it shows is that rural use of a bladed article is not marginal; it is relatively widespread. It is pretty wholesale. But the other thing I was asked to look at and to think about was distinguishing a legitimate use and some potential warning signs.

Speaking to you, you can probably can tell I'm not an expert in anything but some of the things we looked at were indicators and we have talked about bulk purchasing. It is one of the things -- one of the indicators that we think could be a good outlier for the

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need, but they do sell knives. Almost all the transactions -- not all the transactions, but almost all business to business will be on account. So those transactions will be traceable and recorded already. But that's only business to business. That's worth stressing. If I buy it personally, that's not a recordable transaction. So there is a difference there.

The other thing I think we need to look at is the type of knife the person is collecting or having for the purpose they want to use.

The Commander showed a picture early on of two sets of knives: the one on the right was illegal and the one on the left was legal. Both of those images I would see absolutely no use for in country sports. I wouldn't be able to tell you as a knife user, a regular user of knives, I have never owned a knife like that, that's looked like that, I wouldn't need one. I think that's worth stating for this Inquiry, that there is quite a lot of leeway in what's allowed.

So when we are talking about a slashing-type knife, what we are looking for is a heavy, bladed, durable piece of equipment, tool, that can be used for a purpose to remove foliage from the situation you are in at the time. So we are looking very specifically not at £25

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authorities to work out if somebody might be misusing a bladed article, but as always there is a caveat and a context.

So I'm going to use myself here as a context. I buy a particular brand of knife which I won't mention, which are relatively cheap knives in boxes of 32. Now you can't lose these knives because they have a bright orange handle and a bright orange sheath, and I buy at least two or three boxes a year because I don't know where any of them are.

I would be classed as a bulk purchaser of knives. I think it might be slightly different because they are all exactly the same knife. I'm not selling them. I'm using them. So, again, it is context. This particular knife is cheap, stainless steel, so it doesn't rust but it also makes it very, very difficult to sharpen, so it takes a long time to lose the edge but once the knife has lost the edge it is a piece of blunt metal and is virtually no use to us anymore. So it is an important definition.

Quite often with bulk purchases we will buy these things from our local country store and we will -- so our agricultural merchant, where we buy our lambs' milk, or forget to, our dog food, our tractors, our quad bikes. They sell a load of stuff that most people don't

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Amazon, or other retailers that are available, purchase. These things are relatively expensive pieces of equipment, sort of around 80 to £100 is your starting price but I would expect to have that for 20 years. So we are not looking at a disposable product. Unlike my cheap Swedish knives, the bigger slashers, it is much more of a tool.

But we have also got to have distinctions. So, part of rural activities, rural sports, there aren't only professionals in it. The 100,000 people I spoke to, I listed the number of professionals, there are a lot of people who participate as a hobby. Angling, deer stalkers, game shooters, perfectly legal, legitimate hobby. In terms of game shooting and deer stalking, there are two limiting factors for the amount you personally can do. With game shooting one is cost. It is incredibly expensive. The average daily shooting is £10,000. That's not each individual, that's for a whole day. And deer stalking is limited to the access you can get to the land. So we have got lots of restrictions. You have to have qualifications, you have to have permission, farm certificates. It is not a particularly easy thing to do and rightly so. It is very highly regulated. But it is their hobby, and part of the hobby I explained earlier or part of the role

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1 under the meat hygiene: we must carry a knife.
 2 The way our firearms rules work, unlike in the
 3 United States -- if your hobby is hunting you might own
 4 30 or 40 firearms in the United States. In the United
 5 Kingdom you simply can't do that. Our firearms
 6 regulations are the tightest in the world and they do
 7 not allow us to do that. You have one unit for one
 8 purpose, and you can have more than one as long as you
 9 have another legitimate legal purpose for it, other than
 10 shotguns but that is a different thing.
 11 So a lot people will have the firearm and they will
 12 have the clothing, and they will buy lots of different
 13 clothes and it is all part of the hobby, and then there
 14 are people who make hand-made knives. These are
 15 beautiful tools that they can use. Now they only
 16 need -- you probably need three on your person to
 17 undertake meat hygiene regulations at the time of
 18 undertaking the deer management, you probably need three
 19 knives, and that's because each knife is used for
 20 a separate process during the process.
 21 But a person who is an enthusiast, into not knives
 22 but the act of deer management, might have 20 knives,
 23 because that's the one piece of equipment that they can
 24 actually legally obtain and have a lot of.
 25 I use it in the context. I'm a fly fisherman.

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1 I think that's -- several of the other speakers have
 2 touched on, but in a rural context it's not something
 3 that's come to me before. Zombie knife, for example, is
 4 a new term to me.
 5 I think we have also to look at, when we look at
 6 knife ownership and purchases is the link to the use and
 7 I think that would be really important. So, a shepherd
 8 going into a shop to buy a knife probably doesn't need
 9 the third degree, other than the fact that they are
 10 a shepherd. Somebody who's just got off the school bus
 11 gone into the same shop to buy the same knife probably
 12 does. Again it is all about context, from our point of
 13 view.
 14 The link in a rural context between a knife and the
 15 land use is also really important. If there isn't
 16 a link, that's one of the behaviours that I would
 17 probably be looking at. So you are collecting hunting
 18 knives or angling knives, whatever you want to call them
 19 and there's absolutely no link to land use. From
 20 a rural perspective, from my point of view, I wouldn't
 21 understand why you would need a quantity of bladed
 22 articles. Again, another thing that could be looked at.
 23 I think finally we need to be looking at combining
 24 of purchases. So what else the person has been
 25 purchasing. That's much easier to do online, but it's

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1 I use one fishing rod. I use one fly rod. It's one fly
 2 rod I really like. I think I have 42 at the last count.
 3 I use one. The others I don't even know why I have them
 4 but they are very nice.
 5 Again, it is putting things into context of why
 6 certain people do certain things.
 7 Now, there will be other factors. So what I have
 8 seen in the past, and I think some of the colleagues at
 9 the Home Office and in the policing might be able to
 10 help with this around firearms licensing, is there are
 11 certain flags within firearms licensing that are used to
 12 re-interview a person, to re-speak to a person about
 13 their certificates and their eligibility. Some of them
 14 is compulsive behaviour. I would say 42 fishing rods is
 15 probably compulsive behaviour but it's a completely
 16 different situation.
 17 So, I think we have to be looking at things like the
 18 militarisation of the act, I think that's one of the
 19 things. Some of the names of the knives I have seen
 20 today I have never heard of. I had to ask some of the
 21 other members of the panel what they meant by hunting
 22 knife, because to me the knife on my belt, if I'm going
 23 hunting is a hunting knife; if I'm driving a bailor, it
 24 is a farming knife, it is a tool. So I think these
 25 terms are very much driven as a marketing tool and

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1 probably outside the scope of here.
 2 One of the other things I have been asked to look at
 3 was the online use, and I have mentioned it several
 4 times, and in my written evidence I talked about --
 5 I don't think it would affect the farming sector and
 6 rural sector very much at all if the online sales of
 7 machete-type knives were no longer available.
 8 Generally, and as it was mentioned at the start of
 9 the introduction, I was very surprised to get a phone
 10 call to ask if I could come here today, and those
 11 slides.
 12 We did a very quick call around our membership,
 13 which is 12,000. I didn't phone 12,000 gamekeepers but
 14 we did a spot call to see how many of them would
 15 purchase a machete-type knife online. Not one of them
 16 would -- well, one might if they couldn't get one
 17 locally but basically 100 per cent of respondents, which
 18 was very low, it's not scientific or academic, said "No
 19 I would not do that because I want to check the
 20 quality." So they are purchasing the knife for a very
 21 different reason.
 22 I actually think I'm there, sir.
 23 **SIR ADRIAN FULFORD:** Thank you very much indeed, Mr Weston.
 24 I'm very grateful to you.
 25 **MR MOSS:** Mr Weston, thank you and particularly for coming

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1 to give that different and helpful insight. We are most
2 grateful.

3 Sir, I think we can probably move the plenary
4 session forward a little.

5 **SIR ADRIAN FULFORD:** I agree.

6 **MR MOSS:** Could I invite a restart, if we may, at 2.30 pm.

7 **SIR ADRIAN FULFORD:** Certainly. I will rise and sit then.

8 (1.15 pm)

9 (The short adjournment)

10 (2.30 pm)

11 Plenary Session

12 **SIR ADRIAN FULFORD:** Yes, Mr Moss.

13 **MR MOSS:** Thank you, sir. Before I develop questions from
14 CTI and those we have received from Core Participants,
15 do you have any questions for the panel?

16 **SIR ADRIAN FULFORD:** I do, thank you. Just two.

17 My first is for Mr Weston, if I may. During the
18 first part of the Inquiry we looked in a little bit of
19 detail at some of the websites on which knives and other
20 items were being sold. One of those advertised
21 something called a Buckland kukri field knife machete.
22 I think on any view it was a fairly ferocious-looking
23 item. It was claimed in evidence that it was black and
24 non-reflective for two reasons, and I'm asking this of
25 you because I think, sir, you are an angler. The first

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1 extremely effective controls in relation to firearms.
2 One of the things that is notable with firearms is that
3 you need to have a serial number on them and it needs to
4 be positioned and, as it were, put on the firearm in
5 a way that makes it difficult to remove it.

6 That led me to wondering whether there's anything
7 either that we could or should do in relation to knives
8 and similar implements, so that you could have some kind
9 of audit trail that takes you from manufacturer through
10 to vendor, through to purchaser, through to item then
11 found discarded in a bush after some horrific incident;
12 whether that is a means of doing it or whether there's
13 some other? That's the sort of general question. There
14 is a sort of sub-question in this as to whether you
15 could -- we could legislate domestically for that. It
16 is really a question as to the extent to which any
17 system of that kind would be shot through by imports
18 from abroad. Perhaps, Commander, if I could start with
19 you?

20 **COMMANDER CLAYMAN:** Yes, of course. That is something that
21 has been mentioned in the past, the question of serial
22 numbers. I think -- just -- I mentioned the recognition
23 app. There was a product that we are building on which
24 could tell you by image comparison where it was supplied
25 from, but not necessarily you could have very

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1 reason put forward was that it was black and
2 non-reflective so as not to scare the fish. I wondered
3 if you had any comments about that suggested
4 justification?

5 **MR WESTON:** I think a fishing rod is covered in a varnish to
6 protect it and to keep it strong, which by definition is
7 reflective. So if your fishing rod is reflective
8 I don't know why your knife would not need to be.

9 **SIR ADRIAN FULFORD:** The other reason that was put forward
10 was that it was, in the way I have just described, so as
11 to stop it from rusting, and I was struck by the fact
12 that I think you described the long implements which
13 a lot of gamekeepers keep, certainly yours, as very
14 rusty. (a) I don't know whether you have any experience
15 of this at all, as to whether you could say whether
16 keeping it black would stop it from rusting, but (b)
17 whether it really matters?

18 **MR WESTON:** (a) I probably couldn't answer, but no, I don't
19 think it matters at all as long as you can still put
20 an edge on it.

21 **SIR ADRIAN FULFORD:** Thank you very much indeed.

22 My other question is more general, perhaps Commander
23 particularly for you, but generally. One of the things
24 that I have been thinking about is that we have, as you
25 yourself have pointed out, and long may it last,

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1 similar-looking knives. I think you have highlighted
2 the issue, (a) because there's such a range of knives,
3 many of the knives that we see are not purchased --
4 sorry, not manufactured here; they are manufactured
5 overseas. China is a very big supplier.

6 But the more specialised knives that Tim Weston
7 talks about may be manufactured, I don't know, but I do
8 know very specialist weapons -- knife-makers here in the
9 UK. So it is something -- the problem is the sheer
10 range of knives and as you quite rightly said, the
11 impact of overseas selling is such a problem that you
12 will end up having a dilution of regulated manufactured
13 knives and these cheap knives that are coming in from
14 China and the US.

15 **SIR ADRIAN FULFORD:** And you think that couldn't be solved
16 by making it a requirement of importing into the UK, so
17 for those knives, for instance, coming from China, which
18 are destined for this country, that they must have
19 a number?

20 **COMMANDER CLAYMAN:** Quite possibly and it is something we
21 would have to look into. The other -- so some of the
22 suppliers I talked about, I wouldn't call them reputable
23 suppliers and they would still -- the fact they are
24 misdeclaring at the borders demonstrates to me that they
25 either would still manufacture these knives and

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1 illicitly try and get them through the borders. We
2 could have some stronger measures which is what we want
3 at the border.

4 **SIR ADRIAN FULFORD:** I don't want to take up time on this
5 but one last -- if one could do it, would it be a good
6 idea or not?

7 **COMMANDER CLAYMAN:** I think linking -- I mean we are
8 always -- Iain mentioned the fact that we are not very
9 good in terms of presenting data and the types of knives
10 used. If there were -- we talk about the life of
11 a knife quite a lot, from manufacturer to vendor, and of
12 course it would be useful to know where that knife
13 originated from and whose hands it may have passed
14 through. It is a challenge. We would have to do
15 a little bit of thinking on some of the merits and some
16 of the things it might make it difficult.

17 **SIR ADRIAN FULFORD:** Could I briefly open it up. Professor?

18 **PROFESSOR BRENNAN:** I would agree with everything
19 Commander Clayman says, but also to add just the
20 comparison from firearms to knives, the scale of these
21 items we are talking about in terms of knives. We don't
22 even know where to begin in terms of estimating the
23 number of knives that are sold in the UK, legitimately
24 or illegitimately every year. So there would be a huge
25 scale problem as well.

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1 For those who want the reference, it's the
2 Professor's paper at paragraph 5.6. You say that, in
3 part, that is due to ethical implications of the
4 research and you go on to note that the higher quality
5 evidence perhaps tends to indicate that any effect is
6 weak and possibly the result of confounding, where
7 people with greater propensity for violence seek out
8 more violent content. That's something you touched on
9 in your oral presentation.

10 But you did also note there that you suggested in
11 extreme cases, such indeed as AR, this does not
12 necessarily mean that a causal link could not exist.

13 I just wanted to give you the opportunity to expand
14 on that, expand on your thinking on that and its
15 implications for tackling VFIs. But can I also ask you
16 just to cover this: is that extensive but contested
17 literature base up to date? Does it deal with the very
18 modern forms of extreme online violence on the internet
19 or does some of it date back more to the video age when
20 there were debates over what might be thought of as
21 video nasties?

22 **PROFESSOR BRENNAN:** Can I answer them in reverse order?

23 **MR MOSS:** Yes.

24 **PROFESSOR BRENNAN:** You are right that it is not
25 particularly up to date. The vast majority of the

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1 **MR GREEN:** At risk of bringing us down a rabbit hole on
2 this, we and others are having conversations with
3 British Standards around knives. There are no standards
4 applicable to knives. And part of the attraction for me
5 in this model is the idea that we could set
6 a British Standard for certain knives, machetes etc, the
7 various categories of knives you could set
8 a British Standard for, which in terms of then
9 legislation, importation, you could in theory say knives
10 could only come in to a certain standard and that's
11 something which in its early form is an attractive
12 argument to follow through.

13 **SIR ADRIAN FULFORD:** That's very helpful, Mr Green, thank
14 you. Mr Weston, anything to add to that?

15 **MR WESTON:** No, sorry, it is sort of outside my sphere.

16 **SIR ADRIAN FULFORD:** Thank you.

17 **MR MOSS:** Sir, I'm going to cover three topics in my
18 questions.

19 Could I start with the broad topic of indicators of
20 concern. Professor Brennan, if I could start with you,
21 please. We have noted from your very helpful paper that
22 you provided in advance that you refer there to
23 extensive but what you describe as highly contested
24 literature on the effect of exposure to extreme media
25 violence on real world behaviour.

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1 literature focuses on violent videogames which even
2 itself is hard to define and there is a lot of debate
3 about what these stimuli or exposures, or whatever you
4 want to call them, actually are. So correct in that.

5 Answering the first question, the level and
6 extremeness of the content that AR was accessing, in the
7 previous Inquiry's report -- the Inquiry's previous
8 report -- are worlds away from what is being tested in
9 experimental or longitudinal studies. In longitudinal
10 studies we are talking about Grand Theft Auto and that
11 type of immersive violent video game, but the content
12 that was detailed in the Inquiry's report, wildly
13 different. I think it would be really naive to think
14 that there wasn't some sort of reinforcing, if not
15 contributing, factor towards violence in that case.

16 So I think we are talking about two quite different
17 populations. The aim of the experimental and the
18 longitudinal research is to really seek to see what
19 impact does this exposure involving these types of games
20 and these types of media have on the average person.
21 And so it does not account for extreme outliers.

22 There is only so much I think that that research
23 literature can contribute to a VFI population.

24 **MR MOSS:** Presumably, would this be right, that when you
25 reference the ethical difficulties, that it is very

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1 difficult ethically to expose anybody, let alone
2 children, to some of the extremely deviant and
3 concerning material, for example, that AR watched
4 because ethically you would not want to and you probably
5 wouldn't get approval for exposing a child to that
6 material?

7 **PROFESSOR BRENNAN:** Yes. Even if the existing literature
8 can't demonstrate it, I think the principle -- the
9 ethical principle of equipoise where there should be, on
10 a balance of probabilities, no harm in any exposure you
11 use in this study, I just think it would be implausible
12 to get -- impossible to get ethical approval. In the
13 same way today you couldn't get somebody, in
14 a randomised trial, to start smoking.

15 So I think we just have to -- there is a limit as to
16 how much science and research can actually tell us and
17 sometimes we have to look at how extreme this behaviour
18 is, and this exposure is, and just trust it.

19 **MR MOSS:** And in broad terms, I'm probably simplifying it
20 too much but I think some of our previous experts have
21 suggested that because of that, looking at it from
22 a scientific and academic point of view, you have to
23 weight careful case studies slightly more higher than
24 you might do in some forms, for example, of medical
25 research when you can do ethical perspective blind

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1 research on this and there isn't enough support for
2 organisations like ourselves in terms training, so I
3 think there is a huge gap that has been identified since
4 this incident in terms of this material. And I said in
5 our presentation we are playing catch-up on this quite
6 a lot and we are sharing our learning with other
7 organisations as well. But there just isn't enough data
8 out there to properly answer this question.

9 **MR MOSS:** Thank you. Commander, from the different policing
10 perspective, I appreciate your particular sub-specialism
11 in the Knives Centre but can you assist us in general
12 terms?

13 **COMMANDER CLAYMAN:** I suppose I haven't got a robust
14 evidence case I can provide because we have people here
15 who are telling you about the challenges I suppose of
16 doing that. I can only really talk in anecdotes which
17 isn't particularly helpful. Policing obviously does see
18 the impact of the mobile phone. I say the mobile phone
19 because that phone contains social media access, it
20 contains messaging. Some of the violence we see is
21 an escalation that young people particularly are seeing
22 before we do. We are reactionary often to an incident.
23 They know it's going to happen, because it is playing
24 out in real time sometimes, violence that they are
25 seeing is triggering further violence.

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1 studies. Would you agree with that in general?

2 **PROFESSOR BRENNAN:** Yes.

3 **MR MOSS:** Thank you. Mr Green and Commander, could I expand
4 matters out to you in an adjacent area, which is from
5 your different perspectives what would your assessment
6 be as to the effects of repeated exposure to violence
7 and how they can contribute to harmful beliefs and
8 sensitisation to violence? Can I start with you,
9 Mr Green?

10 **MR GREEN:** Yes. From our perspective and I think about this
11 question from -- with the view of some of the young
12 people we have and work with who we would see as more
13 challenging, but in terms of their behaviour and their
14 language, testing us in terms of their determination to
15 carry on with maybe carrying knives; it is evident if
16 those conversations that these are young people who are
17 probably exposed more to violence, probably seeing more
18 of it or even -- in terms of social media feeds etc.
19 I said in my presentation that the exposure doesn't
20 necessarily mean that young people end up becoming
21 violent, but certainly in those which causes the most
22 concern and those we make safeguarding disclosures or
23 referrals for, it is evident in the conversations that
24 we had with them.

25 The point I would make is there isn't enough

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1 The one point I suppose to make in terms of material
2 they are watching is back to a point I made earlier
3 which is this material is sometimes pushed to them,
4 without them asking for it. They may show an interest
5 in it but then the algorithms are at work and then they
6 will get pushed this content more, so it is a little bit
7 about choice and it is a bit about, in my experience,
8 what they are then provided which of course makes the
9 situation even worse.

10 **MR MOSS:** Thank you. Back to you, Professor Brennan. You
11 also have indicated in your materials that one of the
12 strongest longitudinal predictors of weapon-carrying is
13 experience of violence. You have made clear obviously
14 that your research has not been particularly focused on
15 VFIs. Do you think that would likely carry through to
16 VFIs or not, that observation?

17 **PROFESSOR BRENNAN:** Yes, I think it would. It is just
18 a strong effect relative to the other things we have
19 studied that experience of violent victimisation,
20 I would be very surprised if it didn't carry through.

21 There are obviously different types of violent
22 victimisation. There's child abuse within the home but
23 then you have forms of extreme bullying or -- which
24 tends to be defined as school-based or related to
25 school. Then you have exploitation outside the home, as

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1 well as just other involvement in violence.
 2 We have all these different types, but I would say
 3 the more diverse and the more extreme, particularly when
 4 it is experienced around the transition to secondary
 5 school, the sort of ages 10 to 12, is when I would say
 6 that is a really acute problem. I am not saying for
 7 example abuse and neglect younger isn't a problem, but
 8 we do seem to see -- but we do see an effect of time
 9 in -- when it seems to trigger later bad outcomes.

10 **MR MOSS:** Thank you. If Mr Weston will forgive me asking
 11 the other three of you because I don't think again,
 12 Mr Weston, it is your area.

13 But one of the points we have been seeking to
 14 explore with earlier seminar presenters is this
 15 difficult issue that, if internet violence is almost
 16 ubiquitous for young people, what do practitioners need
 17 to be on the look out for, beyond the consumption of
 18 violent internet material, to be warning signs? So what
 19 should above that take them into the "be more concerned"
 20 category on a practical level? Could I start with you,
 21 Mr Green?

22 **MR GREEN:** Yes. I think -- I'm thinking of the context of
 23 the work that we do and when we talk to young people
 24 directly about what they are saying, what they share
 25 with us what they are seeing. The point at which I get

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1 may set that group apart from, or certainly be an early
 2 indicator of an attraction to violence that is unusual.

3 There is data actually within that survey that's
 4 unexplored that could allow us to learn a bit more about
 5 that group, and I do know Youth Endowment Fund are
 6 working on doing further work with that dataset but that
 7 is certainly something that could be explored.

8 **MR MOSS:** Thank you. Commander, anything you wish to add
 9 from the policing perspective?

10 **COMMANDER CLAYMAN:** All I would say is of course is that
 11 policing is often that first responder, isn't it, to
 12 an individual, or there may be a referral. I guess the
 13 point is each agency is holding, as we know, information
 14 about someone which may be a piece of the jigsaw one
 15 other isn't seeing. So warning signs are often, in my
 16 experience, a collection of signs from other referral
 17 mechanisms, that hopefully we are sharing and seeing,
 18 and different organisations will have a slightly
 19 different approach because policing generally is not
 20 exclusively about enforcement, but generally we are
 21 there to protect the public in certain circumstances.

22 So it is as much about what we know about somebody
 23 that can make a better and informed decision. Equally,
 24 that's where you will start seeing those flags and those
 25 markers, that says hang on, this is someone that needs

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1 worried or we get worried is when we get no reaction,
 2 that the young person continues to believe or talk about
 3 behaving in a manner consistent with how they were
 4 before and what they are seeing in terms of the content
 5 they are -- the violent content they are viewing or
 6 being fed. Those rational conversations, those
 7 conversations that work with the vast majority of young
 8 people are not landing well with these young persons.
 9 They seem intransigent.

10 It is at that point I think that we would become
 11 concerned, that the person who is consuming this
 12 material is different to how other young people are
 13 consuming the material. At that point the referral then
 14 for a more targeted intervention around that is really,
 15 really important.

16 **MR MOSS:** Thank you. Professor?

17 **PROFESSOR BRENNAN:** I just want to pick up on a statistic
 18 that Patrick had in his slides which is at the back of
 19 my mind, just before he said it, was that when -- from
 20 the Youth Endowment Fund study -- when children saw
 21 violence online, the 36% or more, they were then asked:
 22 how did you come about it? How did it come into your
 23 world? And 6% said that they sought it out. The vast
 24 majority of others it was pushed to them through peers
 25 or through the algorithm. But I think seeking it out

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1 maybe some much more focused work. Often disagreements
 2 potentially between agencies, but at some point someone
 3 has to make a key decision and adhere to a source of
 4 "Yes, that person is a problem, let's support them," or
 5 whatever that outcome should be.

6 **MR MOSS:** Thank you. I want to introduce the next question
 7 with care because I don't want to be misunderstood as
 8 suggesting in any way that possession of kitchen knives,
 9 as of course tragically we know from AR's case, in any
 10 sense is less important.

11 But Professor, I wanted to ask you about the topic
 12 you introduced in your presentation about the Four As
 13 and the significance of the more aggressive, perhaps
 14 more expensive in some ways, knives, whether they are
 15 illegal zombie knives or machetes, and whether you think
 16 that possession of that type of knife and the
 17 significance of it is sufficiently understood as
 18 a warning sign and whether that should be that they have
 19 sought it out, despite the greater difficulties, my
 20 words, should be a red flag for parents as well as for
 21 agencies working with children and young people?

22 **PROFESSOR BRENNAN:** The unsatisfying answer is we don't
 23 know, partly because we don't have sufficient data about
 24 the different types of knives and we are getting better
 25 at measuring these types of things, like the Youth

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Endowment Fund survey and Crime Survey for England and Wales are starting to measure these things now and looking at the importance of different knife types.

I should say with Four As, it is a theory of how these things work. It is not -- it has not been empirically tested. It is just what we think is a sensible way to think about how these different things balance each other out. But it does seem to make sense and the sourcing costs, potential consequences, accessibility issues, are something that have to be overcome and, yes, just practically I think it clearly is demonstrating an attractiveness because people are putting in that extra effort.

What that means at an individual level we don't know that yet. I think it is just demonstrating an enhanced attractiveness and a willingness to put in effort, when something like a kitchen knife is just right there. So it's beyond -- I don't want to overstate what the Four A's framework can tell us. I just think it is a useful way to think about how these things are balanced out in people's behaviour.

MR MOSS: Thank you. Commander, can I turn to you on that. Of course this comes with the background that it was a kitchen knife that AR used horrifically in the attack, but he had purchased a number of machetes.

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aggravated by the use of a knife. So a robbery, a knife-enabled robbery is a robbery where a perpetrator has chosen to use a knife. The same as knife-enabled assault. It is an assault.

Sometimes when we are tackling these things we should be looking at the crime type. The knife is an additional tool, if you like, that the perpetrator is choosing to use.

But if I take the Met as an example, their last ONS stats, just under 20 per cent of their knife crime was where the knife was never seen -- threatened. So knife-related crime is reported crime that a knife is seen or intimidated. The problem we get is the media translation of that is there are hundreds of stabbings a day. That is simply not the case, because if you break the stats down -- but the reason I mention that of course it stirs up this feeling of safety that Patrick talks about when young people particularly are seeing reports. I listened to a radio headline once saying there were 150 stabbings a day in London. It is simply not true. But it is the way the stats are presented and the fact that sometimes knives are not seen but intimidated, but that is a recordable knife crime.

We will get better, I have no doubt, in trying to articulate or better articulate the types of knives we

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COMMANDER CLAYMAN: Yes, he had. Frustratingly, as I indicated earlier, I wish I had better data to say this is the type of knife that we are seeing used in crime which would give us a good indication of where the threat may be. I can quite confidently tell you the types of knives that we know are being sold illicitly and they are not kitchen knives, they are the prohibited weapons, they are being purchased predominantly overseas and then re-sold with ease and without any age verification or control.

So, in time, I think we will start, as I said we are beginning to work with the Home Office to get a better indication of the types of knives that are seen. In a domestic-related setting of course it is not unusual to find the kitchen knife as being the weapon that is used. In the street we do see -- and I think your work a few years ago looked at groupings of knives, didn't it? And you had kitchen knives were certainly out there and used but so were machetes and others. The Met, as I say, is beginning to get a better, more accurate picture on the types of knives that are being used.

One thing that might be worth mentioning, when we talk about knife crime, knife crime doesn't exist. There is no such thing as knife crime. It is knife-enabled crime, because it is a crime which

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are seeing. I suppose the question around the warning signs around this are also going to be what we are seeing people are buying and acquiring, even if they are not using. You mentioned AR's purchases, why is someone purchasing weapons of no value at all other than to cause fear and extreme violence?

MR MOSS: Mr Green, what about you? Obviously I know you will be careful, but being supremely careful about anonymity, but where you have felt it necessary to make safeguarding or other referrals in relation to young people that the charity deals with, do you see an association between the bigger more violent type of knives and real concern about risk or is it agnostic on that?

MR GREEN: Yes, it is more about risk. The availability of knives, we are mindful that it is mostly kitchen knives that are used in these offences.

So, yes, that probably doesn't come in in terms of our safeguarding referral. Our safeguarding referral will originate from a real concern about the young person's safety and if they are talking about using, carrying knives or putting themselves in dangerous positions, that will be ultimately the driver behind it.

I do want to make a point, and I wanted to make this during the presentation but I forgot, on the Four As,

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1 particularly the attractiveness and this comes to why
 2 young people may purchase these knives.
 3 This is a very slick marketing campaign. What
 4 I have seen in terms of social media is not just hooded
 5 young people running around with knives, of course there
 6 is footage like that, but I have also seen footage which
 7 is -- would not be dissimilar to people selling soft
 8 drinks to people, trainers to young people, there are
 9 lifestyle videos. Usually good-looking teenagers
 10 standing there, waving big Ninja swords around in this
 11 fake Japanese scenario, normalising the idea of knives,
 12 normalising the idea of big knives, often done in
 13 a joking setting. They see it on video feeds alongside
 14 everything else.

15 I think in terms of how young people start to
 16 internalise the world, they are seeing these videos as
 17 well as the really graphic ones. I think the original
 18 question asked was: if a young person buys this really
 19 dangerous knife, is that a red flag? It probably is.
 20 But the marketing that's going on is pushing them
 21 towards those purchases as well. I hope that answered
 22 both those questions.

23 **MR MOSS:** Thank you. Professor Brennan, I saw I think you
 24 nodding your head. We want to capture it on the
 25 transcript. Do you agree with that?

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1 issues themselves under the Knives Act?
 2 **COMMANDER CLAYMAN:** Yes, they can. I guess what I'm saying
 3 is if we focus solely on the name, take "survival", you
 4 will get sites which will have the term "survivor"
 5 perhaps on a drinks bottle as well as a knife because
 6 that's the sort of field that they are selling to.
 7 It is why I mentioned the context as being really,
 8 really important. We can probably all look at an OED
 9 definition of a knife. Take the term "frenzy", for
 10 example, which we have seen some knives labelled
 11 "frenzy". If you look up the definition of that I don't
 12 think it talks about violence but will have
 13 a connotation potentially to that.

14 I think the difficulty we are having applying that
 15 legislation is simply that it doesn't, on the face of
 16 it, on its own, is enough to reach that charge
 17 threshold. Even to the point -- and what police
 18 officers will tend to do is if they keep getting
 19 repeated knock backs on threshold to charge they will
 20 end up not using it, because they know it's going to
 21 be -- an evidentiary review officer, for example, might
 22 think, "You know what, I have tried six times and not
 23 had any success," so that's not going to run. And then
 24 of course that's partly the reason, I suspect, why the
 25 legislation on knives isn't used as much as it should

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1 **PROFESSOR BRENNAN:** Absolutely, it is something that hadn't
 2 even occurred to me. So thank you Patrick, next time
 3 I write something about Four As, a new idea.

4 Absolutely I agree. Marketing is -- this is
 5 an externally modified attraction I suppose and I always
 6 tend to think about this as something that happens from
 7 childhood and maybe some peers but I do forget about the
 8 marketing side of things, only to say I agree.

9 **MR GREEN:** On the marketing, it's the names. These names
 10 are deliberately names that are attractive to teenagers,
 11 zombie, gladiator, Ninja. They all have their
 12 comic-book --

13 **COMMANDER CLAYMAN:** They have their own sub-language.

14 **MR GREEN:** They have and it is slick. They are knowing the
 15 buttons they are pushing in terms of drawing young
 16 people in on this.

17 **MR MOSS:** Commander, I'm going to come back to you and take
 18 things slightly out of order in that, because that comes
 19 back into play in an area that is difficult, that the
 20 Inquiry has looked at but some of the names of the
 21 weapons, I mean we know that "cold steel", for example,
 22 has a connotation but it is also the name of
 23 a manufacturer, a big US manufacturer of knives.

24 Do you agree in general terms that the names of some
 25 of these knives themselves are problematic, and raise

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1 be. If it is practical -- and this is why I talk about
 2 updating legislation. I hear a lot of criticism about
 3 we are always changing the law. I think the law does
 4 need to change as society changes.

5 When I talked about the Knives Act, which was
 6 applicable to the magazine age, I think we do need to
 7 reflect. The way we market and the way the internet
 8 works is very different from a magazine, its circulation
 9 is very different.

10 I don't think the names alone are enough. I think
 11 we could all in this room agree and disagree on
 12 terminology and what we think is acceptable and what we
 13 don't, and that's the problem. We have seen it with
 14 the jury decision where of course a jury looked at it
 15 and thought none of those names, "tactical", "cold
 16 steel", were enough and demonstrated intent by the
 17 seller.

18 **MR MOSS:** So they risk not being enough in terms of the
 19 legal threshold, but are they enough to be concerning
 20 and something about which action needs to be taken?

21 **COMMANDER CLAYMAN:** I think it is to the point that has been
 22 raised here about how they are marketed. A bit like the
 23 Rambo knife. It doesn't take -- if you are advertising
 24 something as a Rambo knife we all know what that
 25 connotation means.

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1 Interesting when it comes to hunting knives, kukri
2 if I recall is a militaristic Gurkha-type. You can
3 argue that that is a knife that's made for combat. It
4 is a really tricky area and it is a very blurry area for
5 police officers and, I would say, lawyers alike, and
6 there just simply isn't enough case law. I'm all for
7 one for let's try and test these cases and start getting
8 case law developed on the back of these cases we try.

9 It simply isn't enough and the fact that the stated
10 case itself referred to is almost laying dormant was
11 a flag for me. I think there are problems here just
12 relying on a name. I think we need more and maybe it
13 needs a bit more consultation, and perhaps this Inquiry
14 will help nudge where we need to go in terms of
15 understanding if a name is enough for that threshold.
16 Because it could change marketing quite significantly if
17 retailers absolutely knew that using that name -- but
18 the name "tactical", police boots are called tactical
19 boots. You can see some of the difficulties --

20 **MR MOSS:** There are judgement calls.

21 **COMMANDER CLAYMAN:** Yes.

22 **MR MOSS:** I really am cutting across topics here but since
23 this issue has been raised, an alternative route into
24 this, would you agree, would be through the licensing
25 and codes and guidance issued in relation to what's

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1 has asked me to explore whether from the available
2 evidence on weapon-carrying, whether there is any
3 information on the proportion who have committed another
4 crime, whether knife-enabled or otherwise, as against
5 those who have committed a "simple possession" offence?

6 Do you know the position on that?

7 **PROFESSOR BRENNAN:** This is actually a conversation I had
8 with colleagues in the Met about four or five months
9 ago. They were asking me did I know and I didn't.
10 I don't have access to that level of data in order to be
11 able to do it and they hadn't been able to determine it
12 either, and so, yes, unfortunately the answer is we
13 don't know.

14 There would be a way of doing it. It would require
15 access and links to a PNC, Police National Computer and
16 a bit of time. But yeah, we don't know what happens to
17 people after possession offences.

18 **MR MOSS:** Thank you. What's the lever that's needed to
19 release that information or to be able to access that
20 information? Do you know?

21 **PROFESSOR BRENNAN:** I think I would need to check. It
22 wouldn't be -- it is a question of time but it wouldn't
23 be expensive.

24 **MR MOSS:** Thank you. Can I move now to the second of the
25 topics which is, broadly speaking, interventions.

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1 expected of licence holders who become licensed under
2 what would be the system? You need your licence to be
3 able to sell the knives and the requirement of the
4 licence is that you don't market knives, particularly
5 machetes, with certain types of language of which
6 examples are then given.

7 **COMMANDER CLAYMAN:** I think that is a very good point.

8 Licensing conditions give you an element of, if you are
9 a responsible retailer, these are the things that you
10 need to do and one of them could be the way that you
11 market knives.

12 So I think that's a very good point and obviously we
13 have to go through the processes we have talked about
14 and consult and guidance but that could very well be --
15 the other thing about licensing is of course, if you
16 start straying, we can put additional licence conditions
17 to monitor et cetera. So there are lots of things we
18 can do. I think that is a very good point and that's
19 what I would suggest for responsible retailer is about
20 how they show age-restricted products, how they market
21 them, is all part of that licensing condition.

22 **MR MOSS:** Thank you.

23 **COMMANDER CLAYMAN:** UK only, I should add, of course.

24 **MR MOSS:** Thank you. Professor Brennan, finally I think on
25 this topic, one of the Governmental Core Participants

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1 Mr Green, starting with you, which interventions in
2 your experience are most effective in reducing a child's
3 desire or perceived need to carry a weapon and how
4 important are trusted relationships, family work and
5 safety planning?

6 **MR GREEN:** If I may start with what I think doesn't work
7 which I think is really important. We would be really
8 concerned with trauma being used to frighten young
9 people around knives, exposure to knives, imagery of
10 knives. I personally am quite sceptical of the use of
11 VR in terms of educating young people around knife
12 crime. I think these highly sensory interventions which
13 are often the first thing that adults do with young
14 people, is show them what the likely terrible
15 consequences of their actions to try and deter them from
16 doing it. These tend -- often not only do they tend not
17 to work, they often have the exact opposite effect,
18 scaring the child even more and eliciting the behaviour
19 you are trying to change.

20 In terms of what we believe is effective, clearly we
21 believe the approach we take, which is a trauma-informed
22 approach, and not looking at the knife carrying itself
23 but the cognitive behaviours that sit behind this. That
24 is the lever of the wheel that we think if you start to
25 change you start to change everything else.

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Relationships are hugely important. We establish what we do based on trust and young people trusting us. The point you make about trusting relationships with families and safety planning, if I look at the interventions that really do work, if I look at mentoring, everything evolves around being someone that you identify with and trust and the relationship that develops that way.

So, this is why I think the sector that I work in does so well. It is full of people who are not only passionate about what they do, have lived experience but also have the authenticity that young people recognise and trust in which can make them -- guide them through some very difficult decisions over a period of time.

Is there anything else I want to add here?

MR MOSS: Mr Green, perhaps while you are thinking about that, could I be forgiven for a follow-up question which is this, and please rest assured this is not meant pejoratively but in fact supportively. Looking to the potential benefits of expanding the sort of interventions that your charity is involved in, do you have any auditing or empirical evidence following the courses that you run to demonstrate their effectiveness? Bearing in mind that that can sometimes be the lever to further funding.

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With that in mind, we are delighted that we have a partnership now with Youth Endowment Fund and we are doing exactly what you said. We are looking at more longitudinal -- the impact of our work and particularly using randomised control tests. It will take time. We are entering this fully knowing from having done this for so many years that we believe what we do has a long-term impact and I'm confident and hopeful that our work with Youth Endowment Fund will show that.

But we are only one piece of a very, very large jigsaw and there needs to be I think significant investment in terms of research around prevention across a number of things. I talked about trust adults, their importance in terms of helping young people. There is lots of this work going on and it has been going on for some time. We need now to understand what's working, how it is working and how we continue to improve and adapt it, particularly in light of rapid changes in drivers, such as you are talking about today in terms of exposure to violence.

MR MOSS: How do you select the schools or education settings or youth places that you present to? Is that a needs-based assessment of where it is perceived to be problematic? How does it work? Is it geographical?

MR GREEN: Great question. We have been doing this for

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MR GREEN: I'm so grateful for this question because

I missed it in the presentation and I was just about to miss it here as well, so I'm very grateful.

It is a really good question about research. As Professor Brennan will nod again on this, there isn't a lot of research in terms of preventative work, in fact there is very little. If you dive into the Youth Endowment Fund's toolkit, for example, you will find that the work that we do in terms of knife crime interventions has a question mark. There just isn't enough evidence on it to show that it works. We are not alone. There is no evidence to show that police officers and schools work. There is no evidence to show that trauma-informed practice works. These are the interventions that have been around for quite some considerable period of time but it shows that there has been absolutely no investment in this sector to show what works.

I think this goes back to the point I make about prevention being our first defence. We have not invested in it, and it is criminal that we are sitting here, decades after Ben was murdered and there still isn't the evidence to start to prove that some of the things that we have been doing for so long actually work.

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18 years and started off as a small charity in Islington, and it has grown not so much because we have a slick marketing team but it is one school telling another school, telling another school, telling another school.

When we dived into why schools were booking, which we are very grateful they are, the feedback coming from the schools is not necessarily that they think they have a knife crime problem. But what they see in terms of the response from young people after they have visited us is really positive in their attitudes, behaviours and the conversations they have around this topic.

What we really noticed also in the feedback we got was that 75% of the teachers that come to our exhibition with their young people go on to do further education lessons on knife crime after they leave. There is a legacy to this visit that carries on. It is not only giving young people confidence in the subject matter, we are giving teachers confidence to talk about this and helping them with the resources that we make available on our website.

This is the added value that you get from the interventions that we make.

MR MOSS: Thank you. Commander, Professor, do you want to come in on interventions and their effectiveness?

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1 Professor, perhaps you first?
 2 **PROFESSOR BRENNAN:** Thank you. My other job beyond doing
 3 research on weapon violence is evaluation of violence
 4 interventions, so running randomised control trials or
 5 when those are not available finding some other method.
 6 Some of those feed into the Youth Endowment Fund toolkit
 7 on best bets on what works.

8 My view on pretty much everything that we think is
 9 a best bet is that it is quite questionable in terms of
 10 the sample sizes, in terms of the fidelity of the
 11 interventions that are being run.

12 My view is that there are very few studies that we
 13 can really trust and say: that is highly effective. One
 14 example is what's widely regarded as one of the most
 15 effective interventions which is called "focused
 16 deterrence", which is a form of carrot and stick type
 17 model where individuals who are involved in violence are
 18 identified and they get a meeting with the police
 19 officer and told "We are watching you, but if you want
 20 a way out, here is a youth worker who will navigate you
 21 through the system and stay with you for a long period
 22 of time."

23 That project has taken five years. There are 3,000
 24 people in it. It is the largest randomised trial that
 25 has ever been done in violence prevention anywhere and

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1 experience and then -- that includes whether they are in
 2 care, and lots of additional factors, and see is that
 3 predictive of whether they will end up with a criminal
 4 record.

5 So we last year used it to test of what is the
 6 effect of being permanently excluded from school on
 7 whether you will be charged with a serious violent
 8 offence within a year? And you cannot do that unless
 9 you have like population-level national data.

10 So that's a really impressive example of what we can
 11 do. What we need to do is link health data to that
 12 collection. So the more datasets that we can bring in,
 13 the more insights we can get into, for example, an
 14 outcome like violence. Rather than pursuing randomised
 15 control trials prospectively and pushing and very often
 16 failing, we have this opportunity and there does need to
 17 be a push from health to agree to link their data.

18 There has been an enormous amount of work going on
 19 over recent years, but of all the departments that are
 20 slowest and most reluctant or most maybe protective of
 21 their data to link with others, it is health. But that
 22 in terms of, for example, VFIs, bringing in psychiatric
 23 data potentially, feels like a missed opportunity or
 24 something that we should be aiming for in the future.

25 **MR MOSS:** When you say health, do you mean the Department

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1 we still aren't -- we will know our results next year --
 2 we are still not confident that we have had enough
 3 people in the project to really be able to tell if it
 4 works or not. So it is an enormous challenge and that's
 5 partly because, ironically, violence rates are low and
 6 we don't actually have enough violence for us to be able
 7 to do the robust statistics that we need.

8 So sometimes we need to rely on theory and there are
 9 some evaluations and some interventions, for example,
 10 having a trusted adult who stays with someone for years,
 11 that you could never evaluate to the level that
 12 a randomised control trial, and so we have to rely in
 13 theory in combination with that.

14 Just one other thing to pick up on is an opportunity
 15 that we are currently missing is that -- or that we are
 16 developing but still is underdeveloped is the use of
 17 linked administrative datasets. So about three years
 18 ago, may be four, the Ministry of Justice linked all
 19 their records with the Department for Education records.
 20 So anybody who entered school in England from 1990
 21 onwards, which is about 17 million people now, their
 22 education records have been linked to their justice
 23 records if they have one. There are around 2 million of
 24 those people have a justice record. That allows us now
 25 to look at what happened in someone's educational

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1 for Health and Social Care, or is that NHS England, NHS
 2 Wales, or is it at a more granular level?

3 **PROFESSOR BRENNAN:** So at an individual level. Ideally, all
 4 health records in a way that many Scandinavian countries
 5 just have administrative data linked by default. This
 6 is something we could do in the future.

7 The absence of a unique identifier for every
 8 individual makes that actually a technical challenge but
 9 it feels like something that is an administrative hurdle
 10 rather than a practical one. I just want to put that on
 11 the table as a way we can reach back into the past, find
 12 really rare individuals, albeit anonymously, but people
 13 with really rare characteristics and extreme experiences
 14 and see what happened to them later on and what led to
 15 those behaviours.

16 **MR MOSS:** So population-level retrospective studies based on
 17 data that is anonymous?

18 **PROFESSOR BRENNAN:** Yes.

19 **MR MOSS:** Commander, on interventions?

20 **COMMANDER CLAYMAN:** Listening to this has made me reflect
 21 quite a lot on 30 years of my own policing, and I think
 22 back to when I was investigating murders I used to go
 23 into schools talking about knife crime.

24 It was all done with the right intention and
 25 policing and others still do because it is interesting

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1 that we don't have a firm base that we are doing this
2 from, but yet can he can't stand still. Everyone feels
3 quite rightly that we have to do something.

4 Police officers do go into schools. They will --
5 you hear presentations with trauma surgeons. There is
6 all different manner of things and I don't quite know --
7 and I have seen VR set-ups and it is very interesting to
8 hear Patrick talk about his concern around -- actually
9 VR is very immersive, so it could be quite triggering.

10 So the fact that there aren't -- there isn't the
11 evidence base, I think the YEF is a very good place that
12 VRUs will go to to seek the best up to date evidence.
13 But we have to something in the meantime but it's just
14 making sure we're doing something that isn't causing
15 more harm than good, because shock -- and I could go
16 back to my standing in a front office in my very early
17 years with a parent dragging their child in saying "Can
18 you tell my child if they don't behave you will stick
19 them in a cell."

20 That's not the type of shock tactic that we need and
21 there needs to be a lot of thought. The focused
22 deterrence I know, and hear is very effective, but it is
23 actually very expensive as well. And I know this has
24 been discussed I know at higher levels and VRUs we're
25 talking about, it is expensive to deliver. I have seen

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1 content we were reviewing, in terms of the presentation,
2 but also the pathways we saw in terms of making onward
3 referrals.

4 Currently, that will be through safeguarding and
5 safeguarding disclosures. Our thoughts are on that that
6 those probably, in terms of the thresholds, are very
7 high, that often if we are submitting safeguarding
8 disclosures, particularly about concerns over exposure
9 or fascination with violent content, it may not reach
10 the threshold for a referral to social care, just based
11 on what is ahead of it in the queue.

12 The challenge then is where would you send that
13 referral to get the greatest response? The fact that
14 I'm hesitating even talking about this tells you
15 an awful lot.

16 The pathways for us would be, clearly most people
17 are moving towards sort of Prevent and Channel pathway
18 but of course that's limited in terms of ideology around
19 terrorism. But there is a genuinely a real gap here in
20 terms of pathways, identification and getting the right
21 response to the young person involved, particularly
22 around overexposure to violence for young people.

23 **MR MOSS:** Thank you. The three-tiered approach to
24 preventing and early intervention that you referenced in
25 your slide 20, I think you gave an aside that "This is

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1 mentoring schemes and they are effective I believe from
2 what I have seen, but they are expensive and we come
3 back to the funding and how VRUs can't work on an annual
4 funding cycle, because you need something long and
5 sustaining.

6 The other thing I do, because I know evidence is so
7 important, we run a campaign twice a year called Sceptre
8 which is where policing tells the public really what we
9 are doing to fight knife crime. Every May we join
10 Patrick in knife crime awareness week and run the two
11 together. What The Ben Kinsella Trust does is speak for
12 and represent other voluntary organisations. So trying
13 to demonstrate and we get in there schools and education
14 programmes that run that week, so we do try and tie in
15 what works during those particular weeks of action.

16 **MR MOSS:** Thank you. Mr Green, could I come back to you and
17 one of the things that is touched upon in your materials
18 was that the professionals have identified concerns, but
19 then the pathways to support are unclear. I wanted to
20 give you an opportunity just to expand upon that and
21 what you think in practical terms could change to make
22 those pathways more accessible and perhaps more
23 effective.

24 **MR GREEN:** Yes, this is something I spend quite a lot of
25 time with colleagues discussing in terms of both the

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1 how I would like to see it work."

2 **MR GREEN:** Yes.

3 **MR MOSS:** But I think indicated, forgive me I didn't catch
4 your exact words "but it rarely does".

5 I wanted to give you an opportunity to expand on
6 that and how perhaps you think that tiered approach, so
7 "Universal Prevention", tier 1; tier 2, "Targeted Early
8 Help"; tier 3, "Enhanced Early Intervention"; why you
9 think that is such a beneficial approach and what that
10 should look like in reality?

11 **MR GREEN:** I suppose I will just clarify what I said there.
12 It is not that it doesn't work, I think it is the
13 elements of where it is challenging is based on
14 resources.

15 Ideally you are looking -- for that model to work
16 really well, which is set up to do, you are looking for
17 clear and quick referral pathways and you understand
18 what your concern is about a young person, you move it
19 across to the next level for targeted support, you know
20 the agency, you know the referral mechanism. There is
21 training that's come down to organisations to help them
22 recognise these pathways. The receiving organisation
23 has the capacity to take the referral and understand and
24 then move that further on along the path.

25 In practice, this is very challenging. In course of

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1 the prep for this presentation, I talked to a number of
2 safeguarding leads and the conversations were that it
3 was your skill in terms of your narrative and
4 linguistics in terms of writing your safeguarding
5 referral would help that referral get to the top of the
6 queue.

7 You are looking at people realising there is a real
8 backlog here and you have to make your referral stand
9 out amongst the crowd. This is like a CV and getting
10 a job. That shouldn't be the case. But it is the
11 reality and it is different when I speak to people from
12 different locations because each -- the localism of this
13 means that there is -- there are different amounts in
14 different areas. It is not consistent.

15 I'm not saying the system doesn't work. It does,
16 but it could work a lot smoother and I think it is about
17 resourcing and educating and creating awareness within
18 the sector and creating those pathways.

19 **MR MOSS:** Does anyone want to come in on that before I move
20 to the next topic?

21 **COMMANDER CLAYMAN:** I wanted to raise a practical policy
22 tension that we have with intervention. So we have
23 Parliament's intent around two strikes and then we have
24 Home Office recent guidance this year on possession of
25 knife cases for children and mandatory intervention.

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1 **MR MOSS:** Thank you.

2 **PROFESSOR BRENNAN:** Could I just come in on that. When you
3 have that tension there is a really clear risk of racial
4 disproportionality in that case that should be flagged,
5 particularly adultification of black children, maybe
6 judged -- even if they are 16 or 17, misjudged as
7 adults. I think that is a tension that would -- is
8 a potential human rights issue and it should be
9 recognised and resolved.

10 **MR MOSS:** Thank you. Thank you, Professor.

11 I want to turn next to regulation of knife sales.
12 Mr Weston, you have been waiting patiently so I'm going
13 to turn to you for the first questions on this.

14 In fact in your Inquiry witness statement, as
15 opposed to presentation, I think you have referred to
16 concerns over the delays in firearms licensing as
17 an example of why there would be some concerns about
18 a licensing system for knives. Of course what is being
19 consulted or has been consulted upon and we are awaiting
20 the result is not a licensing system for those who
21 possess knives but for the retailers of it.

22 So if licensing was restricted to the retailers of
23 knives, does that deal with the concern? So if it was
24 the agricultural supplier that you talked about, who
25 sells the dog food but also sells the knives, if they

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1 There is a bit of a policy tension between
2 an outcome of welfare absolutely of the child, but also
3 it is balanced against the risk that child may present
4 to the public in terms of deterrence and public
5 protection.

6 We have a joint CPS National Police Chiefs' Council
7 policy on guidance to charge or caution. What this
8 policy -- we are having to do an interim update on this
9 policy because it is creating particular tension around
10 16-17-year-olds and of course if they are caught
11 a second time Parliament's intent was they should
12 receive ideally a custodial sentence but the guidance is
13 asking for a different thing and forces are finding
14 themselves a little bit of tension about their
15 decision-making. Ultimately they are going to have to
16 make a decision.

17 I raise that as this is a practical consideration
18 and decisions and choices that forces are going to have
19 to make. As it happens HMRCFRS are doing a very focused
20 review of this new guidance this year, I think. Once
21 that is concluded we will get a better idea if that
22 tension really is realised.

23 But the point I'm making is there is a balance
24 between dealing with the vulnerabilities and protecting
25 the child but also protecting the public if need be.

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1 had to be licensed to sell the knives, does that pose
2 a problem in your world?

3 **MR WESTON:** I have spoken to the Commander about this. It
4 does depend on who is administering the licence and how
5 the licence looks. So if there is -- for example,
6 firearms licence retailers are also licensed -- firearms
7 retailers are also licensed, they are a registered
8 firearms dealer, and then you have a licensed user of
9 the firearms as well. Both of which are administered by
10 the local police. Some firearms dealers are seeing
11 months before their certificate is able to be renewed
12 and it affects trade and confidence.

13 Now, with that historic background, some of the
14 agricultural merchants will also be registered firearms
15 dealers and as soon as they see another regulatory thing
16 with the local police they will probably decide to not
17 do it and just stop selling knives.

18 Therefore my argument about online knife sales
19 becomes void and we must have online knife sales because
20 by definition a local retailer in a rural area is far
21 more important than a local retailer in an urban area
22 because I have the choice of one, that's it.

23 So, yes, we do have concerns on how that would be
24 administered, who would administer it. I think the
25 question I was asked: would it have concerns for my

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1 membership? As a sector we are incredibly highly
2 regulated. So we deal with licensing with Natural
3 England, with DEFRA, with our local police, with the
4 Rural Payments Agency and so on. We are quite used to
5 Government bureaucracy and we have very little
6 confidence in it.

7 **MR MOSS:** So should we take from that that you would place
8 heavy emphasis, again it comes perhaps to your point
9 about context, that a rural in-person bricks and mortar
10 retailer of knives that's predominantly looking to the
11 agricultural sector is one that if you were looking at
12 it on a red, amber, green system of how concerning is
13 this as a retailer, you would say starting position is
14 this is a locally important resource for the local
15 industry, apart from anything else, and that the
16 licensing system needs to be effective to make sure
17 that -- providing they are sticking by the rules -- that
18 sort of retailer doesn't have friction in their
19 legitimate sale of legitimate knives for legitimate
20 purposes for the agricultural sector.

21 **MR WESTON:** Yes, I think that sums it up quite well. As
22 long as any licensing system is fit for purpose,
23 efficient and national -- I think that's key -- would be
24 much better. And I'm probably going to blow my entire
25 argument out the water. If something becomes illegal,

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1 they were no longer available online, and you have
2 indicated that your unscientific but nevertheless
3 helpful straw poll showed no concerns about that.
4 I just wanted to be clear about that. Is that
5 because for the purchase of those sort of bladed items
6 you talked about them being in the vehicle, you get them
7 out if the hedgerow has collapsed onto the pathway and
8 so on. Is it because it is for that type of higher
9 value knife or would the same apply to lower value
10 knives? So your Swedish orange blade, do you buy those
11 from an agricultural supplier or do you buy those
12 online?

13 **MR WESTON:** Generally as a sector we will buy everything in
14 person because you want to check what you are buying is
15 what you're buying. So a knife purchase would generally
16 be -- I can't say everybody but 90% of the time would be
17 face to face and I think we are conditioned to do that
18 because firearms is another thing we use daily and all
19 firearms transactions have to be face to face. So it is
20 something we are quite used to.

21 **MR MOSS:** Thank you. Commander, turning to you, even if
22 significant improvements to the legal and regulatory
23 regime went a long way towards the elimination of access
24 to illegal knives and sales to underage persons, we know
25 that knives of some kind are still going to be widely

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1 so by definition by licensing something you make it
2 illegal, you can't licence illegal activity in the UK,
3 it is not possible. So by making the sale of knives
4 illegal, meaning you have to licence it, creates its own
5 grey black market for knives, and then if you have
6 an outlet that is quite easy to obtain a desirable
7 object, you can travel around the UK freely and we might
8 end up with the same problem where somebody is buying
9 knives from a legitimate retailer to sell them in
10 a different environment for an illegitimate reason.

11 **MR MOSS:** Thank you. Should we understand, however, that
12 potential benefits of a licensing system for retailers
13 of knives, such as verification of names of purchasers
14 and addresses of purchasers and so on, if that were
15 thought appropriate for the licence, that those matters
16 for legitimate purchase of knives should be and would be
17 of little concern?

18 **MR WESTON:** They wouldn't be of any concern at all other
19 than it would be a bit weird to buy a sledgehammer,
20 a saw and a knife in the same transaction and have to
21 give your details for one which essentially is the same
22 piece of equipment for us.

23 **MR MOSS:** Thank you. A separate issue, obviously you
24 touched on this because you know of the Inquiry's
25 particular interest in it in terms of machetes and if

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1 accessible. Domestic knives in kitchens are the obvious
2 example.

3 Do you think that it is realistic to think that the
4 results of the efforts that you have been talking about
5 will be a material reduction in the levels of
6 knife-enabled crime or is there a risk that it will
7 displace the knife-enabled crime more into the use of
8 domestic knives?

9 **COMMANDER CLAYMAN:** So I think -- I know Iain dealt with
10 a little bit of this. The fact I can't give you
11 accurate data on the types of knives used in crime is a
12 difficult thing for me to then say, whether restricting
13 that supply -- well, in essence, if zombie style knives
14 and machetes or prohibited knives are used for 30%-40%
15 of crime, then, ergo, if we restrict the supply, that
16 should see a diminishing number being used. That could
17 result in alternative weapons being used. That's always
18 going to be a risk.

19 It is a conversation I have had a number of times
20 and which is why I made the point at the end really.
21 You can't -- in my view, tackling knife-enabled crime is
22 multifaceted because there is no one thing that is going
23 to solve it. Tackling illicit supply is an important
24 element but it is not the only thing.

25 What we have been talking about around reasons to

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1 carry is equally, if not the most important factor. But
 2 I do think if the amount of knives -- those two
 3 particular importation news cases I talked about have
 4 recovered over a thousand knives between them. That is
 5 a thousand less knives in the hands of somebody who may
 6 do nothing with it or may take that knife out and use
 7 it.

8 The number of times I speak to colleagues in county
 9 lines when they execute search warrants and they recover
 10 a cache of knives under beds; these knives are there
 11 which means they could be used.

12 My answer I suppose is, I am very much looking at:
 13 why on earth would you have a knife like that other than
 14 you may use it at some point? Therefore we are taking
 15 the risk out of the equation if we can limit the supply.

16 Now, they may choose to seek another weapon, whether
 17 that's a knife or another type of weapon. That is
 18 pretty much a constant policing challenge that the
 19 police will have on an ongoing basis, in that the
 20 behaviours of criminals will change and they will adapt
 21 to the restrictions that we put in place. Hence why
 22 I always refer to we try to think one step ahead.

23 When I first took the work on I remember talking to
 24 a colleague and saying: "Tell me about knives on the
 25 dark web." "They aren't on the dark web because they

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1 And we have expertise that you have heard about and
 2 others and VRUs -- I have spoken to VRUs who do some
 3 amazing work.

4 I talked about police being the last to know when
 5 something is about to happen. I spoke to a VRU in
 6 Nottinghamshire; they have workers who know when things
 7 are happening and they go to the place where the coming
 8 together is going to be and they deescalate. That is
 9 the sort of real world violence prevention, apart from
 10 the focused work they do, that I'm talking about. So it
 11 is equally as important to focus on the reduction
 12 always, but I will always come back to you have to deal
 13 with illicit supply at the same time, otherwise it
 14 becomes uncontrolled.

15 **MR MOSS:** Professor can I bring you in?

16 **PROFESSOR BRENNAN:** Just to agree. Displacement it a theory
 17 and we do have examples from other situational
 18 interventions. So people may remember suicide by gas,
 19 people using the kitchen -- using the oven. When that
 20 was removed as a sort of viable means of suicide, we
 21 didn't see a displacement into someone thinking: I will
 22 do it some other way. That situational intervention in
 23 the moment stopped, in many cases, the suicide happening
 24 at all.

25 So displacement is not inevitable but it is

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1 are so easy to obtain." It may be in the future when we
 2 restrict, we start seeing dark web activity. We are
 3 already seeing -- we have seen a few examples of 3D
 4 printed knives already; viable, undetectable. That's
 5 something we are going to keep a close eye on. So we
 6 are always having to adapt.

7 Iain will be able to give you a more robust answer
 8 potentially on displacement and the behaviours of
 9 criminals. All I can say is, and what I always go back
 10 to, is if we are removing literally thousands of
 11 knives -- we are on course to remove more knives than
 12 the Met will see through Stop and Search -- that has to
 13 be a benefit, even if we don't see an immediate
 14 reduction in crime. It only takes the one knife,
 15 doesn't it, to do severe damage.

16 **MR MOSS:** A follow up question I think that came from one of
 17 the Core Participants was, if we are to reduce the
 18 levels of knife-enabled crime, is it therefore more
 19 important to focus on violence reduction more generally?
 20 I think from your answer what I'm taking is you are
 21 saying you have to proactive on all these fronts.

22 **COMMANDER CLAYMAN:** You do. The violence reduction that we
 23 suggest is absolutely fundamental and policing will have
 24 a huge part to play but we are not the only people in
 25 town on this and sometimes we are the wrong agency here.

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1 something to be considered. I think you legislate and
 2 you act on the world as it is and just keep an eye on
 3 what could potentially happen.

4 **MR MOSS:** Thank you. Could I ask you again, Professor and
 5 Commander Clayman, about blunt tip knives. You have
 6 both expressed support for their greater introduction
 7 and Leanne Lucas' Let's Be Blunt campaign in that
 8 respect. I want to give you an opportunity to address
 9 a couple of points on that. Can you briefly explain
 10 what you see as the benefit and why you support it.

11 Secondly, would you potentially advocate its use as
 12 a risk reduction measure in particular households? So
 13 AR was known, of course, to have armed himself with
 14 a knife and gone into school and then he was known to
 15 have taken a kitchen knife onto a bus. So there was
 16 a known risk that he was taking knives from home. Would
 17 that be a case for a particular intervention on a risk
 18 basis?

19 Then, thirdly, what's the potential from your
 20 perspectives to see them introduced more widely? Are we
 21 talking voluntary schemes or potentially even mandatory
 22 or the creation of price discrepancy? You have
 23 a familiarity, so we would be interested in your
 24 thoughts on them. Could I start with you, Commander.

25 **COMMANDER CLAYMAN:** I mentioned before that, in terms of
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evidence of a rounded tip, it is quite clear that the evidence is you obviously can't stab someone. So the tissue damage and the organ damage is significantly less than it would be if it was a slashing injury. So the evidence is unequivocal as far as I'm concerned.

So the Kent VRU, for example, does have a very successful knife replacement scheme and they will go into households which may have some vulnerability either with a child, a young person or maybe there is another domestic related issue, and I think they have had some general success.

I know and I can't speak for them but there may be some violence against women organisations who do have some concerns and sensitivities around a household with domestic abuse or violence and how you would approach a household in that way for knife replacement. There are some sensitivities that I am sure some would raise.

However, in AR's case, you could argue that a knife replacement scheme, when you go and assess -- and what they do is they remove quite a number of knives and just replace them with far fewer rounded tip knives. Therefore any, in the moment, use of that knife, its injury level if you like is diminished as a result. So I do see the value of it.

In terms of the change, as I said, it feels like

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don't actually need the pointy tip end, even professional chefs are saying -- they may need it -- but generally you don't. It is just a societal social change which may take years, but if you don't start now, you could have a tremendous effect over time that will add value in 5, 10, 15 years.

PROFESSOR BRENNAN: I would agree with all of that. I am not aware of a strategy for how this type of replacement would be implemented at scale. I think we are still very early with this idea. Admittedly this is not the first time blunted tipped kitchen knives has been around. I remember there was a letter to the British Medical Journal in 2008, largely met with bemusement, but this time round there seems to be a lot more momentum behind the idea. So I would strongly advocate for at least exploring what are the opportunities.

I think a pilot scheme around replacement where there is significant safeguarding risk in a home will be very feasible and I would support that. Ideas around mandatory schemes and buy-backs and things like that, seem quite far off and would require significant societal support. Certainly, as a pilot scheme in very clear cases of risk, I think it is very sensible.

In terms of price points. Again, too early to say. I think there is a need -- there would need to be some

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a monumental thing to do. I don't know how many kitchen knives there are out there. I think a lot of households don't know what to do with old knives and actually that's something I know that the Let's Be Blunt campaign is keen to promote; so take your knives to a weapons bin or take them to your local refuse tip and they will take them. But often people don't know what to do with their knives. There is something to do.

So there was a celebrity chef recently using one. That's the type of thing you need to see. You need to see well known people using them and people start noticing them. As for price points, that's probably outside my expertise in terms of -- now whether the Government wanted to legislate or do something. If you go on a website and have a look at two sets of kitchens knives and one is rounded and one is not, and they are the same price, what is going to tip the customer/consumer to buy the rounded tip? The price may well be the thing, coupled with some promotion by whoever, whether it is Government led or by the retailer to promote. Because if you stop people in the street, I suspect, they won't know about rounded tips and probably won't be thinking about their use in violence, particularly if you are in a household that hasn't experienced it. Nevertheless, what I'm told is you

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sort of modelling done, as was done with (unclear) unit pricing for alcohol, just to see what the actual impact would be. One of the problems is we don't have good enough data on the legitimate purchasing of kitchen knives to know how to model it.

MR GREEN: Just to say, going back to the Four As, accessibility; I think this is a really good idea scheme. To me it embeds that public health approach. There is something about knife crime which makes people feel that it is a hopeless case and I think for the public the perception is that knife crime is falling, it is still terrible -- this is something that people feel they can do and make a positive difference.

I see this as a great opportunity in terms of mandatory purchasing for vulnerable settings, care homes etc, removing that impulse of risk by placing rounded tip knives in those settings.

I know part of Let's Be Blunt is about the safe disposal. How many people have knives in their home they just don't know how to get rid of, so they just stay in their homes. It sends a really positive message about knife crime and things you can do positively around knives. It is a really helpful thing to have in terms of the narrative that we have around knife crime and opening up conversations, particularly with parents

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1 around safety and other aspects of safety. So I'm a big
2 advocate.

3 **MR MOSS:** Again, this is not in any sense raised
4 pejoratively, but counter intuitively, perhaps, maybe as
5 an unintended consequence, is there a risk if one moves
6 towards more rounded tip knives, that there could then
7 be displacement in terms of choosing a non-kitchen knife
8 that could be bought still lawfully, but is yet more
9 destructive because it is more like the tactical knife
10 type or an outdoor knife that might remain lawful? Is
11 that a theory that would need to be kept an eye on or do
12 you think that is not realistic? Do you have a view on
13 that?

14 **PROFESSOR BRENNAN:** I would lean towards it not being
15 realistic but I have not given it enough thought to
16 think about all of the circumstances. In any situation,
17 if you ban anything, you should always consider
18 displacement as a potential consequence. But my gut
19 would be that it is not something to be particularly
20 concerned about.

21 **MR MOSS:** Thank you. Commander, can I come to you next.
22 Suspicious purchasing behaviour in itself of the type we
23 touched upon in relation to AR, that falls below bulk
24 threshold, you have made clear won't be caught by the
25 changes introduced by the 2026 Act.

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1 limits on these particular offences. We are beginning
2 to get feedback from Forces and those networks. But no
3 there are an awful lot of police officers out there and
4 an awful lot of teams that we need to engage with, so
5 the job is not done to a sufficient standard. But you
6 have got your frontline practitioner and you have then
7 got your supervisory officer, who is the evidentiary
8 review officer, the person who would be the first point
9 of contact. Could be the first point of failure, if you
10 like, if he is not understood. So we need to tackle
11 that.

12 Then we need to tackle the prosecutors because we
13 found, not just in London, but other areas, where the
14 knowledge of the Knives Act is not particularly great.
15 The CPS do have current guidance on it and having spoken
16 to them this week, I think we both agree we could
17 probably sharpen that up; in the sense that we can talk
18 about bringing it into what we are seeing online, using
19 it for grey market offences more because that's where we
20 are seeing it.

21 I think the difficulty will still remain with the
22 clear open websites, just working on name alone and
23 probably raise the importance of additional context
24 around the Act itself. So if there is a referral and
25 you go into the shop you might find other material,

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1 Is that an area in which the licensing regime, if it
2 was brought in, could bring benefit? Is there any
3 reason why reporting suspicious behaviour, falling short
4 of bulk purchase, shouldn't be mandatory as part of the
5 licensing conditions?

6 **COMMANDER CLAYMAN:** When we wrote the review our initial
7 thoughts were: you bring in licensing and part of that
8 condition would be both the mandatory and suspicious.
9 To your point, we would absolutely see that as being a
10 very specific condition of holding that licence.
11 Obviously, in the interim, we will offer it as
12 a voluntary route until such time as it would become
13 mandatory.

14 **MR MOSS:** I did get ahead of myself in asking about the
15 knives but I did have a note to come back to that and to
16 ask what, in practical terms, needs to be done to
17 increase the enforcement of the 1997 Act and potentially
18 clarity around its terms?

19 **COMMANDER CLAYMAN:** Firstly, the issue of it being under
20 used means that the expertise surrounding it is not as
21 high as we wish. I talked about the Lumen network and
22 what we are already seeing is practitioners in Forces --
23 we are not in every Force yet -- beginning to spread the
24 learning around marketing offences.

25 It is an either way offence so there are no time

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1 contact with a customer, which will actually provide
2 more evidence. Because the case law I mentioned does
3 actually talk about it is the image and the wording
4 combined that can assist with the Act. But purely
5 relying on the name alone, we just need more context.

6 Sometimes, with grey markets, as I say,
7 particularly, it is so subtle that if you or I saw it we
8 would not actually know they are selling, but to someone
9 who does know, they will immediately know that they want
10 to move them off to another platform and they are
11 selling. That alone we may struggle. We may need to
12 provide -- I'm very wary when we say expert evidence
13 because we create an industry suddenly around experts.

14 However, there is some learning that the Centre will
15 support Forces with so that they can identify and it is
16 often the communication between the seller and the
17 purchaser which provides that additional context.

18 Sometimes they are pretty overt and we even saw one
19 that said "good for stabbing"; well, thank you for that
20 tip off -- very happy. It is the clear web actually
21 where there really is a challenge and we need to do some
22 more thinking around those clear web -- just the name
23 alone, is that enough? We are seeing cases where they
24 are getting their own experts to challenge and,
25 effectively, we are having an argument over the word or

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1 inference, the way that word could be used, if you took
2 that and put it on another product. That is the sort of
3 challenge officers are finding.

4 And of course these are taking quite a long time to
5 reach -- to go to trial. The one I was talking about
6 took three/four years to get to trial. So it is a slow
7 process. But that doesn't stop us changing the
8 guidance, I would suggest.

9 **MR MOSS:** Thank you. Sticking with you, Commander Clayman,
10 but I will come to others in the panel in a moment, but
11 from your area, of the remaining gaps that you have
12 identified, which concern is right at the top of your
13 list from a national policing perspective?

14 **COMMANDER CLAYMAN:** There are a couple of things actually.
15 I look at the knife selling offences and I compare it to
16 a commodity the like drugs, and if you look at the
17 sentencing provisions between possessing and selling
18 knives, there is very little difference. And I think if
19 you compare that with the way we deal with drug
20 trafficking and the supply of drugs, there is a huge
21 difference and variance, which I do think needs to be
22 there. Someone clearly sees that the selling of knives,
23 particularly to children, is a very serious matter. At
24 the moment the sentencing is changing to two years and
25 an indictable offence. But I do think there needs to be

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1 what weapons were being used; that would be my number
2 one. If that came out of this, then that would be
3 a win.

4 **MR MOSS:** Thank you very much. Mr Green.

5 **MR GREEN:** Mindful of why I'm here and obviously the
6 information we have been -- between -- part of this, in
7 relation to violence fixated individuals, the experience
8 children are having in terms of the amount of violence
9 pushed to them; I would love to see awareness training
10 across the sector that I work in and a clear pathway for
11 support once we identify a young person.

12 **MR MOSS:** Thank you. Mr Weston?

13 **MR WESTON:** I think any legislation needs to take into
14 account the use. So if there is no use, it should be
15 a crime.

16 **MR MOSS:** Thank you. Sir, I think that brings us to our
17 scheduled end unless you had any questions particularly
18 arising from that?

19 **SIR ADRIAN FULFORD:** I don't but I do want to extend my
20 thanks to the four members of the panel. This has been
21 a very useful and extremely interesting day. I suspect
22 at least one of you has had rather a long journey, but
23 thank you very much indeed for the time and effort
24 that's gone into this. It has been of great assistance
25 to us.

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1 a stronger message between those what we call simple
2 possession versus selling, whether that's grey market.

3 Also the difficulty with knife-enabled crime is it
4 spans acquisitive crime like robbery, but it also
5 touches into serious and organised crime, county lines,
6 drug trafficking. So the knife is a common denominator,
7 yet sometimes knife-related crime is seen a lot at the
8 lower end of the scale, if you like, not necessarily as
9 a tool for serious and organised crime.

10 What we are seeing with importation, which for me is
11 the biggest risk; that for me starts to bring it into
12 that type of arena. It just gives us a separate sense
13 of how we tackle. We deal with serious and organised
14 crime sometimes a little bit differently than we do with
15 acquisitive crime and we need to position knife-enabled
16 crime.

17 It is a very difficult and challenging because it
18 steps across many different crime types. It is an NPCC
19 portfolio, it dips into children and young people,
20 intervention, supply. So it is quite challenging.

21 **MR MOSS:** Thank you. Professor Brennan, Mr Green,
22 Mr Weston, just in sentence or two each, if you would,
23 top of your list for practical action. Professor?

24 **PROFESSOR BRENNAN:** Measurement. We absolutely have to have
25 a standard way of categorising and counting knives and

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1 **MR MOSS:** Sir, with apologies to all concerned, we have
2 an early start tomorrow at 9.00~am and indeed a late
3 scheduled finish at 6.00 pm because we have two shorter
4 seminars but in the same day.

5 **SIR ADRIAN FULFORD:** So we sit at 9.00~am tomorrow?

6 **MR MOSS:** Indeed.

7 **SIR ADRIAN FULFORD:** I will rise.

8 (4.02 pm)

9 (The Inquiry adjourned until 9.00 am the following day)

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