Thursday, 12 November 2026

(9.45 am)

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Could you remain standing for a moment, thank you.

MR JUDSON HOFFMAN (affirmed)

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Thank you very much. Please have a seat. Yes, Ms Wakeman.

Questions by MS WAKEMAN

MS WAKEMAN: Thank you. Good morning. Could you just start by stating your full name for the record?

A. Judson Hoffman.

Q. Thank you. And please could we bring up on screen your witness statement, which is DISC000036. And turning to page 47 DISC000036_0047, can you confirm that you have signed your statement and that it is true to the best of your knowledge and belief?

A. I have. This does not show my signature, but I have signed --

Q. Yes, we have just redacted that for your privacy.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Can we pause for a moment. Can somebody be asked to come in to fix my live feed which is completely frozen, but Ms Wakeman, please carry on.

MS WAKEMAN: Thank you, sir.

If we could turn up page 1 DISC000036_0001 of your statement. You explain at paragraph 2 that you are the

Vice President of trust and safety at Discord and is it right that you have been in that role since 2024?

A. Yes.

Q. And that you currently lead the operations team responsible for enforcing Discord's policies?

A. Yes.

Q. Could you just give us a brief flavour of what that role involves?

A. Yes, so we publish a set of community guidelines that are incorporated into our terms of service and those community guidelines are a set of rules around how people can behave on Discord, more specifically, what they are not allowed to do and the content that they are not allowed to share. Enforcement of those rules is a very cross-functional function, but, the operations teams that are responsible for enforcing those rules fall within my remit.

Q. Thank you. And before your role at Discord, what was your career background before that?

A. Immediately prior to Discord I had a similar role at Pinterest, where I was responsible for the operations teams that are responsible for enforcing the community guidelines for Pinterest. I was there for approximately ten years. Prior to that, I had a role regarding policy, product policy specifically, at what is now

Meta, was then Facebook. And I was an in-house corporate attorney for AOL prior to that for about three years and then, in private practice, also as a corporate attorney with two different firms in the US.

Q. Thank you. So, a wealth of experience there across platforms. You explain in your statement that, like a number of other witnesses, you have been asked a good deal of information in your witness statement and you have been asked to cover a number of policy areas and I think you have had to rely on the expertise of colleagues in some instances to draw information into the statement, not everything within the statement, of course, but certainly some of the detail. Is that right?

A. Yes.

Q. But nevertheless, having pooled all of that information together, you have been authorised by Discord to sign the statement?

A. Yes.

Q. Thank you. I now just want to move to my first topic which is Discord in the UK and how it all works and specifically really what is Discord. If we look at page 3 DISC000036_0003 of your statement, paragraph 7 you say there that:

"... Discord is a global voice, video, and text

communications service."

Is that right?

A. That's right.

Q. And I understand that the focus is really on real-time communication between users, is that right?

A. That's correct, yes.

Q. It's a Category 2B service within the meaning of the Online Safety Act?

A. That's my understanding.

Q. So that means you are under some additional duties but those are not's onerous as category 1 or 2A, is that right?

A. That is an interpretation. I'm not able to make -- but that is my understanding, yes.

Q. We will come onto that if we need. As I understand it, Discord is a platform that is very popular with gamers, is that right?

A. Yes, so it was actually created in order to create an opportunity for multi-player gamers to communicate while they are playing games.

Q. And is it embedded in any way within gaming platforms or is it a standalone website?

A. It can be both. So some gaming platforms incorporate Discord and others don't, but if they don't, players can use it side-by-side.

Q. And in very simple basic terms, in terms of the functionalities, I understand that users can communicate one-on-one through direct messages?
A. That's correct.
Q. They can also send messages in a group, to a group of users?
A. Yes.
Q. And the platform is divided into what you call "servers"?
A. Yes.
Q. And is it right that those servers are essentially topic-based chat rooms, effectively?
A. Yes and those servers can actually be composed of channels which would be smaller versions of a server as well, depending on the topic.
Q. I understand. And those servers, they can be public, so that anyone can join or they can be private, so that a person has to be granted access to join, is that correct?
A. They would have to receive an invitation to join, yes.
Q. And for a server to be publicly discoverable by other users, it has to meet certain additional requirements, is that correct?
A. That's right. We have additional policies regarding the discoverability of those servers.

Q. Are you able to just give us a summary of what those requirements are?
A. It won't be comprehensive but essentially, one of the things is that the server owner needs to affirmatively say that they want it to be discoverable and then we have policies above and beyond the community guidelines regarding the type of content and activity on those servers that impose additional requirements for a server to be discoverable.
Q. Thank you. I'm not going to, in the interests of time, bring it up on screen but we have DISC000018 which sets out more comprehensively those requirements.

You mentioned earlier that within a server you can have channels and as I understand it you can have -- channels are effectively a way to organise conversations within a server and you could have a text channel, for example, with written communications, is that right?
A. That's right.
Q. But you could also have a voice channel for voice chat?
A. That's correct, yes. Within a channel you could access text or voice or video.
Q. Thank you. Is it also the case, presumably, that within a server you can communicate by text, voice or video chat?
A. Yes, that's correct.

Q. Can you also post videos and photos?
A. Yes, as an attachment. So an example would be if you are in a text conversation, you can share an attachment with others who are part of that conversation.
Q. So just to take that example, if I had a video, I could share that either just with one individual in a private message or I could share it as an attachment to a group of individuals?
A. That's correct.
Q. Is it right that Discord also has a "share your screen" function? If so, could you just explain how that operates?
A. We do. It is called "Go Live" and it is a function that allows somebody who is already a member of a server to share their screen to others within that server or that channel, up to 50 others. It is limited as to the number of people that can see it. And the idea behind that is that, as I mentioned before, Discord was created with the idea of collaboration and community around multi-player games and so it is a common thing for someone -- in fact, there are whole platforms that are built around people watching other people play those games, or to participate along with them, so to comment et cetera on what's going on in the game, that someone can share via their screen.

Q. And is there a separate ability to share just a live stream of video that isn't just sharing a screen of a television or a screen of a computer, for example?
A. The function is limited to sharing the screen, so whatever is happening on the screen, other than the attachment, which is what you had asked me about before.
Q. But the attachment wouldn't be a live video, it would be one that is pre-recorded and sent?
A. That is correct.
Q. I understand. So, to the extent that -- and we may come onto this later -- people have been able to share videos that are not of something that's happening on a screen but something that's happening in real life, how have they been able to do that on Discord's Go Live feature?
A. I guess, I'm not sure specifically what you are asking. Do you have an example that you could point me to?
Q. We will come onto it later. I think let's cross that bridge when we get to it.
A. Okay.
Q. All right. Then in terms of encryption, you say in your statement, this is page 4 DISC000036_0004, paragraph 9 (j) that:

"Text content on Discord is not end-to-end encrypted, but audio and video calls are end-to-end encrypted."

Just on a very basic level, could you explain to the Inquiry what you mean by "end-to-end encryption"?

A. Yes, so end-to-end encryption is a privacy function essentially, so if something is end-to-end encrypted only the sender and the recipient are able to see that content. The way that it has been described -- I'm not super technical, but the way that it's been described is that, essentially, like there is a lock and a key and only the sender and the receiver have access to those things. So, in particular, Discord does not have access to see what end-to-end encrypted content is.

Q. So we will go on to talk in some detail about what moderation systems that Discord has in place, but audio and video calls, Discord is not able to moderate material shared that way?

A. We are not able -- so there are moderation capabilities that we do have around the voice and video but with respect to specifically being able to either see or hear the voice or video that is being shared, we do not have access to that.

Q. So, if someone is saying something very concerning, for example, in a phone or a video call, like let's say that they are going out to commit an attack tomorrow, that specific content of the call is not something that Discord would have access to?

A. We would not to the content, no. But it would depend on what the forum or format it is. For example, if that were happening in a channel and that there was also simultaneous chat and people were talking about that, we would have access to the chat, to other information kind of around it, but not that specific content. That is correct.

Q. I understand. So you might be able to deduce things about it?

A. That is right.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: And by "chat" you mean text?

A. I'm sorry, yes.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: No, I just want to make sure.

A. Yes, that is right, my apologies.

MS WAKEMAN: But text content is not end-to-end encrypted, so that is something you are able to moderate?

A. That is, yes.

Q. And attachments, so somebody sending photos or videos, again, is that something you are able to moderate?

A. It is possible, yes.

Q. Even if it is within a private message or a private server?

A. Yes.

Q. And what about the Go Live function for screen sharing, is that something that is moderated?

A. It is moderated in the way that I have described before, but the video and the audio is end-to-end encrypted in Go Live as well. So all live audio and video on Discord is end-to-end encrypted.

Q. I understand. So if somebody is posting a live stream, you are not able to see what exactly they are posting unless there's, for example, comments on the live stream that give you a hint?

A. If they were -- in your example, so if they were sharing their screen of a live stream or something in Go Live, we would not have access to that, other than by joining the Go Live, for example.

Q. Okay and --

A. As a user would.

Q. Yes. Is that something your moderation teams would do?

A. Not usually. Mostly because there's a limitation on the number of users, for example.

Q. 50 users, as you said?

A. Yes.

Q. And if there's a Go Live in a private server, is a member of Discord's safety team able to join that?

A. Not without an invitation, no.

Q. So if someone is live streaming in a private server, you would just have the clues to what's going on, potentially, in the text content around it?

A. Yes, it might be clues, it might be because somebody has reported some content through a help centre, which is one of the options. They might also, as we encourage everyone to do, have reached out to law enforcement if something was particularly concerning, in which case law enforcement could reach out to us and then we have a very short turnaround time for our responses to law enforcement. I think the average, in the UK, to emergency disclosure requests is about 16 minutes, last I looked.

Q. Thank you. And you go on in your statement, this is now page 3 DISC000036_0003, paragraph 8, to explain that in some ways: Discord is quite distinct from other types of social media because of the architecture of the service. So there is no feed, there are no public profiles, there is no scrolling, no counting of likes and no going viral; is that right?

A. That is correct.

Q. And at page 4 DISC000036_0004, 9(d) you explain that:

"The vast majority of Discord servers are invitation-only spaces for small groups of friends and communities. Outside of discoverable servers, there is no way to search for invitation-only servers on Discord."

A. That is right.

Q. But is it possible for somebody to post a link to a private server on a third-party website, for example?
A. They could post a link. It would still require an invitation as I understand it, but I think that is correct, that it is possible to post a link.
Q. So, for example, if there was a gore website, and somebody was posting a link to say: come to this server, we have got more gore content over here for you to look at, can any user click on that link and join the server or would they have to be sent a specific invitation?
A. Sorry, just to clarify, you said "a gore website", do you mean an external website --
Q. Yes, a third-party website. Please don't name any, if you know of any.
A. Of course not. No, so, someone could share a URL of a gore website, or some other website within a server. Does that answer your question?
Q. Sorry, just to put it slightly differently. So if there is a third-party gore website, so somebody is on that website, could somebody post a link to a private Discord server on that website, to say: come over to this server and look at more content over here?
A. I believe they -- there's not a way -- I want to be careful because I'm not sure of the answer. I will have to confirm but I don't believe there is a way to provide

access to a private server without an invitation to that private server.
Q. Okay, could you take that point away and come back to us?
A. I can, yes.
Q. I'm grateful.
A. I'm not trying to be obstructive, I just want to be clear.
Q. No, of course. I understand. Thank you. You say, at 9(e), so just trying to get a sense of how people are using the platform:

"70 per cent of communications by UK users on Discord are in groups of 10 or fewer."

So quite a majority there. It is quite small groups. Is there a maximum number of users that can join the server?
A. I believe there is. I don't know what that number is.
Q. All right. Could we add that to the shopping list?
A. Of course.
Q. Could we now have a look at page 4, paragraph 9. Actually, we can take that down. You have explained in your statement that there is no feed or algorithmically-promoted content and that's a way that it differs from other platforms like, for example, TikTok, that we heard from yesterday. Is it right that

you do, however, have a "discover" page, which features recommended servers?
A. There are servers that are discoverable. So when we were talking before about the conditions upon which a server might be discoverable, for those that have satisfied those conditions, that are discoverable, there is a page that you can go, to find what those are in case you are interested in those, yes.
Q. So, is it just a search, where, for example, I can put in something I'm interested in and find a server that's publicly available about it or is there a page that sets out recommended servers?
A. I don't know the extent to which there's a recommendation element to that.
Q. All right. Would you mind taking that point away?
A. Of course, yes.
Q. Thank you. I think the point we would be particularly interested in is, if an individual was a member of servers where violent content was being shared, whether more servers might be suggested to them, that also contain that. And I appreciate you will, no doubt, say that there shouldn't be any servers with violent content on, but what I want to know is if there is any specific that would actually disqualify such servers from being recommended?

A. I understand. And it is true, I would and do say that but I would also come back to you.
Q. Of course, I understand. Thank you. Now, I want to just turn to your business model. Could we look at page 5 DISC000036_0005 and paragraphs 11-13. So, again, this is the way that Discord is a little bit different from other social media platforms. Your primary source of revenue is from selling subscriptions and digital goods to users and you give the example there that essentially, people can buy subscriptions to give better functionality within Discord. So they can pay to upload and send larger files, for example, is that right?
A. That's right.
Q. Or to stream video in high definition?
A. Yes.
Q. And they can also pay extra to share those perks with other members of a server that they are a part of?
A. Right.
Q. And you go on to explain, at 12, that you also sometimes can ask a user to play a short game, or view a short video in exchange for some sort of digital reward, which can then be used on Discord. So, presumably, the companies with those advertisements, are they paying Discord money to be there, to have that opportunity, to have people watch their --

A. That's right, yes. So, the example would be if a game publisher has a new game, they might have -- pay us to have users play that game for some period of time and then, in exchange for doing that, the users get something that they can redeem for some of the digital goods that you had mentioned before.

Q. I see and then, finally, you say that:

"... Discord [also] permits developers to create and monetise apps."

Apps are other things that "add functionality, entertainment, and productivity tools" to users. Do you want to give us some examples of what types of things people make in the apps?

A. There is lots of different things. Very often, people who have interests around particular games might create an app that would help guide them through different aspects of a game. So you had mentioned before the distinction between servers and channels and so, some of the largest servers on Discord are related to other games that people play, off of Discord. And, people may have apps that help them reach the next level and other things like that.

Q. Is there any element of creating modifications for third-party games as part of Discord in an app, or no?

A. Sorry, could you be a little more specific?

Q. For example, the Inquiry has heard evidence that some people create, for example, clothing mods to put onto characters of other games, I wonder if that's something that's sold through Discord apps?

A. I don't know the answer to that.

Q. So you are not able to assist -- or you may be able to assist with whether the apps are moderated by Discord to check that what people are selling is appropriate?

A. So, there is a function. If falls outside of my team's remit but there is a team that is responsible for moderation of apps. What I can't answer is whether or not any of those apps have the capability of changing the gameplay for the third-party games. I don't believe so, but I don't know the case.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Could we add that to the list?

A. Sure.

MS WAKEMAN: Thank you. Then just turning to user demographics. Are you able to assist the Inquiry with how many registered users there are on Discord in the UK?

A. I'm not. My understanding is that we don't share those publicly. That is something that we are happy to look into and get back to you on privately as well.

Q. Out of interest, why is it that you can't share that figure publicly? One might think that is a little bit

surprising.

A. I think it is just a matter of our being a private company, as distinct from some of the public companies that you have also seen. But that's the extent of my understanding.

Q. Does it follow, from that answer, that you also can't assist with how many servers are owned by UK users on Discord?

A. I don't know the answer to that but that's something that we can follow up with as well.

Q. Thank you. We have established earlier that you are a Category 2B service under the Online Safety Act. To be a Category 2B service you have to have an average number of monthly active UK users which exceeds 3 million users. Is that correct?

A. That's my understanding, yes.

Q. So can we take it that, as a floor to monthly active UK users, Discord has 3 million or more?

A. I think that's -- yes, I think so.

Q. Otherwise it wouldn't be Category 2B.

A. Yes.

Q. Thank you. The minimum age for users on Discord is 13, is that right?

A. That is correct.

Q. We will come on separately to teen protection that you

have in place. But are you able to assist with a split of age demographics in terms of percentage of UK users that are teen users and percentage that are 18-25? Perhaps when you come back to us with the further information?

A. Yes, I don't have those to hand but I think we should be able to provide that, yes.

Q. I'm grateful, thank you. Having set out that background, which is extremely helpful, I now want to move to look at Discord's policies.

Could we bring up, please, page 6 DISC000036_0006, paragraph 14. So you say there that:

"Safety is a top priority for Discord."

Is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. We can come back to that later, if we need to. You go on to say that:

"We have invested significantly in content moderation tools, in implementing a teen default experience in the UK, and [in] deploying age assurance, to provide safer experiences for our users and teens in particular."

A. That is correct.

Q. Are you able to assist the Inquiry with what percentage of Discord's revenue is spent on content moderation and

security measures relating to extreme violence, terrorist content and other illegal content?
A. I do not know that, to hand. The percentage revenue --
Q. But presumably, that's something that you could find out?
A. I could take that back and revert.
SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: It is a growing list, I'm afraid.
A. I understand.
MS WAKEMAN: Thank you. I understand from your statement that the primary policy that you have at Discord is what's called your "community guidelines".
A. That is correct.
Q. And they apply to everyone and everything on the platform?
A. Yes, without exception.
Q. How are those guidelines brought to users' attention?
A. They are published and I believe at sign-up, they are brought to the attention as well when you are registering for an account.
Q. If we could bring up page 8 DISC000036_0008, paragraph 24 please. I just want to set the scene for what these guidelines prohibit. So you say:
"[They] prohibit a wide range of harmful behaviour."
If we look at (a) and (b), in particular:
"Violent extremism, including the organisation,

promotion, or support of violent extremist organisations, activities or beliefs;"
Yes?
A. Yes.
Q. And:
"Violence and graphic content, including the glorification and incitement of violence, and content depicting real violence, gore or animal cruelty;"
A. Yes.
Q. As I understand it, you have policy explainers which accompany the guidelines, which essentially give more detail about what is actually meant by these?
A. Yes.
Q. And you have specific policy explainers for violent extremism and also violent and graphic content and dangerous and regulated goods?
A. Yes.
Q. Could we have a look, please, at DISC000005 which is the violent extremist explainer.
If we may look at page 2 DISC000005_0002. In that top paragraph, second sentence, you say:
"Users are not allowed to use Discord to organise, promote, or support violent extremist organisations, activities or beliefs. The term violent extremist organisation describes groups that promote a political,

ideological, or religious agenda and tolerate, advocate for, or use violence to achieve their goals."
So do I understand rightly that to fall within this policy, you do need to have a political, ideological or religious agenda?
A. As that's described, yes, that's correct. The reality of the enforcement approach is that it is actually broader. So, violence and promotion of that violence, whether or not we can direct -- or attach it specifically to a political, ideological or a religious agenda, would still be prohibited.
Q. So that's helpful. So of course, for this Inquiry, our focus we will be thinking about violence-fixated individuals who might not necessarily have a specific ideology in the traditional sense. So, as I understand your evidence, that would still fall within this policy, on the ground?
A. It would, yes.
Q. Is that an area -- if there is a difference between practice and how it is set out, is that an area that you think this ought to be amended?
A. I think it could be expanded to clarify that, yes.
Q. Then if we could bring up the violence and graphic content policy, which is DISC000006. Thank you.
If we could please look at page 2 DISC000006_0002.

You explain there, in the first paragraph:
"We do not allow the uploading or sharing of any content depicting real violence, gore, or animal cruelty. This can include content showing death, severe injury, detailed physical harm to people, harm to minors, or the infliction of pain, fear, or distress to animals."
You go on to say, in the policy -- this is looking at the last paragraph on the screen now:
"Glorification of violence means praising or celebrating physical harm that causes death, injury, or harm to others. Incitement of violence means organising, promoting or encouraging others to carry out violent acts."
Is that correct?
A. Yes.
Q. Could we turn over the page to look at page 3 DISC000006_0003, and one of the points set out at the top there is:
"Do not glorify dangerous organisations, mass murderers, or serial killers."
Is that correct?
A. Yes.
Q. Thank you. I just want to understand how this policy is applied. So for example, if there was a video of

a fictional character committing violence or gore, would that fall outside the policy? Because it seems, if we go back a page DISC000006_0002, to be focused at real violence or gore or animal cruelty?

A. Yes, so I think an example there would be, you know, popular film, games, that sort of thing, it would fall outside of this. There's a distinction that's attempted to be made there.

Q. Yes and I understand that obviously, say, an 18-plus film showing some violence, I could understand there would be legitimate reasons why that might fall outside this policy, but of course, particularly with the rise of generative AI, people are able to create their own videos and what I have in mind here is something far more extreme, for example, than what might be shown in film, news or documentary. If it is a fictional character that's committing the violence, would that fall outside the policy?

A. I think -- so this gets into a level of detail that people on my team are tasked with determining. But in general, my understanding is that, if it is not clear that it is fictional, that it would fall within this policy. But if there's something that clarifies the fictional basis of it -- for example, I don't think that there is a threshold of popularity, for example, that

would be the determining factor. It would be whether or not it was clear that this was fictional versus potentially real.

Q. So if you had a video game character that's depicted carrying out a mass shooting at school in quite some detail at a video, would that fall within this?

A. I think there are other elements other than just fictional or not. So, I would have to see the specific example of what it is and everything that would go into that, but I don't believe that simply the fact that it was clearly fictional would exempt it from this policy.

Q. All right. Could we just go back a page on the policy. So page 2 DISC000006_0002. So the policy says "real violence, gore or animal cruelty". I think, as I understand your evidence, you are saying that it may be more nuanced than that in practice, in that some videos might still be caught?

A. I think that may be true, yes.

Q. Yes. Is that another area where you think that the policy ought to catch up with what's being done in practice --

A. It could be, yes.

Q. -- and amended? And what about AI generative videos or images of -- which look lifelike? So for example, you could have a well known celebrity, AI generated, going

out to commit a mass atrocity, where does that fall on the real-fictional scale?

A. As I mentioned before, I think the onus is on the creator to identify -- clearly identify whether or not it is real. So if there is -- if there is no indication that it is not real, that it is in a farce, et cetera, it would fall within this policy.

Q. But say it is a hyper-realistic video, the person says in the caption this is AI generated, they are very open about that. Is that not just as harmful for someone to view as a real video?

A. I'm not sure. I guess, I would have to see the specific example to apply the policy.

Q. So you are not able to comment on whether a hyper-realistic video showing an AI-generated person would be, in your view, just as dangerous for somebody to watch?

A. I would have to see the specifics of it.

Q. Is that not the type of content that your teams are used to dealing with, given the onslaught of generative AI videos that we are dealing with?

A. I am not sure of the percentage of generative AI content versus other, but I will acknowledge, for sure, that it has increased over the past couple of years.

Q. Right.

A. And it is a challenge that we are working on across a number of avenues in order to be able to try to identify it and moderate it, yes.

Q. Because, as an outsider looking in, that looks like a key gap in this policy?

A. I'm not sure it is. I guess that's what I'm saying, is that there are lots of factors that go into the application of the policy. This is the policy explainer. There are very specific guidance and standard operating procedures that are provided to the people who are moderating the content itself, that go into much greater detail than what the policy explainer does publicly.

Q. Yes, but is one of the roles of the policy explainer -- is it not that you want to put off people from posting this material in the first place, so, in fact, it is actually important to make publicly clear what is going to be violating?

A. I do agree with that, yes.

Q. Thank you. We don't need to bring up the terms of service but you have very helpfully disclosed those at DISC000001 and they state that your users must adhere to the community guidelines.

So is it right that if somebody breaches the community guidelines, that's effectively a breach of

your terms of service and is it right that that gives you a power to take action against them?
A. Yes.
Q. So it may be that you suspend their account, terminate the account or take some other action that you think is appropriate?
A. Yes.
Q. Thank you. Please may we look at page -- bottom of page 9 DISC000036_0009, start of page 10, paragraph 26(c) of the statement. Thank you.
This is the "Off-Platform Behaviours Policy". You say that your guidelines outline the rules and content that they must follow when using the service and your off-platform behaviours policy adds another layer to those rules, focusing specifically on activity that occurs off Discord. So:
"The term off-platform behaviour refers to any activity that does not occur directly on Discord, whether on other online platforms or in the physical world. [It] covers activity including the physical harm of others or that presents a risk of causing physical harm to others."
You say that you will:
"... only take action under [the] policy [where] you have a high confidence that ... harmful activity has

taken place and high confidence linking it to an account [on the] server."
So, is it the case that this policy is operated both proactively and reactively, in the sense that you might be told by a third party that somebody has committed something, committed a crime, for example, caused harm to others and you go off and investigate that?
A. Yes.
Q. Do you also proactively take steps? So for example, say there is a widely published atrocity on the news, would you also go out and -- particularly, if there is a suggestion in the news reporting that there has been an online element -- would you go out and check, to see if there was a Discord account that might have been associated?
A. Yes, we do and we have a team that's staffed 24/7 in order to do that. So -- you know, it may be for news, it may be as a result of something or intelligence that we receive. The idea is that if we -- as I mentioned in that last sentence -- if we have high confidence that that's occurred, the first thing that we are doing is checking to see whether there is a connection. So the best example would be if someone had committed some sort of a crime or atrocity, we look to see whether they have accounts and then the investigation goes into the

servers, the channels they are members of, the people they are connected with, et cetera. And in most of those cases, we remove those accounts and preserve them. Sometimes we will proactively report that to law enforcement. But we will always preserve it, in anticipation of a request from law enforcement for that evidence.
Q. I'm going to come onto law enforcement in some detail later but since you have just mentioned it now, what would be the threshold for deciding whether or not to make that report, or whether to just retain the records?
A. There are a number of conditions that go into that. I don't have them at hand but as I mentioned before, we have a set of standard operating procedures that the team that is responsible for that abide by. And so there are a number of separate conditions.
Q. I understand, thank you. It may be that we cover it later but if we don't, could I ask that that's another point that to you write to the Inquiry --
A. I can organise that, yes.
Q. You say there, in the passage that we have on screen, that it can be off-platform behaviour, so either in the physical world, which we have covered already, or on other online platforms. Are you able to assist, just in very general terms, with how often another online

platform is coming to you to say they have got concerning behaviour of another user?
A. I'm not sure that I'm able -- not because it's confidential or anything else, it is just because this is something that is an ongoing thing that a number of my teams actually are doing all the time. I don't know and don't have an estimate as to how often that's happened. What I will say is that we have intelligence sharing agreements with many other platforms in order to allow us to share that type of information with one another, to make sure that we are co-operating when bad actors are moving from one platform or another or are committing policy violations or legal violations on other platforms where we might be of assistance or vice versa.
Q. I'm not asking you about the specifics of intelligence that you might share with other platforms, but are you able to assist with how often or frequently it is the case that Discord is reporting to other platforms concerns about a user?
A. I don't know how often across all of those agreements. I will just say that the communications, both directly, through bilateral intelligence sharing agreements and then also through groups that we are a member of, GIFCT being one of the best examples, the Global Internet

Forum to Counter Terrorism, and similar organisations where information sharing is -- essentially, it is an ongoing function of membership of those organisations.

Q. All right. We will come back to information sharing between platforms later.

A. Okay.

Q. Specifically thinking about what this Inquiry is concerned with, of course, when Discord first learned of the Southport attacks, were any checks done, under this policy or otherwise, to see whether AR may have had an account or activity on Discord?

A. Yes.

Q. And what was the result of those enquiries?

A. We did not find any.

Q. Right. Would Discord be able to provide the Inquiry in writing with some explanation as to what searches were done?

A. I think so, I can revert back.

Q. Thank you.

A. I will mention just that -- well. I will revert back, yes -- concerned about confidentiality.

Q. Thank you. I now want to move to think about teen user protections on Discord. Could we please turn up page 29 DISC000036_0029, paragraph 101. You explain there that

teen accounts start with:

"... profile visibility set to Friends Only, meaning only confirmed friends can see their profile details and profile-level activity by default; others see a limited profile."

They may adjust these controls where permitted. We will come onto age assurance later. But would they need to go through age assurance to take off those safeguards?

A. Yes, I believe so.

Q. Thank you. What information would be -- let's say someone manages to get through the hoop of age assurance, what type of information would somebody have displayed on their profile, typically?

A. The profile itself is something that the person is able to customise themselves. So it could be any range of information that they would choose to put on their profile.

Q. Okay. So would it be a photo?

A. It could be.

Q. Full name or contact details?

A. If they chose to put that information on there, yes.

Q. Thank you. What about age?

A. I think so. I believe -- I'm not positive, but I believe that there are some just free communication

fields.

Q. Okay, free text?

A. Yes, exactly.

Q. Does information on profiles get moderated at all?

A. Yes, they do.

Q. And then you set out some other safety controls which are at pages -- they start on page 32 DISC000036_0032 at paragraph 109. You say there is a:

"... set of default protections for ... teen users designed to be non-bypassable ... backed by age verification ..."

And just to pick out a few. So "Message requests", that's at (a). You say:

"The message Requests inbox is applied to all messages from non-friend server members to UK teen users -- not just to requests sent by members of larger shared servers -- and teen users cannot disable this control without completing age verification ..."

Is that -- somebody who is not a friend of the teen user but is in the same server, if they send a private message, is it that it gets delivered to a separate inbox?

A. Yes.

Q. Can they still access the inbox?

A. If they go through the age assurance protocol.

Q. I see, so it is a type of filtering?

A. Yes.

Q. Thank you. And (b) is the "Sensitive content filter". You say the sensitive content filter "automatically obscure[s] potentially sensitive media sent to teens [and you say] DMs and GDMs ..."

Is that direct messages and group direct messages?

A. That is right.

Q. "... and in servers. In particular, Discord offers a Graphic Media Filter that helps detect image-based media that may contain violent or potentially disturbing visual material, including gore and sexually explicit content."

A. That is right.

Q. And:

"Full obscuration is enabled by default for teen users."

Just to understand what is actually being -- so it is effectively blurring out, is it?

A. That is right.

Q. Presumably, when you refer to gore and violent material, is that material that is okay to be on the platform, in the sense that it doesn't violate your community guidelines?

A. Yes. So most of this is actually identified through

machine learning models which are essentially predicting whether it might. So, in most cases, it is not that it's necessarily confirmed, it is just out of an abundance of caution. A machine learning model identifies that it may be falling into one of those categories and then it is obscured.

Q. So the machine learning, for example, let's say we have a violent scene from an 18-plus film, it would review that and assess that it is violent, so teenagers shouldn't be looking at it, but it is okay to be on the platform, is that right?

A. That could be an example, yes.

Q. If there's material that has slipped through the net, in the sense that it's gore content that would be in violation of your policies, is it likely that the content filter would come up for that, given that it might be able to detect it is violent but it might make the wrong call about whether it is violent in or out of the policy?

A. I'm sorry, I didn't fully follow your question. Could you --

Q. I'm just trying to understand, if you have got a video which, let's say, is in violation of your policy, but it slips through the net. So it is uploaded onto Discord as an attachment. Is it likely that the machine

learning would apply the content filter to it, even though it shouldn't be in there in the first place?

A. I don't know -- that's a technical question that's beyond my remit. I'm not exactly sure. I mean, there are two separate, essentially, like two separate gates and so it is possible that one might miss it but the other would catch it, or vice versa.

Q. Yes, I was just getting to the point that it seems like it might be easier for a machine to detect, violent or not, versus violent within the meaning of the policy, or outside the policy?

A. That's possible, yes. And it depends on the inputs for the machine learning model and the way that it is tuned, essentially, by the product and engineering teams.

Q. And it is right, isn't it, that this content filter protection, you would need to go through age assurance to turn that off?

A. Yes.

Q. I just want to pick up -- there is a slight discrepancy in the way these filters are described as applying in some of your policies. So could we first look at DISC000021.

So this is the -- is this the explainer on Discord sensitive content filters?

A. It appears to be, yes. It appears to be one of the

safety centre articles.

Q. Thank you. If we could have a look at page 3 DISC000021_0003 and the top paragraph that's in bold. So this is talking about the sensitive content filters. It says:

"These filters currently can detect sensitive content in image-based media. They do not detect sensitive content in videos."

So: images, yes; videos, no. Could we just hold that in mind and then look at DISC000029. This is -- is this a help centre article on age assurance?

A. Yes.

Q. Could we look at page 12 DISC000029_0012. Right at the bottom of the page and it is going into page 13. Could we just scroll up slightly so we can see the subheading. This is "content safety filters" and it may be there is a distinction here between the sensitive filter and the content filter, you will explain to me if so. But it says, just on the page break:

"These filters only apply to images and videos. They do not scan messages, voice, or calls ..."

Which of those is right? Is the system protecting teens against videos by applying the filter?

A. I don't -- I can't explain the discrepancy, I will have to go back and check. I think one of those might be

that because we are constantly improving the capabilities of the machine learning models and the other tools that we have available, sometimes that's changing and one might lead behind the other. So I suspect that that's what this is, is that this is a more recent article. The other one was months old and this was a few weeks old, at least from the time of printing. So I suspect that that's probably the reason for that discrepancy.

Q. So the correct one, in your evidence, is that the filters will apply to images and videos?

A. I believe so. I don't know the extent of the videos. For example, one of the things I do know is that many videos are represented by a thumbnail, for example, of a static image within the video and that would certainly be covered and so that may be one of the applications to the original reference to the videos. But I would have to check, because things are evolving constantly.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Mr Hoffman, there's going to be at least one break during your evidence. Is this something that's going to take a while to get an answer to, or would you be able to secure an answer to some of the things, and particularly this item, during the course of the break?

A. I will ask. I'm not sure. Obviously, there is a fairly

significant time difference between here and the US as well and we are coming off a bank holiday from yesterday also. So I can try during that break.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Yes, I think if it is not information that's going to come from somebody who is accompanying you to this hearing, then I'm not going to ask you to try and wake someone up to give an answer.

A. I appreciate that. Yes, I think it is unlikely.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: That's fine.

A. If I am able to learn that information when I come back, of course, I will offer it.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: But do not go to ridiculous lengths to try to find an answer.

A. I appreciate that, thank you.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Ms Wakeman, I am conscious that we were very unfair on the stenographer yesterday and I'm completely in your hands, but once we have been going for an hour, I want you then, please, to find at least an opportunity so that we can take a five-minute break, if not a longer one.

MS WAKEMAN: Yes. I wonder if I may -- I have one short topic on age assurance. It should be about five minutes and then we can finish, thank you.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Thank you.

MS WAKEMAN: So just before we move to age assurance, I have

picked out a few of the teenage safety features. You have obviously covered it more comprehensively in your statement, but was there anything else you particularly wanted to draw the Inquiry's attention to, or were those the main points?

A. I think those are the main points. I would reaffirm, as I mentioned before, that this is an ongoing process and I think, you know, as we think about the prioritisation of the work that we do on the safety side, there are kind of two overlapping considerations that contribute to that prioritisation. So the first one is teen safety, or child safety -- we use "teen" to indicate the 13 to 18-year-old -- and then the other one is the possibility of real-world harm. And the reason for all of these features and the prioritisation matrix that we put together, essentially, is that where those two overlap, is where we end up with the highest prioritisation and the highest investment of resources.

Q. All right, thank you. On age assurance then, could we look at page 42 DISC000036_0042 of the statement, paragraph 138. You explain there that from 24 July 2025, Discord implemented revised age assurance processes for UK users, which reflected the -- you say, the requirements in Ofcom's code of practice. And in terms of just understanding how that works in practice,

you go on, at the next paragraph, 139 to say that you initially rely on:

"... self-declared age as a ... age assurance this had that controls whether a user can access the [platform]."

So by that, you mean a prompt comes up, you are asked to input a date of birth and the user enters it, is that right?

A. That is right.

Q. If somebody enters and they put in a date of birth that is under 13 years old, what happens?

A. They are refused an account and then we have things in place -- without going into great detail because of the methods -- we have things in place to ensure that if they were to come back and try by entering a date that would make them 13 years old, or whatever, that that would still be refused.

Q. Thank you. If somebody enters an age between 13 and 18, what happens then?

A. So then they are allowed an account and the teen default settings apply to that account, unless they were to go through the age assurance process.

Q. Thank you. If somebody gives an age that is over 18, what happens in that instance?

A. The same thing, actually. So it still starts with

a teen default settings and then they are prompted, on different conditions, to go through the age assurance process.

Q. Thank you. And so, effectively, everyone has to go through the additional age assurance to unlock the teen controls?

A. That is correct.

Q. What features can you still access before you unlock the teen control? So can you join private and public servers?

A. Yes, you can join servers, you can add friends. I think we had spoken before about what's required there but, you know, if I, for example, were to join and knew your username, then I can type in that username and create a friend request and direct message, join group direct messages or servers.

Q. In terms of actually when someone is prompted to go through the age verification, could we scroll down slightly in the statement to look at 141, slightly further down so we can see (a) and (b). We have redacted the details which I don't need to go into. But essentially there are two options to age verify. One is facial age estimation?

A. That is correct.

Q. And going down to (b), the other is an ID document scan?

A. That is right.
Q. On the ID scan -- I'm not asking you to reveal the content of the redactions, but are you able to assist, if you can publicly, with what the ID is actually checked against. Is it to check a name match, or something else?
A. So, it is -- the identification is checked against -- so it is an identification accompanied by a selfie and so it is a comparison between the images in the selfie and on the identification and then the information within the identification.
Q. I understand. And lastly on this age assurance point, could we bring up DSIT000072. This is an Ofcom report from July of this year on the use of age assurance. Could we look at page 64 DSIT000072_0064, please.
If we could zoom in on that top paragraph, thank you. So this is focusing on the other option that's not ID, it would be your facial age estimation. Ofcom, in their report, have said that BILETA, which I understand is the British and Irish Law, Education and Technology Association:
"... raised concerns about the accuracy of facial age estimation and whether these systems can be 'defeated' by user behaviour, giving the example that the facial age estimation systems used by Reddit and

Discord could reportedly be tricked with images of an adult character from a video game."
Are you aware of that finding?
A. I'm generally aware of that finding, yes.
Q. And since that report in mid-July, has that been addressed?
A. Yes. So, the implementation of the facial age estimation is something that falls outside of my remit but it is obviously something, as a result of my responsibility for enforcement of safety policies, that I'm generally aware of. We use a third-party provider for the age estimation and that was something that was identified and immediately fixed. As you can imagine, they are also -- as we are always improving our systems, they are also doing the same.
Q. So you are confident that when we have Ofcom come to give evidence next week, if we ask them whether this issue has been fixed, they would be able to say that it has?
A. My understanding is that it has been fixed, yes.
Q. Thank you. Finally on this point, we heard evidence from TikTok yesterday that they monitor the number of suspected underage accounts that they remove and then they publish them in a quarterly report.
Are you aware that TikTok does that?

A. Sorry, can you repeat that? What type of --
Q. They monitor the number of suspected underage accounts that they have removed.
A. Okay.
Q. So it is accounts that were able to be opened but they suspect they are underage so they have taken them off the platform.
A. I understand.
Q. Do you have statistics of how many suspected underage accounts Discord has removed?
A. Not to hand. I don't know the extent to which we have published those.
SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Add to the list.
A. Okay.
MS WAKEMAN: Thank you. Thank you, sir, we will pause there. Can we have a five-minute break?
SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Certainly and then we will have a longer break a bit later, is that the plan?
MS WAKEMAN: Once we finish this witness, who should be finished by about 11.30 am, we will have a longer break.
SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: That's excellent. So, five minutes. I will sit again at 10.55 am.
(10.50 am)
(A short break)
(10.56 am)

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Thank you very much. Yes, Ms Wakeman.
MS WAKEMAN: Thank you. Sir, my next topic is content moderation on Discord. Could we please look at page 15 DISC000036_0015, paragraph 35.
You explain there that you have a mixture of -- could we just scroll up and look at the paragraph above, apologies. So you have proactive efforts to moderate, reactive methods and also community moderation, is that right?
A. That's right.
Q. And I'm not going to go into the specifics of how your proactive moderation works but is it right that it is a mixture of human and AI moderation?
A. Yes.
Q. And you say at page 18 DISC000036_0018, paragraph 45 that when harmful content is flagged by machine learning models that may be flagged for a human specialist to review. So is that in some but not all cases?
A. Yes, in some but not all cases.
Q. How is that decided, without going into the specifics, is that based on severity or perceived risk?
A. Yes, so there are a number, severity, perceived risk, likelihood. Machine learning models, in some instances, can take action on their own, that's if it achieves a certain confidence threshold, that is always -- that

we are always trying to improve. But if falls into a particularly harmful category or if it is right on that line, or below a line, then we will send it for human review to make sure.

Q. Is it that the machine learning does the first pass essentially and then it gets escalated or is there some human review at the first stage as well?

A. In general, we have machine learning and other things that are operating to try to identify --

Q. I don't want to go behind anything that's redacted so we will leave that. Could we bring up IWS000057, please.

Just for context, these are some messages which were obtained from AR's brother's mobile device which were sent on Discord. I just want to pick out a couple of points. This is a line of questioning on behalf of the families and the victims.

So looking at the bottom line of the table. The brother, AR's brother is saying "the risk of him doing something potentially fatal is the major concern" and if we turn over the page, he says:

"... my brother can be violent so [he] has to be a bit careful."

And fourth paragraph from the bottom:

"The fights are scary because of the danger of some[body] dying."

So would these types of private messages -- as I understand your evidence, these would be moderated?

A. It is possible that they are moderated. We are not constantly scanning all private messages for content like this. And so the way that it would be moderated, if it were, would be either if one of the parties to the message were to report it to us, in which case that would be reviewed, or if one of our models that are using not the content of the messages specifically but metadata or behavioural information, other information around it, would cause us to essentially open an investigation into it.

Q. Let's say that these messages had been flagged, what, if anything, do you think Discord would have done about it?

A. I hesitate to offer an opinion on that as a hypothetical. It doesn't appear to me as if the policies would be violated as a result of the conversation between two people where one is concerned about a brother. If, for example, something were in the messages where there was a specific threat, a specific, credible and imminent threat that was identified, then that would be something that would have been proactively reported to law enforcement.

Q. Yes. And thinking about your off-platform policy in particular that we covered earlier, that only applies

where there's a -- there has to be a high confidence linking something to an account or server, as I understand it. So if there was no suggestion that this activity -- even though it concerns off-platform behaviour, if there's not anything linking it to a Discord account, would that mean it is unlikely that action would be taken?

A. Well, it depends -- so I believe and I did review these messages. I think that this message in particular, or this thread of messages, happened prior to July of 2024, if I'm not mistaken?

Q. Yes.

A. So it is prospective, so then that is correct. As I mentioned before, the off-platform behaviour policy applies when something -- we have high confidence that something has happened off-platform already.

Q. We can take that down, thank you. If we have a more extreme and overt example, if there was a message sent privately on Discord, somebody saying that they have a friend who's told them they are going to go out and kill someone tomorrow, at this place, for example, is that something that would fall within the off-platform behaviour policy because it is not linked to an account or server, necessarily?

A. It wouldn't fall into the off-platform behaviour policy

but, again, meeting the thresholds of credibility, specificity and imminence, which, depending on the set of facts that you are putting together would, it would be reported proactively to law enforcement. So it wouldn't necessarily implicate that policy but it would be proactively reported.

Q. I understand, but of course, only if it is picked up by your systems?

A. That is right.

Q. So it is only as good as the systems are?

A. That is right, yes.

Q. And in terms of accounts that are banned, in terms of ability to sign up again on Discord, that's something I want to explore. Could we look at page 17 DISC000036_0017, paragraph 42 of your statement. You say there that you have:

"... internal tools that identify new accounts belonging to previously banned users to prevent those users from rejoining the service."

I'm not going to ask you the specifics about that but the information in your statement is before the Chair about that.

Could we look at page 37 DISC000036_0037, paragraph 117 please. This is a table that Discord has provided, which sets out, in the far right column, the

number of accounts disabled in the year March 2025 to March 2026 and we can see, for "violent and graphic content" the number was 8,474.

Are you able to assist with how many of those accounts tried to sign up to Discord again and either Discord identified that on sign-up and didn't permit them to sign up, or Discord later found they had returned and were able to re-sign-up and were discovered later?

A. I don't know, as I sit here, to hand.

Q. But you can find those out for the Inquiry?

A. I believe I can, yes. I can certainly inquire, yes.

Q. Thank you. We can take that down, thank you. So we have covered, in some detail there, proactive -- and the detail is in your statement for which we are grateful. We have reactive, which, as I understand it, would that be responding to user reports, so if someone flags a particular piece of content as breach of policy?

A. Yes. It could be users, it could be law enforcement, it could be -- in some cases, we will work with third-party, like corporate intelligence, vendors. Or other groups, like I had mentioned GIFCT or others, where we might receive information outside of our own independent efforts to find it.

Q. Thank you. And then, finally, community moderation,

which, as I understand it, is that there are individuals within a server who will volunteer, effectively, to administrate and moderate that server, is that right?

A. It is. The thing that is important to note though is that those community moderators are allowed to essentially enforce policies above and beyond the ones that we have in place under our community guidelines. So we are not relying on community moderators to perform the enforcement functions that we have been talking about. The example would be if -- we allow somebody, if they create a server -- and this is a silly example, but it is illustrative, if they had a server around love of dogs, they could put a rule in place, that says: I don't want any conversations about cats, we are only talking about dogs. So they can enforce those rules, essentially as a community moderator, and say: we are taking down this message or kicking you out of this server because you are talking about cats not dogs.

Q. I understand. So it is not enforcing Discord's rules, it might be additional rules that the server has decided to put in place?

A. Exactly. And obviously, they have all the same capabilities that any other user would have to report content or behaviour that violates our community guidelines. But we don't rely on them for that.

Q. Could we please have up on screen NCA000032. Page 33 NCA000032_0033. And it is paragraph 121. This is the witness statement of an officer from the National Crime Agency. We see, at paragraph 121, that in December 2025 the NCA "issued an industry alert on Com networks to raise awareness", which she exhibits:

"[It] made recommendations on how platforms can better prevent and detect offending and safeguard users. [And] in relation to Com offending ..."

It recommended a number of measures to improve online safety. The Inquiry has those alerts but they are redacted. So I just ask if you don't refer to the content of them.

Firstly, well, did Discord receive those notifications?

A. I believe we did.

Q. Again, being careful to avoid referring to any of the content, is Discord able to confirm whether it changed any of its policies, detection or moderation mechanisms in direct response to that alert?

A. I'm not aware of any specific changes. I believe that we were already doing all of the things that had been recommended. We had -- we are very aware of the Com, and in fact, I have a portion of my team that is focused on that type of behaviour in the Com specifically and

has been working on that since, I believe, 2021, when we first became aware of a similar organisation called 764 and alerted law enforcement of that.

So, we did and do comply with the recommendations.

Q. All right. Please could we look at page 34 DISC000036_0034 of your statement and this is paragraph 111. This is -- now, I just want to take a step back, now that we have had a whistlestop tour through the moderation mechanisms and the safety features on Discord. Could we just scroll down to see the text over the page break as well. So you explain there that you measure effectiveness of your safety and content moderation procedures in several ways. I just want to focus on the first way. The other two, we have helpfully in the statement. But you say that you have "harm or process-specific dashboards", which monitor the "overall state of content moderation efforts". Is that right?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you able to give the Inquiry an indication of what that dashboard is currently saying, in very broad terms, are you content with what it is telling you in terms of the effectiveness of moderation?

A. So, we are never content on safety. We are always trying to do better. I would say that I think that the

approach that we are taking right now feels responsible but I mean, something that we talk about all the time is that there's no finish line to safety. We are always trying to improve, which is why we are working on all of the things that we have spoken about before.

The dashboards that I'm referencing there are something that we -- it is a constant review. More than daily, it is real time, that we are monitoring the effectiveness of our methods, the response to appeals, a number of different factors that help us understand the effectiveness of the overall programme.

Q. All right. How well do you think Discord is doing, in terms of actually keeping violent content off its platform?

A. I guess, it is subjective. I would say I think we are doing well but we are not satisfied and we will probably never be satisfied. We are always trying to do better.

Q. Thank you. Looking at data now that you hold about illegal and harmful content on your platform, could we bring up page 35 DISC000036_0035, paragraph 113.

You say, at the bottom half of the paragraph:

"... we do not track the number of times a user views a piece of content on the service or impressions on content, regardless of whether the content was deemed violative of our Community Guidelines."

Is that right?

A. That's right.

Q. So you have no -- so you do not track whether you have users who are repeatedly or habitually viewing violent material, which later gets taken down for violating guidelines?

A. So, we are not able to track that based on impressions. So there are other things that can indicate -- you know, membership in particular servers or conversations to the extent that those have become available for investigation et cetera, but because, as I mentioned earlier in the paragraph, the impression tracking is something that's more commonly developed and has been developed for social media companies that have different business models. We just don't have that --

Q. Yes, because engagement is driving their business model.

A. Exactly.

Q. But for you, you have taken a choice not to track how many times people are viewing a piece of content?

A. Using impressions as the source, that is correct. As I mentioned, there are other ways that we can identify the extent to which somebody has, over time, viewed or engaged with either other users, or servers, or et cetera. But we don't have the capability on the impression side.

Q. So that's looking at potentially users that they are communicating with and servers they are a member of, but it is not directed at the content?

A. Not, on an impression basis, that is correct.

Q. So you would also have no way of knowing, if there was a particularly horrendous or vile piece of content, if one user had sat down and watched that hundreds of times, that wouldn't be something that you would be aware of?

A. I don't believe so, yes.

Q. And if an individual user was viewing content of increasingly escalating severity, you would also have no way of knowing that, would you?

A. I don't know if that's true. We would not know, based on the impression data, as I have mentioned before.

Q. You might know if they are joining increasingly concerning servers, but --

A. Or were more active within them, that type of thing might be available.

Q. Do you accept that that type of information that we have just discussed would be extremely useful, in terms of trying to protect the public from the risks posed by violence-fixated individuals?

A. Yes, I think it would be useful, alongside the other things that we do track, probably.

Q. And presumably, it is a metric that you can track, it is just one that you are not choosing to; is that right?

A. I don't know the answer to that. I don't know that we have the capability. Again, because it is one that's typically been developed for companies with other business models.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Could you ask those with whom you are going to be speaking afterwards, first of all, whether this is possible, as it were, theoretically, and (b) what the barriers would be for Discord doing that?

A. Yes, of course.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Thank you very much.

MS WAKEMAN: Thank you.

But I think, as you have already alluded to, Discord is able to track the users that another user connects with and the servers that they are a member of?

A. We are, yes.

Q. Again, I don't want to try and trespass into parts of your statement that have been redacted, so take care when answering, but are those metrics that are monitored to identify individuals of concern that might need to be reported to law enforcement?

A. Yes.

Q. Through machine learning, or human review?

A. A combination of both.

Q. Right.
A. And I guess, I would add there are other non-machine learning automation tools that we use as well, that kind of are in between a human and machine learning.
Q. Could we keep with the text on the screen but scroll down so we have the page break. It says there:
"... Discord does not hold data on the amount of violent content that is 'currently accessible' on Discord."
Why not?
A. Excuse me, let me just read this. *(Pause)*.
So I think that the reason is similar to the one that I had given before around the impression-based data. So, obviously, if we have content that is violent enough that it has violated our policies, that content is removed. I don't know the answer to the extent to which or why we don't have information regarding non-violative content that might be categorised as violent.
Q. But do you not hold metrics internally on the efficacy -- estimating, at the very least, the efficacy of your moderation processes? There must be some scoping there of what you think possibly is out there versus what you are managing to capture, or is that a complete unknown?

A. I don't know that it is a complete unknown but the focus that my team and those of us who are responsible for content moderation have, is whether or not a particular piece of content is violative and if it is violative, obviously, as I mentioned before, we will remove it and take the enforcement actions that are attendant to that but if it is not, then that's not a piece of content that we would continue to focus on. We would move on to the next possibly violent piece.
Q. So you are only aware of those bits of content that have come to your attention and you are reviewing against your policies? You've not done scoping of what might be out there?
A. I don't have access to that, if we have, no.
Q. All right. Could we go back to -- this is the table we had up earlier -- page 38. Sorry page 37 DISC000036_0037. Thank you. So we see there the table about the number of accounts disabled. So if we take the "violent extremism" and "graphic and violent content" rows together, give or take, we are talking about 10,500 accounts disabled on those bases within the one-year period March 2025 to March 2026. Is that right?
A. I believe that's right, yes.
Q. And you have not been able to publicly confirm account

figures for users in the UK. So we will take the baseline of -- we know, because you are Category 2B, it is more than 3 million monthly active users. So one might think that the true number of UK users may well be quite significantly higher, but I want to give you the benefit of the doubt here. We will go with 3 million. Looking at that as a percentage, 10,000 accounts out of about 3 million actually being disabled for these reasons, that would be netting out at a percentage of about 0.0035 per cent.
One might think that that's a very small percentage of accounts being removed and it might either suggest that your moderation efforts are incredibly effective or it might suggest that Discord is only really skimming the surface of finding accounts which are violating its terms for these reasons. Which is it?
A. So, my hope and intention is that it is the former. I think the other thing that may also be intimated from that would be that the vast majority of people that are using Discord are using it in the exact way that it is intended, to be spending time with friends, playing games et cetera, as opposed to abusing the platform and not only that, but being able to, at some point, evade all of the content moderation practices and models and everything else that we have in place.

Q. All right. If we look at paragraph 121 on page 38 DISC000036_0038. You say there, that:
"In 2026, 91% of servers removed globally for violent extremism were identified and removed by Discord proactively ..."
You don't, in the statement, provide a similar figure for violent and graphic content servers that were identified and removed proactively. Can we give that to you as a takeaway point, to come back on?
A. Of course.
Q. Thank you. We don't necessarily need to bring it up on screen, in the interests of time, but I flagged to you beforehand that there was a discrepancy in the figures between Discord's transparency report, which, for the record, is at DIC000030, and the figures that you give in the statement. Are you able to confirm which figures the Inquiry should be relying on?
A. Yes. The correct figures are those that we provided the Inquiry. There was an error in the transparency report that we have since corrected.
Q. Thank you. So the transparency report, has that been re-issued?
A. It has been updated. It is available online and so it has been updated, yes.
Q. We have talked a lot there about data. I'm not going to

take you through all the evidence, but we have heard from a number of NGOs, and other organisations of that kind, that have flagged how useful it would be to their efforts to detect VFIs or address the risks posed by VFIs if they could better access to platform data. Is that something you -- do you already facilitate access to -- of platform data to independent researchers?

A. So this is outside of my remit as well but I do believe, through participation with a number of groups, I think I had mentioned GIFCT before, I believe that is one, but there are a handful of those with whom we do share some data, I believe.

Q. Would Discord, in principle, be willing to provide anonymised or aggregated data for studies that might be researching the link between exposure to violence online and real-world violence?

A. I think that is something that would do, or at least a portion of that. But I can definitely take that back to the people who are responsible for that and ask.

Q. Thank you. I want to move to my next topic which is the particular risks which the design of Discord's platform might pose, in terms of the actual architecture of the platform.

The NCA's view, when we heard evidence from them in October, was that Discord might attract Com networks

because it is connected to the gaming community and is a platform where young people gather -- it is my words, not theirs, but I'm summarising the evidence. Is that something that you are aware of?

A. I'm not aware of a connection between Com and gaming. I guess, I alluded to this before, but the architecture and the intention of Discord is around creating community and playing games. It is absolutely contrary to everything that the Com --

Q. Just to pause there. The point being made by the NCA was that Discord is a platform connected to the gaming community and so it is where young people gather and it is that which attracts the Com network to Discord. I wonder if that was a risk you are aware of?

A. I mean, obviously as I mentioned before, protection of young users is at the top of our list and young users have been -- we have found have been victims of the Com. And similar groups.

Q. Thank you. Could we bring up ILT000310 and this is a presentation that the Institute for Strategic Dialogue gave to the Inquiry. Are you familiar with them as an organisation?

A. Very generally.

Q. All right. Could we please look at the slide on page 9 ILT000310_0009. So, this was an attempt to map

platforms in terms of specific features they had which might be risky for these -- be risks related to these networks. You can see there, the Discord logo; that's right in the middle of the diagram, isn't it?

A. Yes.

Q. So we can see that you are providing the combination of ability to have internal communications. You can have internal communications on Discord?

A. I'm not sure how "internal communications" are defined.

Q. Sorry, I mean direct messaging.

A. Direct messaging, yes.

Q. It is a place where there can be live streaming; that's the top circle, so that's your sharing --

A. Yes, as we talked about, screen sharing via Go Live.

Q. And it is also a place where the networks like the Com can identify victims?

A. I guess -- I'm not sure that I would agree with victim identification as an element of Discord. I guess, without context and reading the rest of the report, I'm not actually sure how they are defining that.

Q. Is it your evidence that you are not aware of any risk that Discord is used to identify victims by networks like the Com?

A. No, of course not. I just don't understand -- obviously, I'm seeing one page of this, to understand

when they talk about victim identification, what that actually means.

Q. And could we bring up NCA000005. This is another witness statement by the National Crime Agency. Could we look at page 8 NCA000005_0008, paragraph 30.

I just want to read out what is here. It says that:

"Online spaces encourage like-minded individuals to identify and connect with each other. This is exploited by Com offenders to create spaces for networking and communications dedicated to the normalisation and incitement of offending and the sharing of knowledge and tradecraft. Discord and Telegram are frequently seen as primary platforms used by Com offenders for operating and communicating."

They go on to say that:

"This is likely due to:

"The ability for offenders to create private groups and servers on both platforms;

"The ease with which they can re-establish groups and servers if the platform has identified illegal or prohibited content and closed the group; and ...

"The perceived security and limited age verification and attribution of user identity which limits the platforms' ability to prevent and detect offending."

Is it a matter of grave concern to you that the NCA

has singled out, with one other platform, Discord as being seen as a primary platform used by Com offenders?

A. It is of concern. I would say we work quite closely with NCA and have for quite a long time. I think I would contradict the sub-points (a), (b) and (c) in their characterisation of those things but, of course, it is a concern, as is the Com, which is why we dedicate as many resources as we have in order to try to stop them from abusing our platform and others, obviously, through co-operation with other platforms.

Q. I appreciate what you have said earlier about your perceived view on the strength of the moderation systems but is it concerning to you that the perception, at least, of the NCA is that they think that Com offenders are attracted to your platform because of the ease of which groups and servers can be re-established, for example?

A. Yes. And I think obviously, from my perspective, I think we have more work to do, continued briefings and other things with NCA to clear that up.

MS WAKEMAN: Sir, I'm conscious of time. I would like to try and finish the witness in the next 10-15 minutes?

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Certainly. I think as long as we take our break by 11.45 am.

MS WAKEMAN: Thank you. I now want to turn to some of the

evidence of concern that others have raised in their evidence to the Inquiry. Could we first look at DFE000268.

So this is a report from 2024 by the Youth Endowment Fund, entitled "What role does social media play in violence affecting young people?"

Could we look, please, at page 7 DFE000268_0007. If we zoom in on that graph. Just by way of context, this was a survey of 10,000 children aged 13-17 who were surveyed about their experience with violent content. I want to be entirely fair to you. We can see here that Discord is not one of the worst offenders within this graph, coming somewhere towards the bottom third, I suppose, in terms of 12 per cent of children using Discord said they had seen violent content.

Is 12 per cent still too many?

A. Yes, I would answer this the same way that I have before, which is we are always trying to reduce that. I note, as you did, that this is from 2024 and so my hope is that all of the implementations that we have put in place since 2024 have moved that down but our goal, through all the features that we have talked about already, would be to move that to zero.

Q. Yes. We talked earlier about the nature of Discord as a platform. So it is not a platform with an algorithm

that's feeding content. One might think that it would be easier for a child to stumble across violent content on a platform where an algorithm is throwing that content at them. Whereas Discord, one might have to take slightly more steps to find it. So is it concerning to you that, even though you are not an algorithmic content, it is still that 12 per cent figure?

A. Yes, as I mentioned before, I think the 12 per cent is too high. Our goal would be to get that to zero.

Q. Thank you. Could we now look at DSIT000150. This is an evidence assessment that DSIT has provided to the Inquiry. Could we look at page 3 DSIT000150_0003, please. Could we zoom in. Thank you.

I want to be entirely fair to you when I cite this. It does cite the survey that I have just taken you to and it notes there, in the middle of that paragraph, that:

"Messaging and streaming services such as WhatsApp, Discord, Telegram and Twitch show the least exposure ..."

To violent content. So just raising that, out of fairness, but going on to the next paragraph:

"Internal government research also suggests that a range of online services such as social media

platform, Dark Web sites ... E2EE groups ..."

I think that is end-to-end groups:

"... such as Telegram and Discord host a significant amount of violent content."

So that is internal Government research finding that there is a significant amount of violent content and it says:

"They have been found to host numerous examples of conflict-based imagery and video, such as close-up images of dead combatants ... their injuries and videos depicting terror-related violence."

So is that assessment by DSIT, that your site is hosting a significant amount of content, something that is deeply concerning?

A. Yes, of course. As I mentioned before, what they are citing are things that we have dedicated all of the resources that we have discussed already to identifying and taking off the platform. I don't know how they make -- or how they define "significant", but as I mentioned before, when you were showing me the other study, our intention is to get that to zero.

Q. All right. Could we now look at TAT000017. This is a briefing issued by Tech Against Terrorism, which is one of the NGOs the Inquiry heard evidence from. Are you familiar with that organisation?

A. I am.
Q. If we look at page 14 TAT000017_0014, please. Could we scroll down to the images. We can see there two items of content on Discord captured in June 2025. The first one is a screenshot depicting a Discord server entitled "National Socialism", which overtly states Nazi, Far Right, anti-LGBT, anti-BLM and antisemitic alignment. Is that something that would be in accordance with or in breach of your community guidelines?
A. In breach of our community guidelines.
Q. Looking at the next one, it is a screenshot depicting content posted on a Discord server which includes white nationalist content. Again, is that in breach of your guidelines?
A. This one, it depends. It is likely in breach. But the only exception to that would be if in this case, if there was a news story or something elsewhere this was showing that this had happened and it was accompanied by a condemnation of that, then it might be allowed to be shown, but otherwise, it would not, it would be a violation.
Q. All right, thank you. Could we now look at ILT000363. Page 3 ILT000363_0003, please. So this is a Council of the European Union report dated 19 November 2025, entitled "Nihilistic extremist violence: an emerging

threat". And on page 3, if we could zoom into the last paragraph:
"In January 2025, in Sweden a 14-year-old was arrested for a knife attack on a 55-year-old woman ... The boy broadcast the attack live on the online platform Discord. 'Go back to him and do it more' one viewer commented during the live broadcast."
So this is what I was alluding to earlier. That must have been done through your screen-sharing tool, is that right?
A. I think so. I don't know the details of this.
Q. That would be the only mechanism you have to live stream, right?
A. I believe so.
Q. So, as I understood your evidence earlier, you wouldn't be moderating the live stream, you would only be able to moderate comments on the live stream?
A. Yes, that is correct.
Q. So -- but we see there, we have a comment which appears to be inciting violence, as and when it is happening. So would that be a breach of your community guidelines?
A. That would be a breach, yes.
Q. Should Discord be continuing to operate a service which allows users to live-stream attacks, if it is not actually able to moderate that video as and when it is

being streamed and up to 50 people could be watching it?
A. I think, as I had mentioned before, like lots of other end-to-end encrypted platforms, the vast majority of people who are using the features are using it for policy-compliant reasons and obviously, we continue to invest heavily in our ability to moderate and prevent the abuse of that via groups like the Com and others, as well as anyone else who might be trying to abuse the platform.
Q. If you wanted to resource it so that live-stream videos were moderated as and when they were on the platform, you could, couldn't you? It is just a question of allocation of resources?
A. No, so end-to-end encryption makes it impossible for us to moderate it.
Q. So are you saying that the live stream is end-to-end encrypted?
A. That is correct, yes. All video, all live video and live audio on Discord is encrypted.
Q. The question that would follow from that is: should you be having such a service if we know that people are abusing it in this way? I assume your answer would be that the vast majority of people are compliant. Is that a complete answer?
A. Yes, that is my answer, is that the vast, vast, vast

majority of people who are using it are compliant and we have invested and will continue to invest in more and more effective moderation features.
Q. Thank you. I now want to -- some of this evidence has been from 2025 so in fairness to you and given your evidence that the moderation systems are always evolving, I want to come back to present-day or the most recent evidence that we have had.
We have had evidence from Mr Hadley of Tech Against Terrorism and he talked about gamified pathways to exposure. He said:
"We heard about Discord and Roblox and there is a huge amount of this material on there."
We also heard from Mr Comerford in his seminar from the ISD, the presentation I took you to earlier, and he said:
"It is still far too simple to identify servers dedicated to nihilistic violence on platforms like Discord just through simple keyword searches."
So this is evidence from September of this year. Is that a matter of concern for you, that his evidence is that it is still far too simple to find this kind of content?
A. Yes. And as I mentioned before, I guess, I would just reiterate that that continues to be a focus, making it

harder and harder, with the goal of obviously impossible to find that type of material or those types of spaces on Discord.

Q. I have taken you through a selection of the evidence that the Inquiry has received about Discord. I haven't taken you through all of it. There is more. But having had that flavour, from the evidence, how does that tally with your views about the adequacy of your moderation systems?

A. I think I would just reiterate what I had said before, which is we recognise that it is not perfect and that we also are acutely aware of the attempts to abuse Discord through -- via many of the groups that you had mentioned before, or other individuals. Our entire focus on my team is to try to make that impossible and my team and others focused on making Discord a better and better place, continue to invest more and more, to make it safer and safer.

Q. Are the systems adequate?

A. I guess, I would say it in a way that I did before, which is I think that we are doing a good job but we are never going to be satisfied with the job that we are doing. We are always going to be investing and trying to get it better and better.

Q. But as things stand today, is it your evidence the

systems, as they stand, are adequate?

A. I mean, I guess, I would say not adequate because we are continuing to improve with them all the time. If we thought that they were adequate -- entirely adequate, we would stop and we are never going to stop trying to be better and better at safety.

Q. All right. Just finally, I said -- I promised earlier I would come back to law enforcement and I just want to deal with this, noting the time, in very short terms. Could we go back to your statement, page 24 DISC000036_0024, paragraph 76. Here, you say that:

"If Discord determines that there is a good faith belief that there is a risk of serious physical injury or death, we will proactively provide information to law enforcement in emergency situations following lawful processes."

So if it falls short of a risk of serious physical injury or death, there won't be a report, is that right?

A. We would still take action on our side. So, you know, to the extent that it violates our policies, we would. But if the conditions to a proactive report are not satisfied, then we would not proactively report.

Q. And understanding what you said earlier about not tracking impressions, but where there's no credible threat that a user is actually going to go on and --

where there is no risk of a serious physical injury or death, but you have a user who you know is repeatedly being removed, for example for sharing or glorifying violent content, is that something that Discord would tell law enforcement or anyone else about?

A. If the other conditions to the proactive reporting had been in place. Just to make sure that I fully understand, so you are saying that there's not a credible and specific and imminent threat?

Q. Well, that there is no risk -- it wouldn't fall within being a risk of serious physical injury or death, but it is just the way they are engaging with content is concerning.

A. I mean, I'm not sure what you mean by "concerning". I mean, to go back to answer the question, if those -- there was not a credible, specific and imminent threat, we would not likely report that to law enforcement, that is correct.

MS WAKEMAN: I don't have any further questions. I'm just going to look to see.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Yes, do come forward.

Questions by MR CHAPMAN

MR CHAPMAN: I ask questions on behalf of the bereaved families and the associated victim groups. I just want to ask about one question CTI asked you, which was you

searched -- I think Discord searched for AR's account?

A. We did.

Q. And that came back negative?

A. That is correct.

Q. When did Discord do that?

A. I don't know the exact time and date. It was -- as soon as we were aware of his name and the incident is the typical way in which that would --

Q. That's typical, so you mean shortly after the attack itself?

A. Extremely shortly after, yes.

Q. So that was something Discord did off its own bat?

A. I believe so, yes. As I mentioned before, we have a team that is responsible for identifying terrible incidents like this one in particular. And my understanding -- I can confirm -- is that that is -- that's how it came to our attention and then how we did the search. I think we also subsequently were contacted by law enforcement and would have either reported on what we had already done, or immediately done --

Q. From the UK?

A. From the UK, yes.

Q. Let me ask you this, when an account falls dormant for how long is the account data preserved?

A. I believe -- I don't know of anything that would delete

that account. Actually, I should get that information and get back to you. I don't know for sure. I'm not aware of a length of dormancy that would result in deletion of data.

Q. So perhaps I can put it this way, your understanding is that it is preserved indefinitely; that's your understanding?

A. I don't know.

Q. But you will check that for us?

A. I can, yes.

Q. One of the recommendations the learned Chair made, in Phase 1 of his report, was for the Government to consider extending the powers of Inquiries like this to request data from platforms like yours. If that resulted in new powers, are there any barriers, as far as Discord is concerned, for complying with that?

A. I don't think so. We comply with law and to the extent that there's not some technical barrier with respect to the availability of that information, I assume we would.

Q. No barriers, for example, that the data is held in the US, or out of the jurisdiction?

A. So I'm not in a position to comment on the legal implications of that but from a physical or technical implementation, I'm not aware.

MR CHAPMAN: Thank you. Thank you, sir.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Thank you very much indeed. Nearly there, Mr Hoffman. Just a few things from me, I'm afraid.

A. No, of course.

Questions by SIR ADRIAN FULFORD

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: I would like to go back, first of all, to end-to-end encryption. So your evidence has been very clear that texts on Discord are not end-to-end encrypted and although there's obviously no way of knowing how that's viewed by your customer base, one can assume, and possibly hope, that that hasn't been a marked deterrent for them to use Discord?

A. I'm sorry, I'm not fully following.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: So, the fact that it is not encrypted doesn't seem to have damaged Discord as a commercial operation?

A. I'm not aware of the commercial implication.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Yes, But it is not seen as being an issue of concern in relation to the functioning of the company.

A. I'm not aware of a concern.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Right. On the other hand, audio and video calls are encrypted. That's a choice that's been taken by Discord?

A. Yes, it is.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: And why? So why not encrypt text but encrypt audio and video?

A. So, this was a decision that was made that preceded by joining Discord by some bit but my understanding of the rationale for that is, if you think about the way that voice and video is used, you can imagine -- and I think we have all experienced this -- that if there's a lag, for example, in voice or video, even half a second, you end up interrupting one another, talking over one another et cetera. So the reason for the encryption for voice and video is a performance one as opposed to text and the reason is because, in order to eliminate that lag to have sufficient performance for the product to work the way that it is intended, you have to locate servers close enough to the people who are using them. And when those servers are located outside of the US, many of them have to be located in places where we are just renting space on a server, we don't own them, we don't -- we can't control entirely the security of those servers. And so it would be possible, for example, that a rogue government or someone else might have access to that.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: I see.

A. So, where we have them located outside the US and outside of our control, and we have to do that in order

to have the performance work to the level that the product works, we have made that choice for voice and video obviously. That is not the case for text.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: So it is to protect the user, not to enable them to do nefarious things, but to stop their material being unlawfully intercepted by others because of the location of the servers?

A. Exactly. It is a combination kind of safety and privacy consideration with voice and video.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: That's very clear. If you attach, for instance, a video, you share an existing video, so, it is something that you -- that is done by way of an attachment, I imagine, encrypted or not?

A. The attachment is not encrypted.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Right. Fine. That's very helpful. I want, next, to go to what is shared with law enforcement and I think where we have got to is that there has to be a risk of imminent, serious physical injury or death, is that correct?

A. I believe that that is the case. I'm not sure how that imminence is defined for those standard operating procedures but I believe that that is one of the three.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: I was using your word.

A. Yes.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: So you have described it as "imminent".

A. Yes.
SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: One of the things about AR was that there was a growing and developing picture and if somebody had been in possession of the greater part of that picture, they ought to have concluded that there was a real risk that he was going to do something very bad indeed but you couldn't say, at any particular point in time, as to whether it was imminent. Now, in terms of being a socially responsible company, isn't it not in the best public interest to only report really serious offences that may occur if they are imminent?
A. Yes. So, I mean, I guess there's two elements to that. One is, again, I think the importance of the imminence -- and imminence falls within a definition of specificity. So I don't know -- I don't mean to convey, when I say "imminent", that it is going to happen within a matter of minutes or hours. It could be something longer.
SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: I'm not going to test you in relation to something about which you may not be entirely clear, Mr Hoffman. I would like a definitive statement from Discord as to how imminence, in the real world, is interpreted.
A. Of course, yes.
SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Because it runs the risk of narrowing

the information that you share with law enforcement to a very slender proportion of those who may be intending to do very bad things.
A. Yes. The other thing -- just to continue on that, the other thing that we are also constantly aware of is that because we work so closely with law enforcement, their request of us has often been, because of their lack of resources, to limit the type of information and the amount of information that we are giving to them because it is essentially a signal to noise ratio concern. So because law enforcement agencies around the world are often resource constrained, it is not helpful for them to get very general information that doesn't arise to that level.
SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Mr Hoffman, I completely understand that, but that's not what I'm talking about. I'm not talking about law enforcement being swamped by people who may be going out to do shoplifting or something trivial. These are potentially really serious offences and my concern is that informing law enforcement is being artificially restricted by the insistence that we have heard, not only from you this morning, but also from TikTok, that imminence is a key ingredient of whether or not law enforcement -- that the phone is picked up to law enforcement.

A. Understood.
SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: All right. I'm now about to reveal my ignorance, no doubt based on age, in relation to how technology works; but there was an exchange between you and Ms Wakeman about videos -- so you may get images which in fact just come from a Hollywood film, which, although it is a bit violent and shows people being killed and there's a certain amount of blood, actually doesn't transgress. On the other hand, you may have generative AI videos which have similar-ish sort of content but actually have a completely different purpose, meaning and message.
Now, I have two things to ask you about this. You fell back, in your answers -- certainly as they hit me -- into saying: well, it all depends on the video and you need to look at the content.
But, in terms of moderation, don't you need to have some kind of specific guidance which assists those who are conducting this moderation, to enable them to distinguish between that which is actually, looked at sensibly from a common sense point of view, acceptable, and that which has a completely different purpose?
A. We do and we have a set of standard operating procedures that do aid those reviewers.
SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Right. I do not think we have seen

those and I would ask you to share them with us, please.
Is that all right?
A. Yes.
SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Now, the other thing about this that I'm not understanding is that, if there is end-to-end encryption in relation to video material, how is it that you are able to make assessments as to anything about what is being shown or shared that's in video format?
A. So that's the distinction between the Discord video -- voice or video, versus an attachment. So what I'm talking about is an attachment. So if someone were to share an attachment, the attachment could be a video itself but is not utilising the Discord product in order to communicate via video, that, we do have access to. What we don't have access to is the Discord video where someone is using it to communicate via Discord.
SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Okay, that's absolutely clear. Thank you very much.
Final thing is this. Again, there was a discussion with Ms Wakeman about proactive and reactive moderation. And proactive moderation, as a concept, sounds excellent. But when you went into the detail of it, you said this: you are not constantly scanning all private messages; instead, what is needed is a report or metadata or behavioural information.

Now, does that mean that you are not actually scanning private messages at all, unless something -- one of those three things has alerted you to the need to conduct scanning?

A. No, there are a few other instances in which we are scanning. So, for CSAM content -- excuse me, that is child sexual abuse material content, for example, we --

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: You are continually scanning?

A. We are continually scanning for that and other categories of context-independent violations of content.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Right, and extreme violent content is included in that?

A. I don't believe -- so what we rely on for that type of scanning is one of two things. It is either a shared hash, which is something that we share along with lots of other platforms for that type of content, or our independent machine learning models that are targeting what we call "novel CSAM".

I do not believe that we have any existing model that's focusing on violent content at this time.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Right. But it would be technically feasible to have extreme violent content to be scanned in the same way as you are for child exploitation images?

A. Not exactly the same way because -- well, I guess that's

not true. So if there was a cross-platform organisation that was sharing hashes in the same way that the National Center for Missing & Exploited Children and similar organisations do, where they collect and then share hashes, that would be possible, from the hash perspective.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: But it would need, for that, to enable you to do it on a kind of random, constant basis?

A. To do it in the same way, yes. It would have to be that kind of co-operation.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Final thing is this, then. So reports and behavioural information, that's readily understandable. In relation to metadata, what sort of metadata would prompt a sort of focused scanning of messages?

A. So, it is a combination of those things. So, we have machine learning models that are incorporating an increasing number and type of metadata. That's actually one of the areas where I have asked that I not go into extreme detail because it essentially allows bad actors to understand what it is that we are trying to track.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Understood. Thank you. Thank you very much indeed, Mr Hoffman. It has been very helpful evidence.

MS WAKEMAN: Sir, just one point before we conclude for our break. I'm grateful that a message has come up to me that I need to make one small correction to the record, which is that when talking about the percentage of accounts which were closed for reasons of being violent content and violent extremism, out of the total number of users, I said "0.003 per cent", I'm helpfully assisted by the fact that it is, in fact, 0.33 per cent. The point still stands. I'm very grateful for the connection, I am happy to correct it, and Discord will be providing us with their actual figures. So the most useful exercise will be for us to go away and do the maths then.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: It is always good to have a maths lesson. Just after 12.15 pm?

MS WAKEMAN: Thank you.

(12.04 pm)

(A short break)

(12.16 pm)

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Yes, Mr Boyle.

MR BOYLE: Thank you. Ms Handoo, I think you have the affirmation with you to swear, could you do that, please?

MS SHEEN HANDOO (affirmed)

Questions by MR BOYLE

MR BOYLE: Thank you. Could you give your full name, please?

A. My name is Sheen Handoo.

Q. Thank you and you are Safety and Compliance Lead at X, is that right?

A. That is correct.

Q. Thank you. Could we have your statement on screen, please, at XIUC000187. Can you see that, Ms Handoo? Do you recognise it as your statement?

A. I can't see ... there we go, yes.

Q. Thank you. And if we go to page 45 XIUC000187_0045. There is a signature there. It has been redacted for privacy reasons, but can you confirm that you have signed this statement and that it is true to the best of your knowledge and belief?

A. Yes, I have signed this statement and it is true to the best of my knowledge.

Q. Thank you. In addition, in the first phase of this Inquiry, we received a witness statement from Ms Khananisho, which was dated 19 September 2025. Sir, just for your note, it is XIUC000030 and Ms Khananisho gave oral evidence on 4 November 2025. Ms Handoo, can you confirm you have read those, as well as the relevant parts of the Inquiry's Phase 1 report?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. Thank you. You tell us that you're Safety Compliance Lead at X. Could you just describe that role?
A. Before I respond to that question, I would first like to offer my sincere condolences to the victims, families and everyone in Southport that was affected by this horrific attack.
I do understand the impact of these events must have been impossible to imagine, they are impossible to imagine, and that they have my deepest sympathies.
Q. Ms Handoo, thank you. You pick up on something that I might have actually picked up on at the end but I think this is the first expression of regret that we have had from X about its very close connection to the Southport attack. No doubt, it is appreciated what you have just said, but can you help us as to why nothing has been said before now?
A. I am here present today to provide evidence to the Inquiry and help as much as I possibly can and I do believe that starting off with my condolences is the right way to kind of have this conversation, initiate this conversation. I'm not -- I can't speak on other people's behalf, but I'm here today and I am extending my condolences.
Q. Thank you. Can I ask, does that apology also cover an apology from X for the fact that the video, the

Bishop Mar Mari stabbing was watched by AR minutes before he left the house to carry out his attack?
A. I think there's -- I am extending my condolences to the victims, of course, because of this horrific attack. But I think we can delve into the particular video that you just mentioned and our actions that we have taken on that video and the fact that the video is on the platform because of our existing policies and processes and enforcement protocols that X has had for a very long time.
Q. Well, I don't want to undermine the condolences that you have given at this stage, but we will pick up on that again.
Can we -- can you please tell us about your role as Safety Compliance Lead at X?
A. Absolutely. So, I lead the safety compliance function within the broader safety team at X and my role essentially is to ensure that the safety team and our safety operations are in compliance with various regulatory and legal obligations around the world.
Q. Thank you. In terms of your career history, between 2015 and 2020 you worked for Meta as Public Policy Manager in India and then as Content Policy Manager in Singapore, is that right?
A. That is correct.

Q. Thank you, and you joined X in 2020, is that right?
A. Correct.
Q. And have you been in your current role for the last six years?
A. When I initially joined Twitter, as it was called back then, I was part of the site policy team. So that team was responsible for drafting and maintaining X's roles and then subsequently, I moved to a more compliance focused role within safety.
Q. So you have had roles in what I might just broadly term safety, since you joined Twitter, then X?
A. Correct and even before, at Meta, it was safety focused as well.
Q. Thank you. I just want to briefly cover X's corporate structure. So we have been talking about X in general terms. I think the specifics are that XIUC is a company registered in Ireland which provides the platform for users that live in the EU, EFTA States and the UK, is that right?
A. Correct.
Q. And its parent company, X Corp is registered in the US and that provides the X service elsewhere in the world, is that right?
A. That is correct.
Q. And you tell us that the X safety team is collectively

responsible for Online Safety Act duties related to child safety, illegal content and reporting and complaints. But also the independent compliance function provides advice and assistance, is that right?
A. Correct.
Q. Thank you. I just want to ask you about X as a platform in overview. So I think, in simple terms, for most X users, they can post text of up to 280 characters in a post, is that right?
A. That is my understanding, yes.
Q. I think there might be the possibility to have an account which is allowed to post slightly more, potentially to pay for an elevated account, but we need not worry about that. Alongside that text, a user can share a photograph and a short video and so on.
A. Correct.
Q. And when an X user logs in, or lands on the X app, or even accesses via browser, the landing page, so the first thing they see, is that a "For You page"?
A. That is correct.
Q. So that's a timeline of posts which will include both posts from accounts that they follow but also recommended posts which are generated by X's algorithm, is that right?
A. Correct.

Q. Then, there's also a tab, if I can put it that way, for following. So you could click across to see just posts from accounts that you follow, is that right?
A. Correct.
Q. Thank you. You speak in your statement about X's kind of general philosophy and I just want to cover that first.
So if we could have page 3 XIUC000187_0003 of your statement and paragraph 11.
I'm just going to read the first part of this, so you say:
"X is a global, digital town square that enables online social interaction where users can engage in public conversations, post material, interact with each other's material and see news. X's purpose is to serve the public conversation and to provide a platform that reflects real conversations happening in the world. We aim to support and encourage freedom of expression and a diverse range of views, even those that may be controversial or unpopular. We welcome everyone to express themselves on our platform and we do not tolerate behaviour that harasses, threatens or intimidates others. X has in place a set of rules which users must agree to abide by in order to use the platform, which include prohibitions on some content

including certain categories of violent content. This helps us to ensure that our users can participate in public conversation safely."
Is that a broad overview of how X works and its approach?
A. Yes, that's correct.
Q. Thank you. Could I take you to page 7 XIUC000187_0007, paragraph 19 of your statement. So, you are talking here about enforcement but I think there is an overall sentiment which is relevant here, which is:
"Human rights are the foundation of how we think about and iterate our policy design and enforcement. We believe X's approach must factor in potential impacts on all human rights, with an emphasis on safeguarding freedom of expression. When rights are in conflict, our goal is to strike an appropriate balance between safety, protecting privacy and enabling free expression."
Just picking up on the last part of that. You recognise there, do you not, that there is a balance to strike between free expression and other important factors?
A. Yes, that is correct.
Q. And would you agree that X makes a free choice on how it strikes that balance?
A. I would make the argument that we -- it is not really

a free choice but it is a deliberate exercise we conduct to ensure that we are balancing users' rights to free expression, as well as the safety of the user. So understand what are the harms associated with the particular type of content on the platform and what would be the most proportionate response, from a policy and enforcement perspective.
Q. Would you agree -- and we will come onto examples -- but some platforms might strike that balance differently to X?
A. It is possible.
Q. And although you have certain obligations in terms of safety, in terms of the extent to which you wish to promote free expression, no one is suggesting that other platforms are acting illegally, would you agree? In other words, no one is suggesting that other platforms are illegally repressing free expression, at least none of the mainstream ones?
A. I mean, I can't speak on behalf of other platforms and their policies and the principles those policies are based off of but at X, we do ensure that our policies are grounded in human rights, as is highlighted in my witness statement, and then ensuring that the way we enforce these policies is proportionate to the harms associated with that particular piece of content.

Q. Okay. I know you are not an English lawyer, but X, by way of example, is not subject to the European Convention on Human Rights, it is not subject to the Human Rights Act because it is not a public authority and it is not carrying out a public function, would you agree?
A. That is my very rudimentary understanding.
Q. So the point I'm trying to make to you is that there is not some sort of legal obligation on X to take steps to promote free expression, it chooses to do so, do you agree?
A. I mean, I do believe that while there might not be any direct obligation or responsibility under various human rights regimes, but specifically in the UK, my understanding is that the OSA in fact does require platforms to consider free expression and consider users' privacy when we think about our policies and our enforcement and once we have those policies and enforcement protocols in place, we are required to apply those consistently across the board.
Q. Perhaps we will take this forward when we look at some of the examples.
How many UK users does X have?
A. I believe it is around 18.8 million users.
Q. Thank you. You have a policy which talks about your

approach to recommendations which refers to 500 million daily posts on X. I'm not sure if that's up to date, but does that sound about right?
A. I don't have the exact data off the top of my head.
Q. Fine. You have to be 13 years old to have an account on X, is that right?
A. Correct.
Q. Thank you. Could we have up, please page, 41 XIUC000187_0041 of your statement and paragraph 107. Just looking at the very last sentence of that, you say:
"... children are not ultimately X's target audience and they only represent a small fraction of ..."
X's user base.
Is that right?
A. That is correct.
Q. How many UK users of X are under the age of 18?
A. Based on the age assurance that we have rolled out, users that are confirmed to be under the age of 18 are around 0.90 per cent of our total UK users. So between the age of 13-15 we have around 27 point 9 thousand accounts and then between the age of 16-17, we have around 78 point 6 thousand accounts. That is less than -- sorry, less than 1 per cent of our total users in the UK, in short.
Q. I'm sorry, are you saying -- I didn't quite catch the

numbers. Are you saying 279,000 between 13-15 and 786,000 between 16-17?
A. That is correct.
Q. Thank you. So it is a comparably low percentage in total, but still a great many children, would you agree?
A. It is less than 1 per cent.
Q. Yes, but it is about a million children?
A. Sorry, I think -- my apologies. I think we are getting the numbers wrong. It is 27 point 9 thousand, not 270,000.
Q. Well, I think we might need to look at this again. Could we have up, please, page 23 XIUC000187_0023 of your statement.
So we have some statistics there. We will see, just 6 per cent of under-18s in the UK use X and only 4 per cent of that -- in that category have set up an X profile. That would suggest, would it not, that the total figures are in the hundred thousands, and the total must be at least a million?
A. I believe that this data is quoting the Ofcom report from 2025, and the data that I have right now is based on our age assurance estimates.
Q. Is the Ofcom report out by a factor of 10, do you think?
A. I mean, again, I have data available to me, based on our own age estimation methods. I will say -- I will caveat

this that when I state the numbers of users under the age of 18, these are confirmed users under the age of 18. We also have around 7 million users where the age is still kind of unknown. These are cases where users may have chosen not to go through the age assurance process or where we don't have confirmation whether they are under the age of 18 or not.
Q. I had thought this might be one of the more simple bits of the evidence. I think there is either two options here. One, we are talking at cross-purposes or, two, there is a fundamental difference between the number of children that Ofcom thinks are using X and the number of children that X says are using X. The latter would be very concerning, do you agree?
A. I think we can -- again, I haven't been involved in the Ofcom report and how -- what the methodology that they were using but I can, at least, speak to the numbers that X has in terms of the users that we believe are under the age of 18.
Q. Well, if there is a difference between those two figures, might that show a risk that X is seriously underestimating the number of child users that it actually has and, therefore, not applying appropriate moderation to them?
A. So, we do have mitigations in place in scenarios where

the age of a user might be unknown, right? When I mention there are 7 million users where the age is unknown, we still apply the same measures that we would have for the known under-18 accounts, in that these accounts will not be able to access sensitive content. That has to be age-gated under the regulation. So these 7 million, for all intents and purposes, are still, in a way, treated as if they could be potentially minors.
Q. Ms Handoo, it might be thought that the number of children in a country that X has as users is something that should be right at the fingertips and well within the knowledge of the safety team. Can I ask you, please, to take that away over our next break and come back to me with confirmed numbers, or confirmation that X really is saying that it only has about a hundred thousand users under the age of 18?
A. Sure, we can do that.
Q. Do you know how many UK users X has under the age of 25?
A. Again, based on the numbers that I have, so users that are aged between 18-24, it is around 2.5 million and that constitutes around 21.57 per cent of our total user base.
Q. Thank you. Can we go, please, to page 11 XIUC000187_0011. It might be that this section of your statement is consistent with the expert evidence that

the Inquiry has heard but I just want to go through it. So, paragraph 35, we are talking now about the role of the online environment in general terms.

It says:

"Where violence occurs in society, it is possible that online communication platforms may play some role in the organisation or mobilisation of that violence, irrespective of robust platform policies and enforcement. This residual risk unfortunately exists in every form of communication between humans, including on X and other social media platforms. Any form of product, platform or endeavour that brings people together will face the [risk] of being misused by bad actors and creating possible threats to public security."

Just pause to observe, would you agree, that different products and platforms will present different levels of risk, do you agree?

A. So there is an inherent risk with every platform and especially platforms with different features and functionalities to have that kind of a risk.

Q. But to answer my question, some platforms present more of a risk than others, do you agree?

A. Depending on the nature of the platform, perhaps.

Q. I think that's a "yes". So the nature of the platform

might affect the level of risk it poses, yes?

A. Correct.

Q. And regardless as to whether there are different pathways to violence, I think you will go on to accept that X clearly has a responsibility to its users?

A. Yes, and I just want to state that user safety is paramount to us. The way safety at X operates, that is one of the key considerations we always have when we are thinking about policy and enforcement.

Q. Thank you, and just looking at your paragraph 36:

"However, establishing causal relationships between content on social media and offline action is fraught with difficulty. We may find a correlation, for example where there is an increase in hate speech or polarisation sentiment in a certain region, this may be predictive of instability or violence. However, the relationship is not one-to-one and there are many variable factors involved."

The Inquiry has heard quite a lot of expert evidence for this. I'm just going to summarise it. I understand you are not an academic or researcher, but tell me if you disagree with any of this. The expert evidence was that it is actually quite difficult to carry out research into this because there's no control group, because almost all children have been exposed to

violence online and it is unethical to test by exposing them to violence, but what Professor Brennan said was that it would be really naive to think that there wasn't some sort of reinforcing, if not contributing factor, towards violence. There is only so much, I think, that research literature can contribute to a violence-fixated individual population. There is a limit as to how much the science and research can actually tell us and sometimes we have to look at how extreme the behaviour is and this exposure is and just trust it.

Sir, for your note, that's seminar 5, on 16 September, pages 115 to 118.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Thank you.

MR BOYLE: Is there anything in that, Ms Handoo, that you would disagree with?

A. I mean, again, I think I would reiterate the point that -- you know, what we have made in our witness statement, that there is a possibility that online platforms like X could play some role, right? But that kind of -- the causal relationship is kind of very difficult to establish. At the end of the day, at X -- the way the safety team at X thinks about content moderation and impact of content when it comes to likelihood of harm, we ensure that we have all the necessary and proportionate measures in place to

mitigate against any such type of risk.

Q. Thank you. Can I move on, please, to age assurance. Could we have your statement at page 26 XIUC000187_0026, paragraph 66. So, before we talk about the ways in which X assesses the age of its users, I just want to set out what -- or I want to ask you to explain the differences for an account for a user under 18, compared to an adult account. So, you have a list -- helpful list in your statement here. 66(a):

"... users who are under 18 years of age are restricted from accessing content harmful to children as defined by the OSA, which is not otherwise prohibited by the X['s] Terms of Service, Rules and Policies. In addition, users under 18 are automatically restricted from viewing any content labelled as 'sensitive' and X's Violent Content policy prohibits users from including sensitive media within areas that are highly visible on X, including in live videos, profiles, headers, List banner images, or Community cover photographs."

Can I just unpack a couple of things from that. You refer to content harmful to children as defined by the Online Safety Act "which is not otherwise prohibited by X Terms of Service, Rules and Policies". What material comes within that category?

A. It might be scenarios where the way the OSA defines

content harmful to children may be broader than how X's terms of service and X's rules define those same problems. So in those very limited circumstances, we will still continue to restrict access to that particular piece of content to accounts that are under the age of 18.

Q. So I think this is a novel concept that we haven't heard from any other platforms, that the terms of service, rules and policies of X don't actually capture all content harmful to children, is that right?

A. So, as part of any compliance obligation -- so we do ensure that we are -- we have mitigation measures, we have controls in place for content that is either harmful or which would be restricted content, or is outright illegal in those jurisdictions, right? And it is a possibility that the way the law defines a problem or the way the law defines a particular offence or harmful content, is broader than how X's rules might define. For what it is worth, our X rules are -- they encompass most of the content that is already defined as harmful content, harmful to children under the OSA regime. But in very rare circumstances, where the way OSA defines content harmful to children, is broader than how X's rules also cover those scenarios, we would be continuing to restrict access to accounts in the UK.

Q. So, is this right, your moderators work to X's policies, so your moderators work to X's terms of service, rules and policy that we are going to come onto?

A. Yes, and we also have a dedicated team that is also reviewing reports of illegal content in the UK.

Q. Forgive me if I'm wrong, but I haven't seen any X written policy which addresses a category of material that is -- or should be precluded under the Online Safety Act but doesn't come within the rules. Is that right?

A. Sorry, could you repeat that question again?

Q. I haven't seen a document or policy which says that: there is a category of material which is outside our terms of service, rules or policies, but remains harmful to children under the Online Safety Act and therefore should be restricted from under-18s views. Is that right?

A. I do believe that we have a dedicated health centre page on the UK Online Safety Act, our obligations under the Online Safety Act and how we enforce against illegal content, as well as content harmful to children.

Q. So I have seen an article which sets out that position but I don't think it gives any sort of guidance to moderators as to how to actually apply the Online Safety Act, does it?

A. So we provide guidance to the moderators as part of their training and as well as part of the enforcement guidelines, if you will. And those guidelines are available to the moderators at all times. It is not disclosed publicly because there are -- there is a possibility bad actors will know exactly where the lines are and how to evade detection or how to evade enforcement. And that's why we do have public facing policies but we also have very detailed enforcement guidelines for our moderators.

Q. Ms Handoo, those have not been provided to the Inquiry, have they?

A. I can check with the legal team and get back to you on that.

Q. Well, you will see in your statement that there are redactions of information which come to the Inquiry and can be seen by the Inquiry and in some cases Core Participants as well, but not be made public. But the justification you have just given that they are not published, is not a reason for not sharing those documents with the Inquiry, is it?

A. I will have to check with the legal team and we could get back to you on that.

Q. It sounds like these documents are potentially fundamental to the issues that the Inquiry is looking

at. Don't you think that you should have ensured that they were addressed in your witness statement, which was answering questions about all of these topics, as well as in the disclosure?

A. I think we do -- I mean as you can see in the statement itself, we do mention our processes for content that is harmful to children and how we enforce against content harmful to children and in that regard, we have provided all the information that we believe is relevant for this conversation. We, of course, want to be helpful to the Inquiry in their kind of -- as we proceed with these questions.

But from a general safety perspective, I think it is important to state that we have policies that are publicly available and we have enforcement protocols that are particularly -- that are not publicly available but at least, in general terms, the way we think about policies and the way we think about enforcement and the way we enforce against illegal content, is all provided in the statement, I believe.

Q. I have that, Ms Handoo, but if there is an unpublished policy for moderators for how they apply the Online Safety Act, then that must be provided to the Inquiry, please, very quickly after your evidence and we will have to consider whether we need to call you again to

look at that. Do you understand?
A. Yes. Again, I can check with the legal team. Yes.
Q. Thank you. Looking at that another way, the policies that are published, are published so that users know what is compliant, correct?
A. Correct.
Q. They know what they are allowed to put on X's platform, is that right?
A. They know what is allowed, as well as what is not allowed to be shared on the platform.
Q. And that's important for a number of reasons. One, it might prevent some people from posting material that violates the terms, correct?
A. Correct.
Q. But, two, users are able to -- we will come onto this -- put notes on content, flag it themselves, et cetera?
A. Do we mean the reporting of content?
Q. Yes, so users can report content?
A. Correct, yes.
Q. If there are extra measures or provisions for the Online Safety Act which gives guidance on how that should be applied on X, shouldn't that be available to users as well?
A. On how the law should be applied?
Q. We are going to come onto your violent content policy.

It has a lot of guidance on what comes within that policy and what's outside of it. A lot of detail about: a photograph of this would be in breach of the policy; a photograph of that would be behind a content warning; a photograph of this would be allowed.

Your statement seems to be suggesting that there is a separate category of material that sits outside of that policy, but inside the Online Safety Act, and I'm asking whether users should have guidance on what that material is that, I think, your statement is telling me will be moderated, even though there's no policy to say how?
A. So the UK illegal content reporting functionality, which is very easy to use for all -- for our users in the UK, does have specific categories of illegal content. So, irrespective, users can report content they believe is illegal to us and we will promptly review those reports for illegality and where we believe that that particular piece of content also violates our terms of service, we will take the more stringent action in those scenarios.
Q. I understand that but I'm mostly concerned, as you will know, with serious violent content that's deemed priority content under the Online Safety Act. And if X is applying rules to that, to which it is providing guidance to its moderators, the Inquiry needs to know,

and I would suggest to you that so do users, otherwise they are simply expected to understand how the Online Safety Act works themselves, aren't they?
A. I would make the argument that our reporting functionality makes it very clear what type of illegal content is not permitted in the UK and we would take appropriate action in those particular instances and once the enforcement action is taken, the user is promptly notified of the action the company has taken.

So if we believe that the content is not violating of X's rules but is illegal in the UK, we withhold that content in the UK and we notify the user of the action we have taken. Similarly, the other users in UK cannot view that content and there will be a very prominent interstitial over that particular piece of content, saying that particular piece of content is restricted in the UK because it is considered illegal.
Q. I'm worried that we are talking at cross-purposes here, but I don't think that is a direct answer to my question.

The Online Safety Act bans certain categories of material as illegal, correct?
A. Correct.
Q. But it also has obligations that certain material is what's called "priority content", that should be --

that X has to take measures to ensure it is not seen by under-18s, correct?
A. Correct.
Q. What your statement at 66(a) is dealing with, is:

"... users who are under 18 years of age are restricted from accessing content harmful to children as defined by the OSA, which is not otherwise prohibited by [X's] Terms of Service, Rules and Policies."

I'm putting to you that there is a gap, in terms of any kind of written guidance, as to how that is supposed to work, as far as the Inquiry can tell, or as far as X's users can tell. Do you agree?
A. I mean I think -- I understand the concern of the Inquiry here and I understand why the Inquiry believes that that should be made available to the users. I think it is important to highlight that we are complying with the exact obligations of the Online Safety Act, in terms of what kind of reporting should be made available to the user and what level of information should be made available to the users. And I think it is important to also understand that we are trying to make reporting of illegal content -- or we have made, rather, the reporting of illegal content and content harmful to children pretty easy for the UK users.

We can have a discussion on what that means, what

that looks like, whether there should be more information provided to the users, but as of today, the way X is operating, we are complying with our obligations under the Online Safety Act, in terms of the level of information, detail and reporting mechanisms made available to the users.

Q. Thank you. I'm going to now move on, please, to your guidelines on age assurance. Could we have XIUC000144.

So we have gone through, I think, the way in which X is different for under-18 accounts. Sorry, I'm actually going to go back, apologies. I have moved on slightly too quickly. Page 26 XIUC000187_0026, paragraph 66. There is a little bit more in your paragraph there that we should go through.

Sensitive media. I think we have actually only covered the first sentence of that, but:

"In addition, users under 18 are automatically restricted from viewing any content labelled as 'sensitive' and X's Violent Content policy prohibits users from including sensitive media within areas that are highly visible on X, including in live videos, profiles, headers, List banner images, or Community cover photos."

I did read that. But the point, I think, to take from that is that under-18 users, where a content

warning is put on, cannot see it, is that right?

A. Correct.

Q. If we could go over the page, please XIUC000187_0027. Adverts are not shown to under 18s. There are restrictions to the recommender systems, the algorithm, from making certain categories of -- so certain categories of harmful content are ineligible for recommendation. Is that for under 18s only?

A. I think these restrictions that we are talking about under the recommender system are for all users. We have a recommender system, it has -- the algorithm that defines the recommender system and how content is recommended, just to kind of give you a very quick overview, is separate from the safety systems. And the way safety system operates is that we have content that is absolutely not allowed/permitted on the platform; there is content that would be restricted for under-18 accounts, such as adult content or sensitive media; and then there is content that there would be visibility filtered, essentially. Meaning that if you don't have the exact link of that content, you may not be able to -- it will not show up in your For You feeds, or when you go to the author's profile, you can still view that particular piece of content.

Now, when the safety system applies these

remediations, that feeds into the recommender system. Meaning that the recommender system will not be showing any of the content, based on the safety system enforcement and the labels that would be applied. So I just wanted to clarify that when we talk about recommender system and harmful content or content violating our X rules, these are two kind of systems that kind of interact in a way.

Q. So content which has a warning over it -- sorry, a post which has a content warning over it will not be recommended to any user, is that right?

A. Correct.

Q. Just going down, there's also "safe search" enabled for those under the age of 18. They can control who can reply to their posts. Continuing by default, I think, their account is protected, so their content can only be seen by people that follow them, is that right?

A. Yes. So they are mutually following each other.

Q. "Account filters", so, notifications can be muted -- if we just look over the page XIUC000187_0028 -- from certain categories of user, such as accounts which haven't verified themselves and then "block" and muting. So all users of X can block accounts instantly that they don't want to engage with, is that right?

A. Correct.

Q. In addition, there is a system of parental controls, is that right, which can be used to restrict a child from seeing certain material, for example, videos by people that they are not following?

A. I'm not sure if we have -- let me get back to you on that particular point.

Q. Thank you. I have drawn that from the parental controls on X, which, just for your reference, is XIUC000007.

I want to move on to how X does age assurance, which I got slightly ahead of myself before. That is XIUC000144, please.

So, you speak about the age assurance measures that are required under the Online Safety Act here, and how they work and then we go to a sort of staged system. So there are a series of measures that X will use to verify age, is that right?

A. That's correct.

Q. So "Verification Using Existing Highly Reliable Signals" is the first:

"Where these exist with regard to a user, we may start by assessing certain highly reliable signals in order to verify a user's age. Such signals include:

"[The] self-attested age ..."

So if a child has already said they are under 18, that's accepted.

A. Correct.
Q. Is there a risk, there, that a 13-year-old says that they are 17 and has access to adult content once they turn 14?
A. There is a possibility, but I will confirm that with the relevant teams and get back to you on that.
Q. Please do:
"ID verification."
Which we will all be familiar with. If you could turn over the page XIUC000144_0002. Just taking these slightly out of order, "Account creation date". So if the account was created in 2012 or earlier, on the basis that if someone has had an account that long, they are likely to be over the age of 18. Of course, none of this would stop someone accessing someone else's account, would you agree?
A. Yes, that is dependent on the person and their security measures on their phones and devices.
Q. Then we have 3, which is, "legacy verified public figures", "grey badged accounts" and "gold badged accounts". Are they accounts that have previously been subjected to age verification?
A. Correct. That's because they go through a process to get those badges.
Q. Thank you. The policy says:

"Where these signals exist, we may use them to determine whether that user is above or below a certain age, for example, 18 or under, without requiring further action from them."
Can I just ask one thing, this list says "we may start by assessing certain highly reliable signals", if we just go back a page XIUC000144_0001 and "such signals include"; are there other signals that are being used to verify, at this stage?
A. As far as I understand, this is kind of the list that I'm aware of but I can check with the technical teams, with the engineering team and product teams and get back.
Q. Thank you. If we then go down to the next section, please XIUC000144_0002:
"Estimation methods without further user involvement."
We see there, "email address-based estimation" and "phone number-based estimation".
Can you just assist with how that works?
A. Just, I want to caveat that the age assurance process is something that a different team owns. It is not safety owned, per se. So I can only speak to very kind of basic understanding of --
Q. That's fine, we don't need technical detail.

A. As far as I understand, I think we work with third-party vendors who have experience doing this particular kind of work, who will go through this kind of verification process for us.
Q. Thank you. Just cross-referencing this against the Ofcom guidance. Could we have up, please, OFC000029. So we have the guidance there and if we could have -- we can go straight to page 9 OFC000029_0009.
And paragraph 3.12, this is one of the examples given, so kinds of assurance -- sorry. Could we just go up just to the heading, I think, of this section which I think -- if you are able to scroll up.
(Pause) OFC000029_0008, there we go, so:
"Kinds of age assurance that are capable of being highly effective."
So this is Ofcom's characterisation of that. Thank you, if we can go back to 3.12 OFC000029_0009. "Email-based age estimation" is one of those. It says:
"There are solutions that estimate the age of a user by analysing the other online services where that user's provided email address has been used. This could include where an email address has been associated with financial institutions such as mortgage lenders."
Is that how X is doing it?
A. I can't speak to the specifics of how -- whether it is

this particular way we are doing it, but I do believe that it is done through a third-party vendor.
Q. Is it compliant with the non-exhaustive list of highly effective age assurance lists that Ofcom gives?
A. So we have been engaging with Ofcom and Ofcom are fully aware of the nature of our age assurance measures and we are complying with our duties under the Online Safety Act.
Q. So we will come onto an area in which X made some commitments, having liaised with Ofcom. Those weren't in relation to age assurance. Was Ofcom looking at X's age assurance processes at that time?
A. I'm not sure of the exact details and the timelines here but we have been engaging with Ofcom and they are aware of our age assurance measures.
Q. We saw, at the beginning of the age assurance policy, that it says: we're required by regulations, including the Online Safety Act and a number of others, to estimate the age. Is it right that X introduced these measures because it was required to by the Online Safety Act?
A. That is correct.
Q. And around the world, does X apply age assurance in any place where it is not legally required?
A. Where it is not legally required, we have historically

had self-declaration at the point of sign-up, where users self-declare their age and if they declare themselves to be under 18, they are locked from changing their age again and we do not show them any of the restricted content, including adult content and sensitive media.

Q. It is not my job to investigate X's approach globally but, of course, that raises the problems, doesn't it, that we saw with AR in Phase 1; would you agree?

A. I'm not aware of the specific details in that case but as I said, if an account is declared to be under the age of 18, they will not be able to view sensitive media on the platform.

Q. We will perhaps pick that up very shortly in more detail.

Could we have, please, page 26 of your statement and paragraph 65. Sorry, that's a bad reference. Can we go to page 24 XIUC000187_0024.

Just the bottom, paragraph 64 of that page. Thank you. So:

"X is confident that the age assurance measures it has designed and implemented to verify the age of UK users are highly effective, as required by the OSA and Ofcom guidance. X does not hold data on how often age assurance measures are circumvented or attempts made to

circumvent them. However, X is confident that these measures are robust for the following reasons:"

If we go over the page XIUC000187_0025, we will see your list. I'm not going to read it in full but you rely on, you say, the "reliable signals" that are used and refer to the email-based and phone number-based estimation. You make the point that those don't require user involvement and refer to the liveness checks, of selfies and images of IDs.

If we go to (c), you refer to the "reliability" of the signals. Keep going. The "fairness" and (e) "accessibility". Then paragraph 65 XIUC000187_0026:

"X continues to monitor performance of our age assurance measures through user feedback, performance metrics, multi-jurisdictional regulatory engagement and technological developments."

What are the performance metrics that are being referred to there?

A. Again, as I have said, I'm not the expert on -- or rather, I'm not directly involved in the age assurance process but the product teams that own this particular process have their own metrics to understand the efficacy of the age assurance measures that we have ruled out. And we can get back to you on those details.

Q. We read your paragraph 64, in your statement, where you

say:

"X does not hold data how often age assurance measures are circumvented or attempts made to circumvent them."

Is that consistent -- I ask, as an open question -- with saying you have performance metrics?

A. Again, to the best of my understanding, performance metrics could be beyond circumvention data, or data around attempts made to circumvent. This could be at the point of roll-out. This could be at the point of how AI-powered tools are being used for, say, the selfie method. But again, as I said, I want to be helpful to the Inquiry here and I can work with the teams and legal team to get back to you on that particular topic.

Q. Thank you. Please can you consider if those should have been disclosed under the Rule 9 request that the Inquiry made of X?

A. I will work with the legal teams on that.

Q. In terms of the lack of data, I said we would come back to the case study of AR and what the Phase 1 report concluded. AR had been asked, through what's called a neutral age gate, what his date of birth was. So he had been just presented with: please enter your date of birth. And when the Inquiry was belatedly provided with the date of birth that AR had entered for one of his X

accounts, it emerged he had lied and given 1990 date of birth which made him an adult, even though he was not. Are you familiar with that?

A. Yes, I have been made aware of that.

Q. Thank you. Could we have CHAIR000001. So this is the first volume of the Inquiry's Phase 1 report. Could we have page 121 CHAIR000001_0121, please. I just want to go through paragraphs 31 and 32:

"The data disclosed by X shows that AR began a user session on X at 10:29 on 29 July 2024 ..."

Which was the day of the tragic attack:

"... using an account ('the deactivated account'). The data disclosed for the extant account, for which X has provided a date of birth, does not show any user sessions on 29 July ... It therefore appears that AR was using the deactivated account when he carried out the searches for the stabbing."

That's -- I pause to mention -- the stabbing of the Bishop Mar Mari, that we will come onto, a video of the bishop being stabbed that was hosted on X:

"Nevertheless, I find that AR did use a false date of birth for this account, given that he had done the same for the extant X account and his Instagram accounts. As a result, I conclude that because of X's weak age verification processes at that time, AR was

able to use an adult account on X to search for the video of the stabbing. I further conclude that it is probable that AR did view the actual footage of the stabbing before carrying out the attack.

"I note that X has shown no signs of any self-critical reflection for the fact that AR was so easily able to bypass its (at the time) weak age verification process and thereby obtain search results for violent content. It is also regrettable that ..."

Sorry, there is a bit more about -- sorry:

"It is also regrettable that X's approach to disclosure meant that there was such a protracted process before X provided the admission that AR provided a false date of birth."

I'm going to come back to that topic later.

Ms Handoo, has there been self-critical reflection at X since this Phase 1 report?

A. So I would like to say that at safety -- and I'm going to reiterate what I said before. We do take the user safety and protection of minors on the platform as critical. This is even though we believe that X is not a platform for minors, it is not a platform of choice for minors, we still have very strong controls in place to protect minors from harmful content on the platform.

Before the OSA came into force and the age assurance

obligations kicked in, we did have self-declaration, as we have mentioned, in the past, but now, with our highly effective age assurance measures in place -- and we have discussed this in our evidence -- we have rolled out a multifaceted approach to highly effective age assurance in the UK.

Q. I'm not trying to suggest -- there was a change in the process of age verification from the process that was in place then, and the process that was in place now, I think is the point you are making, and I'm not trying to obscure that. But I understand the intent that you are giving but I'm actually asking about what practical things have resulted and again, I asked: has there been self-critical reflection at X since the Phase 1 report? In other words, has your safety team met, since reading this part of the Phase 1 report, and reflected on whether anything more needed to be done, in practical terms?

A. I think we, as safety team, are continually trying to improve our systems, right? And I just want to assure the Inquiry that the safety team is committed to continuing to invest in our moderation systems and our safety defences to ensure that minors are protected on the platform. We have systems in place where we are reviewing the performance of our automations. We are

ensuring that our policies are up to date. We are ensuring that our enforcement is proportionate to the harms that could potentially be caused as a result of particular types of content and behaviour showing up on the platform. So, I just want to kind of convey this, from safety -- the X safety team that this is not just a one-and-done thing. We are continually evolving and continually investing in our systems to protect the most vulnerable on our platform.

Q. Ms Handoo, I understand that and I think you have said much of that before but I'm looking for an answer to my question which is: has the safety team met to reflect on the issues that arose in the Phase 1 report?

A. I do believe that, given the fact that we have highly effective age assurance in UK, that is a way of ensuring that this doesn't happen again and if AR were to set up an account today, he would be subject to X's highly effective age assurance process, which was implemented following the Online Safety Act.

Q. Ms Handoo, I'm going to ask that question for the third time now: has the safety team met to reflect on the issues that arose in the Phase 1 report?

A. Yes, we have considered all the issues around this particular Inquiry and even the particular pieces of content that were escalated to us for review as part of

this Inquiry's investigation. And as I said, and I will say it again, we assure you we take all of these issues with the utmost seriousness in the company.

Q. That meeting did not lead to any sort of steps to determine whether there was any data to analyse whether users are circumventing the age assurance, is that right?

A. I don't believe we have that data, we do not hold that data at the moment.

Q. Because, as far as the Inquiry knows, there was never any suggestion that X knew that AR was a child using an adult account until the belated disclosure that was provided to the Inquiry, is that right?

A. I mean, that's my understanding.

Q. Has X gone through the exercise of age verifying all accounts that were created since the Online Safety Act came in?

A. I believe so. And, as at the very beginning of our conversation today, I did mention that, you know, the total -- the data that I provided of the fact that we have under 1 per cent of our total users in the UK under the age of 18 is through the highly effective age assurance process we have in place.

Q. And how many UK accounts have been reclassified as belonging to a user under 18, since the current measures

began?
A. I don't believe we have any data on how many UK accounts have been reclassified.
Q. Without data on circumvention, X cannot know that its measures are highly effective, is that right?
A. I don't think that is an accurate way of looking at the highly effective age assurance and the efficacy of highly effective age assurance methods, right? We do have a verification process, as we have discussed, through reliable signals. These are very much reliable given the fact that we are looking at ID verification in some instances. We are looking at the history of blue, verified badges in instances and we are also looking at previous declarations and so these are very kind of solid ways in which we verify a particular user's age -- or rather assure that we are not assuring content that should not be visible to people that are under the age of 18 on the platform.
MR BOYLE: Thank you. Sir, could we break? That's probably a good moment, from my perspective, to break for lunch. Could I ask for 45 minutes, so 2.05 pm?
SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Certainly.
MR BOYLE: Subject to any questions you may have.
SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: No, that's fine. We are going to break now for 45 minutes and you said 2.05 pm?

MR BOYLE: Yes.
SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: We will sit again in 45 minutes' time, 2.05 pm UK time. Thank you very much. I will rise.
(1.21 pm)
(The short adjournment)
(2.05 pm)
SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Yes, Mr Boyle. Thank you.
MR BOYLE: Sir, thank you. Just on timetabling, I was just going to mention that we, I'm afraid, are running a little bit behind today and so I think there has been agreement that the Roblox witness is to be pushed back to another date.
SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: So you are not under pressure of time this afternoon, Mr Boyle.
MR BOYLE: Yes, thank you.
Ms Handoo, good afternoon. You were going to come back on how many UK users there are under the age of 18, have you been able to clarify that?
A. I think -- I did speak with the legal team briefly and the data that I provided earlier today is accurate based on our age assurance methods. And the data, I will reiterate, is users are confirmed to be under the age of 18 are less than 1 per cent of all the accounts in the UK and between the age of 13-15, we have 27 point 9 thousand users and between the age of 16-17, we have

78 point 6 thousand users. And out of the 18.8 million users in the UK, 11.8 million, the age is known and the 7 million of this, the age is unknown. And even for -- I just want to caveat and highlight that even for the 7 million, where the age is unknown, we apply the same restrictions that we would do a user that is known to be under the age of 18.
Q. Can I just check, when you say "27 point 9 thousand", do you mean 27,900, correct?
A. 27,000.
Q. 900?
A. Yes.
Q. Thank you. Can we just have your statement at page 22 XIUC000187_0022, paragraph 58. We looked at this before. So you refer there, I think, to the Ofcom report and if we go overleaf XIUC000187_0023, we see there, based on the report from Ofcom:
"... based on survey responses, just 6% of under 18s in the UK use X and only 4% of that in the category have set up an X profile ..."
My research over the lunch break suggests that there are around 14.4 million under-18s in the UK, so 6 per cent would be around 850,000 and 4 per cent would be around 575,000. Can I ask, if you had your own figures, why did you put these in your statement? Why

didn't you just put X's own figures in this statement?
A. I believe it's because we have the data available now but to be very clear, the Ofcom report is based on a survey versus our report, our data is based on the age assurance methods we have implemented in the UK. So these are very different methodologies.
Q. Are you worried that there's such a difference or do you say it is because probably some of these children fit within the 7 million un-age-verified, who are still given an age-gated experience, if I can put it that way?
A. It is a possibility.
Q. But such a big discrepancy in the figures is concerning, is it not?
A. I mean, again, I reiterate what I mentioned earlier today, is that Ofcom is aware of our age assurance measures and that we are complying with the obligation under the Online Safety Act.
Q. I'm going to move on to recommendations, or the algorithm. So, your statement uses the terminology "recommendations", which is posts that are suggested using an algorithm as opposed to posted by accounts that are followed by the users, is that the right terminology?
A. Yes. We have both For You feed and as you mentioned earlier, we also have a feed where users can choose to

get notifications or see the feed based on the people they follow, or accounts they follow.
Q. And the recommendations are based on what?
A. The recommendations -- I mean, again, very rudimentary understanding because that is not the safety team's remit, we are not responsible for the recommender system. That is a separate --
Q. I just need a simple explanation.
A. So the basics is that it depends on engagement, it depends on how you have interacted with a particular piece of content and from safety's side, we ensure that when we apply any kind of enforcement, those pieces of content or accounts do not get injected into people's recommendations.
Q. Okay, but it is the engagement that sets the recommendation. So, in other words, X aims to provide recommendations to users of content that they might be interested in?
A. That is correct.
Q. There's obviously a risk then that if the user shows interest in violent content, for example, that the algorithm would try to feed them further violent content, which might have a harmful effect, do you agree? That that's a risk?
A. That is a residual risk. But, I, again, want to

highlight that both the recommender system and the safety system kind of work hand in hand. They are two separate systems and at least from the safety side, our goal is to enforce against violations as swiftly as possible, right? And even before a user can engage with that particular piece of content. So that kind of addresses the risk of violations being recommended or content that would be a violation of our violent content policy, or any other policy for that matter, to come up or be recommended to people on the platform.
Q. So there's a risk. The goal is to mitigate that risk by putting in appropriate safety mechanisms, correct?
A. Correct.
Q. And we will come onto some examples and see whether they draw any light on this.

Can I move on then to the moderation system and just the way it works, in broad terms. So, there are ways that users can moderate material, is that right? So what I mean by that is that, first of all, users can put on community notes to provide context to a post that has been made by another user, is that right?
A. Users can request a community note and users can also add a community note and there's a process around how the community note shows up and whether it is helpful or not.

And to answer your question, yes. If there is misleading content, we do have a provision to have community notes added to that particular piece of content that can provide more context, or perhaps even debunk any kind of misleading information that might be present.
Q. So, that's perhaps more aimed at kind of misinformation or disinformation, is that right?
A. Correct. That is more geared towards misleading information.
Q. But users can also put content warnings on their own posts, is that right?
A. Correct. So we do require users to add -- or rather, specify that their piece of content that they are posting is either adult content or may contain sensitive media.
Q. And as well as putting warnings -- content warnings on specific posts, they can also put them on their profiles, as a whole, is that right?
A. Correct, so if an account is sharing sensitive media, that does not kind of cross the line into gratuitous gore, users are required to then mark their account as sensitive.
Q. Thank you, and users can also report posts, profiles and direct messages that are in violation of the terms of

service, rules and policies, correct?
A. Correct.
Q. But reporting doesn't necessarily mean that a content warning will be applied, is that right?
A. That is right. So, when a user reports a particular piece of content or an account to X, our teams, either through automation or through a human review, would check whether that particular piece of content does in fact violate our policies and then apply appropriate remediation in those instances.
Q. Thank you. X also works with what are called "trusted flaggers", such as the UK Safer Internet Centre, is that right?
A. So yes, we receive escalations from groups around the world, including in the UK and we review those cases as swiftly as possible.
Q. But those posts again, if they are flagged, it doesn't necessarily mean that a warning will be applied, is that right?
A. So, just to kind of take a step back. Even if there is a trusted flagger report, or any report for that matter, at the end of the day, we have to apply our policies consistently and in a manner that is proportionate to the risk of harm associated with that particular piece of content. So if a trusted flagger is reporting

a particular piece of content to us, that does not make the content, in and of itself, a violation. We will still review those pieces of content or accounts under our policies.

Q. When you are reviewing -- or your moderation system, it is a combination of both technology and human review, is that right?

A. Correct. So the way X's safety team does content moderation is by a combination of automation as well as human review.

Q. So that automation is things like AI models, machine learning, algorithms to automatically detect content that violates the rules and policies, is that right?

A. Correct. Those are some of the technologies used.

Q. And is that technology trained on the Online Safety Act, if I can put it that way?

A. These models are trained in X rules. So the way automation works is that, as you mentioned, we have machine learning models, we have heuristics and then we also have AI or LLM-based models. The way they enforce or automate any kind of review or flagging of content is slightly different depending on the particular technology we are talking about here, right? So, for instance, I will give you an example, machine learning models -- they are a fairly older technology, which, the

way it works is that you feed examples of known violations to the model or examples of no violations to the model and then the model tries to look for similar content on the platform.

But on the other side, you have hash-matching, where you have known violations that are hashed and then the technology is able to pick up similar videos on the platform.

Then the third form, as by way of example, is LLM, large language models, that are essentially kind of trained in the policy to look for violations, depending on that policy.

So there's multiple ways in which automation works and again, it depends on which automation type you are talking about and what the output is and then what the kind of level of accuracy is for the automation, to either enforce automatically or kind of flag content for further human review.

Q. Does the automation enforce the Online Safety Act?

A. It would -- it enforces the X rules and within the X rules, there is an overlap with the Online Safety Act.

Q. So there is a basket of content which is not automatically moderated but should be regulated by the Online Safety Act, is that right?

A. Yes, and we do have reporting available for those

particular types of categories.

Q. You tell us that X has dedicated operational teams for responding to user reports, which work 24 hours a day, seven days a week. How many human moderators are there worldwide?

A. The data I have -- that I recall is from the EU Digital Services Act transparency report where, I believe, at least for the English language support, we had approximately 1,300 users kind of dedicated to the content moderation space. I'm not fully -- I don't have the data available for overall language support.

Q. How many of those are UK-based?

A. So, the way content moderation works at X is that there is no kind of content moderation teams dedicated to, like say, particular countries. These are people who are hired for their language capabilities and are able to apply our policies consistently and at scale, the moment we receive a particular piece of report. So, all 1,300 could be working on reports that we receive from the UK users.

Q. So, there's no automation to deal with material that comes within the Online Safety Act but not within X's rules and there are only 1,300 people worldwide to deal with that type of material, is that right?

A. Sorry, could you repeat the question?

Q. Yes. You said that the automated tools are dealing with X's rules. So you have also accepted that there is a category of material which doesn't come within the rules but is subject to the Online Safety Act, correct?

A. Correct.

Q. And the only people that are moderating that is 1,300 people worldwide?

A. That is the number of English-speaking moderators on the team.

Q. How many of those understand the Online Safety Act?

A. I do believe that there is a particular team that is trained in the Online Safety Act.

Q. The numbers, when painted against -- I can't remember how many it was, was it 500 million posts a day on X, globally, there is quite a severe mismatch there, isn't there?

A. I don't believe that that is kind of a fair conclusion here. As I have said, we do have automation in place and the way we are investing in automation is that we want to address violations as swiftly as possible. For instance, I will give you an example, more than 90 per cent of the instances where we enforce against accounts or content for containing CSAM material is flagged through our automation means. Similarly, for any kind of violent entities, a majority of the content

that is flagged and eventually enforced upon, is flagged through our automation. So we are trying to invest more and more in automation, especially for cases that are high severity violations and address them and mitigate against the risks, as swiftly as possible.

There is, as I mentioned before, a possibility that there is a delta and that delta is addressed by our reporting mechanisms, robust reporting mechanisms, that we have within the UK as well.

Q. Is that really credible, Ms Handoo, that the delta is addressed by users reporting it and no active moderation by X?

A. So we do -- based on our legal requirements under the UK Online Safety Act, we are meeting the dedicated SLAs for that review of reports that we receive within the UK.

Q. Does Ofcom know that X does not consider that its rules cover all harm that comes within the Online Safety Act?

A. The majority of our policies do overlap with the Online Safety Act, particularly priority offences.

Q. Ms Handoo, it might be said that majority of policies overlapping is simply not good enough, mightn't it?

A. I mean to that, I will say that we are following the rules under the OSA. We are meeting our obligations under the Online Safety Act.

Q. Well, I might ask how you could be doing that if you are

not moderating this batch of material?

A. I don't think I have, at any point, said we are not monitoring this particular batch of content. We are very much -- we do have all the required processes in place that the Online Safety Act requires from companies like X. We do have a robust reporting mechanism. We do have a fairly easy process to report this particular piece of content and we do have moderators that are trained in the Online Safety Act, that are taking appropriate enforcement action as swiftly as possible.

Q. But that's a small subset of 1,300 people who are responding to matters that are flagged to them, is that right?

A. I don't have that data but, again, I will reiterate that by saying that we have a particular -- you know -- x number of moderators kind of automatically equates the fact that we are not moderating content, I disagree with that. As I said, a majority of our content is moderated through automation, which overlaps with Online Safety Act, which we take very seriously at X.

And in those rare circumstances where users may find the content and believe that to be a violation of local law, they have an easily available reporting functionality that they can use and those subsequently are reviewed by our teams.

Q. I have already asked you whether that's sufficient, so I will move on.

What percentage of X's revenue is spent on content moderation?

A. I don't have that information and I would also like to kind of state that the way safety operates is not to do with how much of our revenue we should be spending on safety of our users but ensuring that, no matter where our users are, they have a safe experience on our platform. So, therefore, we are constantly ensuring that our defences -- our safety defences are nimble and robust and are addressing violations as swiftly --

Q. Ms Handoo, I'm sorry, I'm going to interrupt you because you are not answering my question. I asked you about the percentage of revenues, you said you don't have it. That was raised in your evidence proposal. Why not?

A. And I'm trying to -- I'm not -- again, I want to be helpful to this Inquiry but I also want to provide as much context as possible.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Ms Handoo, I'm going to interrupt now. I understand there may be an explanation that underlines your lack of preparedness to provide the percentage figure, but is the case today that although that was raised in the witness proposal, you simply haven't sought the figure and are unable to provide it today?

A. I don't believe we have that data.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Well, I consider that to be very disappointing since the question was raised and X would have been alerted to the fact that you were likely to be asked that question. So the answer to Mr Boyle's question is: you are unable to provide that figure. Thank you. Do you want to move on, Mr Boyle.

MR BOYLE: Thank you, sir.

It was suggested, in the Inquiry seminars, that X had lowered its headcount in moderating in recent years, is that true?

A. Yes. We have reduced a number of human moderators but at the same time, we have made tremendous investments in ensuring that our automations are robust and that they are addressing violations as swiftly as possible. So it is not kind of like a binary here. I just wanted to kind of give that context.

Q. How has resourcing -- so putting headcount to one side -- of your team changed over time since you arrived in 2020?

A. I think that to answer that question, I need to also ensure that people in the room --

Q. Ms Handoo, just answer the question, please.

A. Since 2020 there has been a decrease in number of human moderators but at the same time, there has been

an increase in how we use automation from a safety perspective.
Q. Has there been a decrease in resources put into automation?
A. Sorry, could you repeat that?
Q. Has there been a decrease in resources that are put into automation, financial or headcount?
A. Again, I don't have the exact answer to that question but we have made tremendous investments in our automation.
Q. I don't need the exact answer, I just need to know whether there has been a decrease or not?
A. In the human moderation?
Q. No, in resources put into automation, in other words, how much money your team spends on automation and how many people your team has working on automation?
A. I don't have that answer for you but I can say that we have increased our investment in -- and resourcing into automation and how we use automation and again, I do think that there is important context we are missing here. Things have changed. What the companies and what automation looked like, even one year ago, is not the same and I want to make sure that we are not missing this important detail in this conversation, that we continue to invest in state-of-the-art automation.

Does that investment look like the exact same that it was five years ago? Probably not. But we still want to make sure that we are led by the very important principle, which is ensuring the safety of our community and what is the best way to do that from an automation perspective.
Q. Sorry, when you say the investment -- "does that investment look like the exact same that it was five years ago? Probably not", you are saying that probably, the level of investment has decreased?
A. I can't speak to the specifics on that.
Q. Well, you just said "probably not", Ms Handoo.
A. I mean, that's kind of giving you an assessment of where the state of technology was 20 years ago. So I can speak to the state of technology, not to the exact dollar value associated with that state of technology.
Q. When a post is moderated, does the automated technology bring it to a human? So, in other words, does the automated technology apply the moderation itself or is it raised to a human?
A. So it depends on the level of accuracy, right? So there are instances where the automation might take action on its own, depending on the level of accuracy being achieved with that particular automation. Or in certain cases where the level of accuracy is not high enough,

the confidence level is not high enough, automation might flag content for human moderators for them to review.
Q. And do human moderators carry out their own proactive searches for content to moderate?
A. In certain specific scenarios, there might be instances where specialised teams within safety might be proactively monitoring content on the platform or sweeping content, based on specific keywords or known keywords. And this is done primarily to ensure that we are not missing any trends, that we are keeping on top of any kind of violative trends, or any new kind -- any change in the landscape when it comes to violations on the platform.
Q. So those specific scenarios are to address a new violative trend, someone might carry out proactive work in those circumstances?
A. So that is one kind of use case for these proactive sweeps, the other one is to also kind of make sure that violations are being addressed as swiftly as possible. So they may take enforcement action but they may also ensure that they are not missing out on any kind of new trends that they may find through this proactive monitoring and sweeps.
Q. Thank you. So when a post is moderated it might have

a content warning added to it, is that right?
A. Correct.
Q. Which would mean it wouldn't appear to under 18s. Is this right, that X can also label accounts frequently posting such media so that the account has a graphic content warning?
A. Correct.
Q. And is this right, X can also block certain keywords from being suggested in auto-complete or in the trending topics?
A. Correct. Search auto-complete, yes.
Q. One of the potential options is to ban an account?
A. Yes, that would be a suspension action.
Q. I think you tell us that attempts to evade enforcement by creating new accounts imitating a suspended account or re-purposing an already existing account are prohibited, at your paragraph 24.
How is X able to determine attempts at ban evasion?
A. So this would be something that our operations team are trained on and then we also have automations in place for, but it could be if the person is using the same mobile device, if they are using the same email address, if they are using the same phone number associated. So those are some of the examples --
Q. I don't think we want a comprehensive list. Thank you.

Can I ask you, please, about the philosophy that sits behind enforcement. So could we have page 8 XIUC000187_0008 paragraph 22 of your statement. You say:

"We start from a position of assuming that people do not intend to violate our rules. Unless a violation is so egregious that we must immediately suspend an account (for example because it presents a serious safety or security risk, such as a direct threat of violence), we first try to educate people about our Rules and give them a chance to correct their behaviour."

I think that wording is more or less taken from the enforcement philosophy document that you have exhibited, XIUC000011, but we don't need to turn it up. Is that right?

A. Correct.

Q. We have had evidence from Mr Adam Hadley of Tech Against Terrorism, who said that some platforms operate a presumption of non-removal, which is normally only rebuttable by clear evidence. Is that what this part of your statement is saying, in other words, the presumption is that content does not violate the rules?

A. What this statement essentially means is that we don't believe -- our default is not to believe that users use our platforms to violate our policies. And in certain

circumstances, as I mentioned here, the violations are so egregious that we will suspend an account even when it is their first ever violation. But in certain scenarios, where users may violate the policy one time, we will ask them to remove that content and it kind of serves as an opportunity for them to understand what our rules and policies are with regard to these content types. So it is kind of like an education process. But even in those cases, when we know that the risk of harm is high enough and these users continue and repeatedly violate the policies, we would, at some point, also suspend those accounts. Because then the assumption is that they are not here to follow the rules, they are here to just violate our policies.

Q. Thank you. But when someone flags a post, does X need to receive evidence that there was a breach of the rules before it will find a violation?

A. How would -- sorry, so the process, the way it works is that if somebody is reporting a particular piece of content, that's it, like they just need to click through which policy they believe it violates and it goes to our moderators, or it goes through an automation review process. Only -- so, during that review process, we look at that particular piece of content or any kind of associated context we may find within that particular

piece of content and enforce accordingly. The user simply needs to report that particular piece of content.

Q. But when you are analysing it, as you said, you assume that people don't intend to violate, correct?

A. Well, yes, but if the post contains an obvious violation, if there is a threat of harm, for instance, or if there is any kind of child sexual abuse material, we would still take action. It doesn't matter what their intention was, because if it is crossing the line, it is crossing the line.

Q. So there may be some posts where it is very obvious and others where it is more finally balanced judgement, is that right?

A. Exactly. Again, look, X is a platform and I think, at the very beginning of this conversation you mentioned 500 million posts being shared on the platform in a single day. There's going to be a lot of grey areas that we deal with every day as well. It is not always black and white. And that is one of the kind of difficult parts of any safety team at any social media company. So to answer your question, there are certain cases that are obvious violations and in certain instances, you have to kind of look beyond and understand the context in which a particular piece of content may be shared on the platform.

Q. Thank you. You pick up, then, on my next point, which is page 16 XIUC000187_0016, paragraph 48(c). You say:

"... context is critical to our enforcement philosophy: we seek to evaluate and understand contextual nuances surrounding content before taking action, and we allow expressions of Violent Speech, when there is no clear abusive and violent context, and some types of Violent Media. Content in this category is not policy-violating."

We will come onto look at examples, as I have said.

Does that mean that, if there is footage, for example, of violence, accompanied by a topic of legitimate public interest, then it may not be taken down?

A. So a couple of points on that. When we talk about "violent media", we have kind of three categories of enforcement --

Q. Sorry, we will come onto the violent content policy, Ms Handoo. I just want to ask about this point about context first.

I just want to understand if footage of violence is accompanied by a topic of legitimate public interest, might that be sufficient to ensure that it is not flagged or that it is not given a content warning, et cetera?

A. So if it is in public interest, we will still kind of consider what the risk of harm associated with that piece of content is. As I have said, it is a contextual analysis and we have to weigh the balance between how does this further public discourse versus is it a likelihood of harm associated with us leaving up that content?

But in most of these situations, if we do lean towards the public interest value of that piece of content, it is likely we will put that behind an interstitial if it is media, or we might restrict the reach of that content if it is text-based.

Q. Thank you. So let's then look at the policy. That might be easier. It is XIUC000014. I'm going to take you, first please, to the violent and hateful entities policy and we will work through them. So starting with the violent and hateful entities policy, that is XIUC000014.

So this is the policy on violent organisations:

"There is no place on X for violent and hateful entities, including (but not limited to) terrorist organisations, violent extremist groups, perpetrators of violent attacks, or individuals who affiliate with and promote their illicit activities. The violence and hate these entities engage in and/or promote jeopardises the

physical safety of those targeted."

There is some more detail there.

Can we turn over the page, please XIUC000014_0002. So "What is in violation of this policy?":

"Under this policy, you can't affiliate with or promote the activities of violent and hateful entities. Examples of the types of content that violate this policy include, but are not limited to, doing the following on behalf of, indirectly, or directly for a violent or hateful entity:

"Engaging in or promoting violent acts.

"Recruiting, or providing or distributing services (such as media/propaganda) to further stated goals."

Can I just ask you about one element of this, Ms Handoo; is this policy aimed purely at those who have a terrorist ideology, or does it apply more widely? So, to use American terminology, which probably more or less overlaps, would it apply to nihilistic violence?

A. I believe that it is (a) not limited to just terrorist entities. Any violent entity, whether it is a criminal organisation, would fall under this policy as long as they meet the designation criteria.

Q. So one category that might come within this policy -- you tell me -- is the Com networks that we will look at, are you aware of Com networks?

A. I think I did -- we were notified of this particular type/category of content.

But as long as -- if they are not engaging with any kind of violence in the real world and it's not kind of systematic use of violence to further a particular cause, in those instances, we would be designating them as violent entities.

Q. Sorry, so you would designate as violent entities, even if they are not engaging in violence in the real world? Sorry --

A. No, that is not what I said. So if you are not engaging in violent activities in the real world, then that entity would not fall under our violent entities policies.

Q. Thank you. What about if you are coercing others into doing that?

A. That would be -- I mean, again, if there is advocacy for violence on the platform, that would be a violation of our violent content policy. If you are inciting violence against a particular community or a group of people, that would also be a violation of our violent content policy, but not our violent entities policy.

Q. You said that you were notified of the issues of Com groups. I think you were referring to the evidence proposal you have received for this Inquiry. Were you

unaware of Com groups or Com networks before you prepared to give evidence?

A. Not me, personally, but it is likely that our operations team that does do these reviews regularly may have considered those.

Q. Have you been able to read into them when preparing to give evidence?

A. I'm not involved in content moderation decisions, so I did not. I'm aware of the policies and I can speak to the policies more broadly here today.

Q. Aren't Com networks precisely the sort of issue that the safety team should be very much on top of?

A. And I'm not saying that we are not. I'm just saying that my knowledge is more related to the policies, the broad policies on how we enforce and what is the rationale behind our enforcement. So if there are any communities that are actively advocating for violence on our platform, we will be taking action against those accounts, under our various policies, not just violent entity policies.

Q. Thank you. You summarise a couple of the other policies which I don't think we need to pull up the underlying policies, but can we have your statement which summarises them, at page 5 XIUC000187_0005.

So (b) is:

"Perpetrators of Violent Attacks: this policy prohibits any accounts maintained by individual perpetrators of terrorist, violent extremist, or mass violent attacks, as well as any accounts glorifying the perpetrator ... or dedicated to sharing manifestos and/or third-party links ..."

So the Inquiry heard evidence yesterday about material on TikTok that glorified AR. That would be contrary to X's policies, is that right?

A. So that would be our glorification of violence policy, yes. If any user is glorifying violence perpetrated by a terrorist entity or any violent individual, that would be a violation of our policies, correct.

Q. Then we see the "hateful conduct" policy there which is further context, although perhaps not directly relevant to the issues we are considering.

Can we move on then, please, to the violent content policy, so that's XIUC000013.

It is dated in February 2025. It says:

"You may share graphic media if it is properly labelled, not prominently displayed and is not excessively gory or depicting sexual violence, but explicitly threatening, inciting, glorifying or expressing desire for violence is not allowed."

There's then a bit more general context provided

there. Then two definitions:

"Violent Content is any content containing Violent Speech or Violent Media, as defined below:

"Violent Speech: Content that threatens, incites, glorifies or expresses desire for violence or harm."

We go through that and we will come onto "violent media" next. There is a list there of violent speech that is not allowed and I think you maybe were referring to the fourth bullet point:

"Glorification of Violence: Glorifying, praising or celebrating acts of violence where harm occurred, including expressing gratitude or praising that someone experienced physical harm by Violent Entities. This also includes glorifying animal abuse or cruelty."

So that is not allowed, is that right?

A. Correct.

Q. If we could go to page 3 XIUC000013_0003, we then come to "violent media", and that is defined as:

"Visual material depicting graphic, violent or excessively gory content including sexual violence."

Then we have the list of what is not allowed, so:

"... prohibit Violent Media that we consider high in severity and likelihood of harm. Such content must be removed and subsequent violations may result in the account being placed in read-only mode or suspended.

This includes:"

So, not allowed:

"Violent Sexual Conduct:"

The next bullet point:

"Gratuitous Gore: [So] media of humans or animals that depicts excessively graphic or gruesome content related to death, violence or severe physical harm including dismembered or mutilated humans, charred or burned human remains, exposed internal organs or bones and animal torture or killing."

It says, included there, that list is not exhaustive is that right?

A. This is not exhaustive but the inclusions here are informative of what kind of content we would be considered as gratuitous.

Q. Would you agree with my characterisation that it is the absolute worst content that is precluded?

A. Correct.

Q. Then:

"Moment of Death: We may request the removal of images or videos that were taken at the point of, immediately before, or after an identifiable individual's death, if we receive a request from their family or an authorised representative."

Just for context for this, presumably is in the

absence of gratuitous gore or sexual violence?

A. That would be correct.

Q. But -- and it may be restricted from children or subject to a content warning, is that right?

A. So it would be excluded, yes.

Q. Yes. Sorry, that's actually putting it a bit too low. It is actually not allowed, correct?

A. Yes. So, moment of death, when we receive a report from a family member or authorised representative, that is completely removed from the platform, that is the policy.

Q. But it is subject to that contingency, isn't it? So you will only remove moment of death if you receive a request and that request has to be from a family member or an authorised representative, is that right?

A. Correct.

Q. If that family member or authorised representative aren't aware of the video on X, then this provision just simply isn't engaged, is that right?

A. That would be correct.

Q. And "may request removal". In other words, if a family member or authorised representative asks for violent media that shows the moment of death of their loved one to be removed, X retains a discretion to keep it online, is that right?

A. I mean, the policy -- the default is to remove when we receive a report from a family member or authorised representative.
Q. Why doesn't the policy just say that, then?
A. Because there may be situations where the content is part of a broader newsworthy conversation or part of broader public debate.
Q. Even where a family member has asked for the footage of their loved one's moment of death to be taken down?
A. Again, there is no absolutes here but, as I have mentioned, the default is to remove that content from the platform.
Q. We then move on. So just before we do, before we get to restricted reach, the list includes bestiality necrophilia and then says:

"We also prohibit Violent Media within areas that are highly visible on X, such as in live video, profile, header, list banner images, or community cover photos or targeting someone [consensually] with unwanted Violent Media."

And "Restricted Reach":

"You are allowed to post the following Violent Media provided it's properly labelled with a content warning so users who do not wish to see it can avoid it. This also helps ensure that children below the age of 18 are

not exposed to it. Examples include depictions of Graphic Media ..."

So we now go through a list of material which can be posted but users are asked -- or required to put a content warning on it, albeit that's something that initially, they have to do themselves, is that right?
A. Correct. They are required to add that interstitial.
Q. That includes, first of all:

"Violent crimes or accidents;"

Can we go over the page XIUC000013_0005:

"Physical fights;

"Bodily fluids including blood, feces, et cetera;

"Serious physical harm, including visible wounds;

"Severely injured or mutilated animals;"

And then:

"Media of humans or animals that depicts death, violence, medical procedures, or serious physical injury in graphic detail but does not rise to the threshold of excessively gory; or ...

"Excessively gory media that is otherwise removed may remain on the platform if it is associated with newsworthy events, to raise awareness or to call for political action, and [it] is properly labelled with a content warning."

Then, it says:

"X takes public interest factors into account when reviewing reports related to images and videos that depict deceased individuals. In limited circumstances, we might not remove this media and/or limit its exposure, even on receipt of a valid report."

We are going to come onto some -- as I have said a number of times -- examples next, but just pausing there. Do you agree that X is setting an incredibly high threshold for what can be posted on the platform, albeit with a content warning?
A. I think our policies are very clear in terms of what we do not allow and --
Q. I have not said it is unclear. Sorry, Ms Handoo, I'm going to cut across you because I have not said it is unclear. I am asking you about how high the threshold is in relation to violent media. Do you agree it is a very high threshold?
A. I think before I answer that question, I want to kind of clarify that the threshold that we have established, or the line where we draw, when it comes to violent media, is based on the fact that we, as a platform, are a global town square, right? Users come onto our platform to break news. Users come onto our platform to ensure that they are able to speak truth to power, they are able to highlight abuses happening around the world.

And we have made that decision based on how the users are using our platform and also what is the risk of harm associated with that particular piece of content.

So according to the X safety team we have drawn these lines based on our experience dealing with these issues on the platform and what the most proportionate response is when it comes to these types of content.
Q. Ms Handoo, I'm going to extend your town square metaphor. There is no town square in the UK or the US, at least in the 21st century, where one could see these types of activities, is there?
A. I mean, I would make the argument X is the town square. It is the virtual town square, where people come together to really understand what is happening in their countries, in their society, and around the world.
Q. Thank you. You said that it is an opportunity for people to comment on newsworthy issues. Was that right? People come there to break news. But there's no requirement in this list -- apart from saying that you will take public interest factors into account, but there's no requirement in this list, except in the bottom bullet point, that it needs to be newsworthy.

So you don't have to have a newsworthy footage to post severely injured or mutilated animals. It doesn't have to be newsworthy to post media of humans or animals

that depict "death, violence, medical procedures, or serious physical injury or graphic detail but does not rise to the threshold of excessively gory"; that is right, isn't it?

A. Yes. I mean, if it's not rising to the level of excessively gory content, we will put that behind an interstitial, even if it's not newsworthy.

Q. So you say that X is the town square, but another way of putting it would be that X is the place where people can go to post very graphic content with no newsworthy basis for it, do you agree?

A. I mean, our policies are clear. We do not allow excessively gory content on the platform.

Q. Let me word that correctly. Content of mutilated animals, to take an example, or serious physical injury in graphic detail?

A. That does not cross the line into our gratuitous gore policy and therefore, will be allowed, albeit behind an interstitial, correct.

Q. Let's look at the example. So the posting on X was identified by the South West Grid for Learning. That is a report the Inquiry isn't relying on but we have pulled out three posts that were identified, which are in the witness statement of Mr -- second witness of Mr Howarth. Can we have, please, ILT000398. Mr Howarth refers, in

paragraphs -- from paragraph 2, to three posts identified on the social media platform X with violent content and weapons use and their posts, they're labelled as X1, X2 and X3, identified in the report by South West Grid for Learning and so on, as I have introduced.

But importantly, that "these posts remain available on X", and were found when the search was done on 5 November, so a week ago. Using -- I should say, with an adult X account.

If we could go over the page ILT000398_0002. So, we have referred to the posts here -- or Mr Howarth as referred to the posts here, but he has redacted the username, the exact date of posting and the exact caption, just out of caution to avoid encouraging copycat behaviour or giving these posts more attention than is necessary.

But the content is summarised there. So, starting with X1:

"... two youths fighting with knives. They do not make contact. There does not appear to be any content warnings on this post. The post refers to a fight between youths and is from an account that describes itself as 'street news'."

Mr Howarth says:

"The video has hundreds of thousands of views ..."

And was made over a month ago.

You have dealt with that in a further statement which has been exhibited by Mr Howarth. If we could have ILT000399. If we just go to the bottom paragraph, thank you. So you describe the post:

"... featuring a video clip which appears to show two youths fighting with knives ... The youths in the video ... do not appear to make contact with one another and there is no sign of injury."

Could we go over the page, please ILT000399_0002. You determined that the post was within the policy:

"In circumstances where the individuals depicted do not make physical contact with one another and there is no injury, the content does not amount to Violent Media under X's Violent Content policy".

Then you say that:

"X has determined that the ... Post is neither illegal content nor content that is harmful to children under the OSA."

You give some details from the "Guidance on Content Harmful to Children", such as:

"... 'content depicting physical fights' such as 'an individual being stabbed with a knife during a fight' may amount to content that is harmful to

children ... a 'video with language or visuals referencing knife crime without glamouring it' is an example of content that Ofcom considers not to be violent content that is harmful to children."

Looking at those two bits of guidance from Ofcom. It is right, I think to say -- starting, firstly, it is a physical fight that's being shown, isn't it? And it is not obvious, from the video, that an individual is stabbed. So, as you said, the video doesn't meet that requirement of the Ofcom guidance, is that right?

A. Correct. It is not considered content harmful to children.

Q. But when we look at the parameter of "video with language or visuals referencing knife crime without glamourising it", that's not really applicable here, is it? It is not a video with language or video referencing knife crime; it is a video of knife crime, slightly different?

A. Sorry, could you repeat that part?

Q. I'm just asking whether that second quotation, "video with language or visuals referencing knife crime without glamourising it" is met, in these circumstances?

A. I mean, it is referencing a knife crime, in that -- if I recall correctly, in that particular video, you have two kind of men circling each other but there is no

contact being made between the two individuals, or there is no injury depicted in that particular piece of imagery. And the way the author, or the user, is kind of sharing that is to kind of shed light on what's happening in that kind of neighbourhood, if you will.

Q. It might be said that the video comes somewhere between the two of these requirements, do you agree?

A. But it is not -- there is no stabbing in the video, so I would say that this is not -- there is no confusion here.

Q. Do you think there is room for credible argument one way or the other?

A. Again, I repeat that in the video there is no physical contact between the two, so there is no stabbing happening in the video.

Q. I'm just asking whether you accept that there is room for credible argument one way or the other?

A. I mean, again, like look -- and I'm not going to sit here and deny this -- in the space of safety or content moderation there can be subjectivity. So you can look at something and come to one conclusion and the other person can look at the same piece of content and come to another conclusion. The role of safety, the role of any content moderation team is to ensure we are applying our policies consistently as much as possible. So in this

situation, based on our policies, as well as the Ofcom guidance, there is no contact being made between the two individuals, therefore, the video is not a violation of our policies or is not considered content harmful to children.

Q. But it is a video that X chooses to make available to 13-year-olds, is that right?

A. I mean, there is no contact, so it is not age-gated. It doesn't reach the level of any kind of violence, at least the way it is --

Q. Ms Handoo, I'm sorry but that's not credible, is it? You can't say a video of two youths fighting with knives does not reach the level of any kind of violence. It just doesn't show injury?

A. I think, again, you are free to disagree with our decision but we are following our policies here which very clearly say what is gratuitous gore, what is media that needs to be put behind interstitial and what is the content that will be allowed on the platform. And based our assessment on this particular piece of content, we believe this is not a violation of our policies and is not content harmful to children under the OSA.

MR BOYLE: Thank you. Sir, we have been going for just over an hour it might be sensible to take a five-minute break and then we might need to go slightly -- we might need

a slightly longer break later, might be the best way to do it. I'm just looking towards the transcriber.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Yes. We will make it slightly longer, quarter past. We will have a break now.

MR BOYLE: Sir, we could do a longer break now, if you prefer.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: No, we will do 3.15 pm.

(3.08 pm)

(A short break)

(3.15 pm)

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Yes, Mr Boyle.

MR BOYLE: Thank you. Ms Handoo, moving on to the next video, so that is video X2/A24, can we have up Mr Howarth's statement, again? It is ILT000398. And page 2 ILT000398_0002, please. And paragraph 6 and 7:

"X2 shows a group of men sitting on a sofa. One man is holding the gun near his friend's mouth and pulls the trigger. There is a content warning which states: 'Content Warning: Graphic Content -- X labelled this post as containing Graphic Content'. The text alongside the video in the post makes reference to gore and does not refer to current affairs, news or politics. It has hundreds of thousands of views ..."

And:

"Post X2 was made over three years ago ..."

The description is there. The video shows a person apparently shot in the head with a rifle, correct?

A. I mean -- so, if I recall correctly, there is a video of a few people in the video with one person holding a gun but they are all kind of like laughing and then it kind of -- the way the video is presented or the video is shot, it seems like it could be shot, but there is no kind of like -- there is no -- it is not really clear from the clip whether they are actually shot or not.

Q. Can we have the exhibit in the part of your statement that address this. It is ILT000399, and page 3 ILT000399_0003. Your description at paragraph 82, is:

"A24 is a Post [which is the same video] published by the account ... containing footage of a person who is apparently shot in the head by a rifle."

That is right, isn't it?

A. Well, it is a -- it is not exactly clear because it could be a case of like a fake gun and them just messing around.

Q. There's nothing that the user can see to confirm that that's the case, is there?

A. That it is a real shot or not?

Q. No, to confirm that it's people messing around?

A. Yes, that's one way of interpreting the video.

Q. The person who is apparently shot, you see their body go

to the ground, don't you?
A. Yes, but you don't see any kind of gunshot wound or the after-effects.
Q. So it is not necessarily gory in that way but would you agree that it is violence of the highest severity?
A. Again, that is one interpretation but the way the video is depicted is that it is kind of a group of friends laughing and messing around with each other, so it is a high likelihood that they are just messing around instead of that being an actual gunshot.
Q. Ms Handoo, you have no idea whether that's the case or not, do you?
A. I mean, one can argue the other way as well. There is no way one can confirm whether the individual was actually shot or not.
Q. Well, the way you put it in your statement was that "footage of a person who is apparently shot in the head" correct?
A. Again, that could just be people messing around.
Q. Do you agree that the video is an extremely disturbing thing for an adult, let alone a child, to see?
A. I mean -- so it doesn't cross the line into gratuitous gore but --
Q. That's not what I asked.
A. So, just kind of, again, I want to kind of clarify.

That when you say something is disturbing, that can be a very subjective assessment and we do apply an interstitial and we did apply an interstitial over this video.
Q. I'm not asking about the interstitial, Ms Handoo. I'm asking about the content that's in the video. And I'm simply asking for an assessment of whether it is disturbing or not and is your answer that a video of someone apparently being shot in the head, it is subjective whether that is disturbing or not?
A. Again, it is not obvious that the person is shot in the video, is what I'm trying to say. And I think your question around whether somebody can find that disturbing is a subjective assessment and that is why I'm mentioning the fact that we do have an interstitial on this, which effectively kind of (a) age-gates that question, so a minor does not see that content on the platform and even if an adult, who chooses not to see sensitive media, will not be shown this particular piece of content without the interstitial.
Q. There is nothing in the text alongside the video that comments on matters of public interest, is there?
A. No, but I also want to clarify that the public interest is not the only reason why we would allow a video on the platform, right? It does not cross the line into

gratuitous, or according to our policies, and therefore we took appropriate action under the policies.
Q. I haven't suggested that it is in breach of the policies, Ms Handoo, I'm just asking whether it comments on matters of public interest.

The comment actually makes reference to gore, doesn't it?
A. It does have a hashtag, yes.
Q. And the video is gratuitous violence, isn't it?
A. It is not gratuitous violence, according to our policies.
Q. But that's not a test in your policies. I'm asking you to make a judgement, having watched the video. It is gratuitous in that it doesn't have any public interest behind it, does it?
A. Are you asking for my personal opinion?
Q. Yes.
A. Or are you --
Q. I'm asking for your personal --
A. I can't give you a personal opinion on this matter because, as a representative of safety, the whole point of safety's job is to not make subjective -- and decisions based on our personal opinions. Our goal and job is to always make decisions based on what our policy states and what our enforcement guidelines are.

Q. Ms Handoo, you are called to this Inquiry, having given a witness statement as a witness. You are more than capable of giving personal opinions.
A. I mean, again, if you want my personal opinion, I did not see any gratuitous gore in that video. If that is the personal opinion you are seeking here. But again, I want to reiterate, my personal opinion has nothing to do with how X moderates contents on the platform.
Q. So, in terms of anything between us on the video, the learned Chair can watch it and draw his own conclusions. Obviously, I'm not going to play it.

In terms of applying it to the policy, I think you are saying it doesn't come within the gratuitous gore requirement because it doesn't show, for example, dismemberment or charred remains, is that right?
A. Correct.
Q. It wouldn't cover moment of death because that would only apply where a request has been made by a member of the family or an authorised representative, correct?
A. If this person did die, as a result of --
Q. I think that is implicit -- in the question?
A. -- video.
Q. Then you say that it comes within media of humans. You, I think, would say that it comes within "media of humans that depicts violence or serious injury in graphic

detail but does not rise to the threshold of excessively gory", is that right?
A. That would be correct, yes.
Q. Just looking at your paragraph 85, a content warning was applied to this by automation, but you are unable to confirm the date that it was applied:
"As the Post was published in October 2023, it is likely that the label was applied prior to 19 August ... but X cannot say ... definitively."
And so on. So X has no measure of how long a video such as this was available to be viewed by a 13-year-old, is that right?
A. I mean, as I mention in my witness statement, we don't know the exact date of when that label was in fact applied. So it is a possibility that somebody may have viewed this content before that label was applied.
Q. Well, in the worst case scenario, it might have been up for more than two and a half years without any form of content warning, correct?
A. That is a possibility.
Q. Isn't that something that should be highly concerning to you?
A. Yes, I mean, I'm not going to disagree with that because, as I have said repeatedly, safety's job is to ensure that we are applying our policies consistently

and as swiftly as possible. The goal is to not have minors view the content that they should not be viewing on the platform. So I agree with you on that.
Q. Yes, and whatever you think about the position for an adult, any parent would be horrified at the idea that their 13-year-old could view this video; do you agree?
A. Yes, I mean we do not want users -- any minor, who is under the age of 18, to view this. So I agree with you that parents would be worried about this.
Q. As well as the potential failure in moderation, are you concerned about the fact that you don't know how long it was available for a child?
A. I think, again, because this was a very old video, it was published back in October of 2023, I'm not sure -- I mean, we don't have those details but generally speaking, I think our goal at X is to ensure that we are catching violations as swiftly as possible and finding content that should be age-gated as swiftly as possible. That has always been our goal. So if there are any instances or cases that might fall through the cracks, we want to make sure that we are improving our detection and improving our safety defences and systems as much as possible.
Q. The next video is X3. If we could have ILT000398. And page 2 ILT000398_0002. Paragraphs 8 to 9. So

Mr Howarth tells us:
"X3 shows a man being attacked with a zombie knife. There is a content warning which states: 'Content Warning: Graphic Content -- X labelled this post as containing Graphic Content'. The text alongside [this] post makes reference to violence in the context of the local mayor and is made by a right-wing activist."
The exact posting is redacted but the post has had hundreds of thousands of views and it was made over three months ago. Again, having watched the video, do you agree that it shows a person being attacked and stabbed repeatedly in a vicious attack?
A. Yes, as I recall, the video did depict a knife attack.
Q. And although the caption suggests that the victim survived, the attack is of such ferocity that it could easily have been fatal, would you agree?
A. Yes, that is a possibility.
Q. Again, would you agree that that's an extremely disturbing thing for an adult to see in a video?
A. It is what we would call "sensitive media" and we have applied that label, yes.
Q. So again, if we turn to your statement and work our way through the X policies. I think the way it would go is quite similar to the last video we had up. So we'll just pull up ILT000399.

I think it is page 4 ILT000399_0004 to start with. So you described a post there, and if we could go down. So violent media, permitted "subject to proper labelling and restricted reach". Not illegal content, but harmful to children.
I think, if we could just go overleaf ILT000399_0005. Thank you. So, this is, again, is it "media of humans that depicts violence or serious physical injury in graphic detail but does not rise to the threshold of excessively gory". It that right?
A. Correct, yes.
Q. It is a post that was made just over a week before it was moderated, is that right? So ...
A. Well -- yes, go ahead.
Q. So the date you give there, at paragraph 113, is a graphic post warning that had been added prior to the date it was surfaced by SWGfL and the "graphic post" warning was added on 12 August; is that right?
A. Yes.
Q. And it was posted just over a week before that, correct?
A. Correct.
Q. So, during that week, any child who came across this video would have been exposed to a ferocious attack of someone with a zombie knife, correct?
A. Yes, that is possible.

Q. And before the content label was put in place, it could have been recommended, if it had sufficient engagement on the algorithm, correct?
A. That is correct.
Q. Do you agree that that's an unacceptable failure by X to protect its child users from harm?
A. I mean, there is always a residual risk, even with very robust controls we have. So the possibility that a minor could have seen this video before the interstitial was applied, we take that very seriously and we want to ensure that our systems remain robust for that to kind of not repeat -- the kind of same situation does not repeat itself.
Q. Why did it take over a week for the interstitial to be put in place?
A. I mean, there is multiple reasons, right? It is possible that our automation was unable to flag this particular piece of content or that users also did not report this particular piece of content. I don't know the specifics. But as I said, there is multiple reasons this could have happened that we took one week to apply the interstitial in this particular case.
Q. The next video that I wanted to ask you about is the video of the Bishop Mar Mari stabbing. So that is the video of the bishop in Australia delivering a sermon and

someone walks up the aisle and stabs him, again, would you agree, in a very ferocious attack?
A. Yes, the individual depicted in the video does attack the bishop in that video.
Q. Yes, and Ms Khananisho, in her evidence, accepted that it was horrific and very violent and the Chair agreed with that in his report. Do you agree with that too?
A. Again, look, biggest -- there is two answers to it. One is based on our policy, how we enforce on this and the other is people's personal sentiments around particular piece of content. In my view, I think because this is newsworthy we made the decision -- I mean --
Q. Ms Handoo, I'm not asking about the policies, I'm asking you, as a human being, whether you think that it is a horrific and very violent video?
A. Yes, it is depicting violence, right? So I'm not going to say here that I enjoy watching these videos, I don't. It is a very subjective assessment. It is my personal -- it is based on my personal opinion and my personal beliefs.
Q. It is very violent and it is horrific, isn't it?
A. I mean, I wouldn't want to watch it. That is why we have controls on our platform for people who don't want to watch something like this, that they can prevent that from happening on the platform.

Q. The evidence that the Inquiry found, that the video was viewed minutes before AR left his house to go out and carry out the deeply tragic attack -- can we just have the relevant part of the Phase 1 report up please, it is CHAIR000001 and page 262 CHAIR000001_0262. I just want to ask you about X's decision to continue hosting the video. The Phase 1 report referred to X's Phase 1 witness, Ms Khananisho and says that she:

"... mounted a strong defence for the continued hosting of the footage, noting that she is a devout parishioner of the church of Bishop Emmanuel and stating that she viewed that footage as showing a miracle. This view, and the range of approaches to the balance between free speech and online protections, might be understood before the attack took place (if appropriate age verification measures had been in place). However, I note that X failed to address the fact of the attack in any way in its response to the joint letter ..."

I just pause. That was a letter that was sent to X by the Secretary of State for the Department for Science, Information and Technology and the Home Secretary:

"... and failed to express any condolences to the victims. Ms Khananisho was not part of X's decision making after receiving the joint letter and was unable

to comment on it. In my view, it is deeply regrettable that X has continued to host the full video, despite the evidence it was searched for, and probably viewed, by AR before he went to carry out such a heinous attack. Moreover, I do not consider that Ms Khananisho give a satisfactory response, by quoting Benjamin Franklin, to the question of whether X could have continued to allow footage [in] the lead up and aftermath of the attack but without permitting the graphic imagery of the terrorist stabbing itself. In my view, that step was, at the very least, an appropriate response to the attack."

Then it goes on. If we could just go down. So there are some questions as to whether Article 10 of the European Convention of Human Rights, freedom of expression, is engaged.

I just start seven lines down, I think it is:

"I make clear that I do not suggest that X has acted unlawfully in this regard. UK law currently permits it to act in this way. The criticism is that it is deeply regrettable that they have refused outright to exercise their discretion to prohibit posts which include the most graphic part of the material, namely the immediate act of the stabbing of the Bishop. X maintained this position once they knew that the material had been

searched for by AR minutes before he left to murderer Elsie, Alice, and Bebe. For most people, this would have caused -- at the very least -- a significant concern that the footage may have fortified AR's motivation to go ahead and carry out his murderous attack. In light of that concern, a prohibition of posts of the most graphic part of the video would have been consistent with X's statement that it takes its 'responsibility to combat terrorism and violent extremism very seriously', notwithstanding the importance of freedom of expression."

Is this video still up and visible in the UK to adult users?

A. It is still live and is subject to the sensitivity warning.

Q. Yes, I have already referred to the point that the Phase 1 report made about self-critical reflection. Did X review its approach to the video after the Phase 1 report?

A. So, after -- I mean, first of all, I understand this is a very sensitive topic, right, and I want to acknowledge that. I just want to make sure that people understand when X makes content moderation decisions, that is solely based on our policies and our enforcement guidelines. This particular video, while it is

unfortunate that people may have viewed this video before committing a certain crime, it does not violate our policies and we cannot make judgement based on -- that are outside of our policies. So we continue to have this video on our platform but with a sensitivity warning because it does not cross the line into gratuitous gore.

Q. Ms Handoo, your policies, they are not statute. They are not law. You are not forced to act according to them. X has discretion to act in any way that it wants in this respect?

A. I would actually contradict that. We don't want to make decisions that are discretionary in a manner that sets a very, very tricky precedent because if we make exceptions to the rules here, in one instance, that again, is a very slippery slope for future instances. Although people may be dissatisfied with our content moderation decision and they might use these examples as kind of like -- as saying that: well, you have precedents where you have digressed from your policies, why are you not doing that in this instance?

Again, I repeat myself, I am sensitive to the concerns here but we also need to ensure -- and this is our obligation under the Online Safety Act, where our policies are very clear we are expected to be following

our policies. We are not expected to be digressing from our policies. So I just want to make sure that people understand that making exceptions, or using discretion when it comes to content moderation decision, is not an easy one and we don't want to set precedents where we are making exceptions to the rule without having a policy basis behind it.

Q. Ms Handoo, my first question was: did X review its approach to the video after the Phase 1 report? I think you can give a "yes" or "no" answer to that?

A. Yes.

Q. Thank you. You say that you are tied to the policies, and I have challenged that. But you are not prevented from issuing new policies, are you?

A. We can make policies but again, those can't be done in isolation or arbitrarily.

Q. So one aspect of X's policies is that you would remove the account of a perpetrator after they had carried out a violent attack, correct?

A. That is our policy.

Q. There's nothing to stop you from issuing a new policy or amending that policy, to say: and we will also remove videos that are watched by perpetrators very shortly before they carry out a violent attack, is there?

A. Again, that's subject to our policy development process

and we don't make policy decisions without giving due consideration to the impact of such decisions and policy changes on users' right to free speech and access to information.

Q. Ms Handoo, you are in a senior role within the safety team, that is a decision that you can make, or start at least, yourself, isn't it?

A. I mean, I can make a recommendation. I can -- as an individual contributor in the company, I can raise this with the teams that are available for drafting and maintaining our policies, but my word is -- I don't -- nobody should have that power. And so I do believe in due process. I do believe in following the protocols that companies have established over the years, especially the governance structures that we have in place, not just for us as a company and how we run as a company but also in response to our compliance obligations around the world, under various regulations.

Q. Are you going to make that recommendation?

A. Again, I can definitely ask the team to review this particular --

Q. Will you do that?

A. I will.

Q. Thank you. When you had the meeting that you said reviewed the video, was that not considered -- sorry,

let me re-phrase that. When you had the meeting following the Phase 1 report, which considered the position of still hosting the video, was an amendment to the policies considered?

A. When we were reviewing these escalations again, we continued enforce our policy as it is written.

Q. I asked you about the expression of condolence you made at the start of your evidence. That was a personal expression of condolence from you. What it wasn't, was an expression of condolence on behalf of X, nor was it an apology.

Are you prepared to make those?

A. I mean, I am here to provide my personal -- I did provide my personal condolences. I will not comment on the company and what the company ought to do. And as I have said repeatedly, I am very sensitive to the concerns and I'm very sensitive to the fact that this is a very important conversation we are having here and I wanted to start it off by providing my personal condolences.

Q. So this isn't a criticism then of you personally, save that you could have gone and got authorisation from X as a company for these things, correct?

A. Again, I mean, I'm here as a witness to provide information based on my understanding of the situation

and again, it is my personal condolences here today.

Q. Can you see that the outside observer might question why X has made no corporate response to the close connection of the viewing of the Bishop Mar Mari video and the attack? They might find that concerning, they might ask questions about whether X really minds about this.

A. Again, I mean -- like look, people can disagree with our decisions, right? They can disagree with our policies. They can disagree with our enforcement guidelines. But as a company, we want to ensure that at the end of the day, all minors that are using our platforms are safe and that they are not viewing content, or they are not accessing content that they don't -- ought to be. So I would say that it is okay to disagree with our decisions but we do have a very clear set of rules and enforcement guidelines which we will continue to enforce on.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Ms Handoo, that didn't even begin to answer Mr Boyle's question, but I don't think we are going to get a satisfactory answer to it. Do you want to move on to another topic?

MR BOYLE: Sir, yes. I have a little bit more to do but we are still on track to finish on time. I could do another topic before we take a break, or --

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: I'm really in your hands because you have got a sense --

MR BOYLE: Yes, it might be sensible to take a 10-minute break now and I will finish it after we come back.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Fine. We will take a 10-minute break now. Thank you.

(3.46 pm)

(A short break)

(3.56 pm)

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Thank you very much, Mr Boyle.

MR BOYLE: Thank you. Ms Handoo, I just want to take you onto some other reporting around X. Could we have, please, the Youth Endowment Fund report, which is ILT000302.

So this is a report by the Youth Endowment Fund:

"What role does social media play in violence affecting young people?"

You will see that it is a 2024 report. Could we go to page 6 ILT000302_0006 please. So we have the executive summary there, if we could just have the top section.

So:

"... surveyed over 10,000 teenage children ... in England and Wales about their experiences of violence."

You will see that this is the second report

examining teenage children's experience of violence on social media. Could we have then, please, page 7 ILT000302_0007.

So, we have there "the proportion of children using social media platform who have been seen violent content" and we see the list of many of the major platforms. TikTok first, but 1 per cent behind is X, previously known as Twitter. As a safety compliance lead, that must be deeply concerning to you, is it?

A. Yes, I mean, if kids, or young people under the age of 18 are able to view violent content, again, it depends on how we are defining "violent content" here, but irrespective, I think we want to ensure that minors have a safe experience on our platform.

Q. If we could go to page 16 ILT000302_0016. We see there that the "proportion of 13-17-year-olds who saw violent content online in the past 12 month by vulnerabilities to violence", and we see that, for example, a child -- this is, I think, just generic research, so it is not specific to X, but it says 96 per cent of children who had carried a weapon had seen violent content online.

If we just go to the text -- actually, I think the text above. So we are going to go back a page but to the bottom paragraph ILT000302_0015.

We see:

"More vulnerable children are more likely to see violent content."

Could we move -- is that a concept you are familiar with?

A. Sorry, could you repeat which concept we are talking about?

Q. That it is actually the more vulnerable children that are more likely to see violent content?

A. I mean, again, this is the first time I'm seeing this particular report. So we will obviously take this back and go through it in much more detail but from a purely safety perspective at X, we want to make sure that the most vulnerable are protected on our platform, absolutely.

Q. And if we go to page 17 ILT000302_0017. We just have a little bit more detail behind these figures. So, as we have already covered, as a percentage of all 13 to 17-year-olds seeing violent content on social media platforms, X is a low percentage of the total. So there aren't a -- compared to other platforms, X does not have so many child users, correct?

A. Correct, I mean, I think we have concluded that, based on the data we shared initially. Yes.

Q. But on the right-hand side, of those that are using Twitter, not that shy of 50 per cent of them, almost

half of them are seeing violent content, correct?

A. Correct, but I also just want to call out that this report I believe is from 2024, correct?

Q. Yes.

A. So this is before we implemented our highly effective age assurance in the UK. So, again, while relevant for this conversation, I do think that there has been tremendous change made to the way the platform works since this report was published.

Q. Yes. So there is a number of ways to look at that, I think. On the one hand, if children were falsely declaring their date of birth in 2024, like AR, then they would have more access to violent content because they would be able to click behind content warnings, correct?

A. Yes, that is a possibility.

Q. But if a certain proportion of this percentage did honestly declare that they were children, and would you agree that's likely?

A. I mean, we have always had this policy that we would put sensitive media behind an interstitial or, if it is gratuitous gore, we would outright remove the content from the platform. So if somebody had self-declared themselves to be under the age of 18, they should not have been able to view that content.

Q. So I think this high proportion percentage could reveal a number of things. One is the previous weakness in the age assurance, which has been changed. But the other is X's system of algorithm and moderation, isn't it?

A. Yes and I just want to be clear that, as I said, the way this report is defining violent content -- and I haven't gone through this report in detail -- I mean, this is the first time I'm seeing this data -- and how we define the problem through our policy, is it kind of -- we need to study this further to make a clear connection there.

Q. Ms Handoo, this document was in your evidence proposal, wasn't it? It was -- documents provided to you a couple of days ago?

A. I mean, we have just had two days. We need more time to go through the finer details in the report.

Q. Thank you. The Inquiry has heard other evidence about this. On Tuesday, there was evidence from Mr Hadley and he talked about platforms supporting the development of violent fantasies or fixations, by failing to treat non-ideological violent content seriously when it occurs, either in isolation or in aggregate and he was asked:

"Are you able to indicate whether there are any platforms where that is more of a problem than others?"

And he said:

"It is a problem across all of them. I would say it is particularly acute with platforms such as X where there is much more violent content available but I wouldn't want to pick them out particularly because the problem is widespread."

Were you aware of that evidence?

A. I believe I have seen the --

Q. The transcript. Yes, thank you. But Mr Hadley is talking about a concern that where a platform has large amounts of violent content on it, where it is widespread, that creates a greater risk that it might develop violent fantasies or fixations, correct?

A. I mean again, this comes back to the causality argument, right? Is there enough evidence for us to say that there is a causality between the content seen on the platform and people actually using violence in the real world? There is multiple factors associated with it but the way X looks at this problem is to ensure that we are enforcing our policies as swiftly as possible so that it does not show up on under-18 accounts' feeds.

Q. So I think the quotation is actually talking about the development of violent fantasies or fixations, not necessarily translating into real-world violence. But I think, in any event, we saw your statement which accepted there is a risk or a link -- or potential for

multi-factorial link between consuming violent content and real-world violence, is that right?
A. Again, that is one of the factors in a multifaceted conversation here, yes.
Q. We also heard from Mr Ahmed who referred to issues with X acting on calls for violence against migrants or Muslims, are you aware of that concern?
A. Sorry could you repeat the question again?
Q. Yes. We heard from Tuesday -- from Mr Ahmed who is from the Center for Countering Digital Hate, CCDH, which has reported about a failure to respond to posts which call for violence against migrants or Muslims, are you aware of that?
A. I mean, I'm aware of the fact that we have a policy that does not allow for any calls for violence against people or groups of people.
Q. Thank you. Can we have page 28 XIUC000187_0028 of your statement, paragraph 69. So you refer there to your engagement with Ofcom, talk about meetings. Just picking up on one point there, you say:
"As part of these meetings, X also discussed its incident and crisis response measures in the wake of the Southport incident."
What were those discussions about?
A. As far as I recall, these conversations were around what

our incident and crisis measures were and how we responded to the Southport incident.
Q. Or are you referring to the attack itself or the disorder that followed?
A. The attack itself and then, I mean, all the kind of subsequent conversations around that particular attack.
Q. The misinformation that followed after the attack?
A. I believe so, yes.
Q. You continue in that paragraph, to say:
"For example, in December 2025 Ofcom launched a compliance programme to assess whether the biggest social media companies (including X) have adequate systems and processes for dealing with illegal hate and terror material that has been reported to them.
X engaged at length with the Ofcom's online safety team to address these concerns, following which X publicly committed ... to put in place even stronger protections for UK users through (i) expedited timescales for reviewing illegal hate and terror content; (ii) engaging with experts regarding reporting systems for illegal hate and terror content, and (iii) strengthening action against accounts operated by or on behalf of proscribed organisations ..."
Ms Handoo, this clearly wasn't an Ofcom investigation, but the compliance programme was seeking

to determine whether X was complying with its obligations under the Online Safety Act, correct?
A. That is my understanding.
Q. So the commitment made by X was a reflection that previously, it was not doing enough on an illegal hate and terror content, is that right?
A. I wasn't in that specific conversation but we did make sure that we were conveying to Ofcom that we are complying with our online safety obligations and that we -- I mean, as you can see in our statement here, we did commit to putting in stronger protections for UK users.
Q. But if X had chosen not to make any changes, surely it would have followed that there was an investigation by Ofcom, do you agree?
A. Again, I can't speak on behalf of legal. I'm not aware of the exact details.
Q. Moving on to Com groups, which we mentioned before. Could we have ILT000363. So this is a paper from the Council of the European Union, dealing with nihilistic extremist violence as an emerging threat. You will see in the top right, it is dated 19 November 2025.
There is a description of what "nihilistic violence" is there, in the first two paragraphs. You will see the last sentence:

"At the centre of this universe is The Com, an informal, flexible, and decentralised online community that functions as an umbrella for ... various groups and individuals engaging in different forms of violence while competing for notoriety."
Could we have page 7 ILT000363_0007, please. So, we are coming to a list and we will see the top of the list, it says that:
"The nihilistic extremist violence performed by these individuals ..."
So that's members of the Com group:
"... encompasses a few fundamental characteristics:"
Could we go further down the list, to the top of page 8 ILT000363_0008. So part of the description is that:
"It is a live digital ecosystem. Regardless of the focus of the violence, a multitude of groups co-exist and intersect online. This is a permanently shifting landscape, not only adjusting naturally to law enforcement disruptions, but also spontaneously fusing or multiplying.
"Popular and mainstream online platforms are used to hook victims but then move to more obscure and encrypted ones. Discord, Telegram, Snapchat, X, Kik, Instagram, Roblox [and] Minecraft are all used as a means of

contact, communication and public display of the violence committed."

I think you said earlier that you weren't, before preparing for this Inquiry, aware of the Com network.

Having read that, can you see the concerning link that's made between X and public display of violence committed by the Com network?

A. Yes, and I think, like, it is important to call out that it is not just X. I think this is a problem for all social media platforms and irrespective, we have zero tolerance for any kind of incitement of violence or any kind of threats of violence, that is shared or hosted on the platform.

Q. So you are right, Ms Handoo, that there are a few other networks listed but is it really a responsible answer to say: well, lots of other people are having issues too?

A. I think what I'm trying to say is that this problem is a social media problem, which means that it is an inherent risk with online platforms generally. What X is trying to do is ensure that we have controls in place that mitigate against those risks on our platform particularly. But does that solve the problem because this is kind of like -- I mean, the report itself says that there are (a) permanently shifting landscapes, and they are adjusting to disruptions and

spontaneously fusing and multiplying, which means that they're moving from one platform to the other, possibly.

So this becomes like an industry-wide problem that we should be dealing with as an industry but again, as I said, we are committed to ensuring that our users remain safe on the platform and that our platform is not used to coordinate any kind of violence in the real world.

Q. Thank you. I want to move on to law enforcement, and you tell us in your statement that X complies with law enforcement requests and court orders served on it. I think we touched, in the report, on the question of X's co-operation with the Inquiry in Phase 1 and the response to the Section 21 request about AR's date of birth.

I think you have read that chapter and those parts of the report. Has it, reading that, changed the way that X deals with a statutory notice from an Inquiry or a coroner, for that matter?

A. X does -- as you mentioned, comply with lawful requests for user account data and information and we have all of our guidelines set out in the law enforcement health centre article that we have available.

I would like to kind of reiterate the fact that we do comply with the law and if the law requires us to

have certain processes in place with regards to user account information, we will consider that from an enforcement perspective.

Q. Thank you. Could we have your statement up on screen. It is page 21 XIUC000187_0021, paragraph 53. You have extracted part of the law enforcement guidelines, I think, in your statement, is that right?

A. I believe so. Again, this statement was drafted a long time ago.

Q. Fine.

A. I can just go through --

Q. Of course, we will read it. So you say:

"As outlined in X's Law Enforcement Guidelines ... if X receives information that leads us to form a good faith belief that there is an exigent emergency involving a danger of death or serious physical injury to a person, we may provide available information to necessary to prevent that harm."

Can I just ask, first of all, you say "if X receives information", does that mean that someone has to make an active report to X before X will consider making a disclosure?

A. So, in jurisdictions where -- again, this is to the best of my understanding -- in jurisdictions where we have a legal obligation to provide such information, such as

in EU, under the DSA, and in Australia, we do provide proactive reference in those particular circumstances. But outside of that, we typically rely on a lawful request that we receive from relevant law enforcement agencies from around the world.

Q. So are you saying that if, in the UK, there is an exigent emergency involving a danger of death or serious physical injury to a person, X will not proactively report it?

A. I can't kind of comment on this specifically because I haven't seen any such instances.

Q. So there's never been an instance of that happening?

A. I don't believe X has been able to confirm the number of proactive referrals in the UK.

Q. So one of the questions in your evidence proposal was: has X, ever, without a legal obligation to do so, told UK police about a UK user under 18 who has posted an intention to commit serious violence? Is the answer to that, as far as you can tell, "no"?

A. That is my understanding.

Q. Isn't that an abrogation of responsibility by X?

A. I mean, again, as I will continue to reiterate, the fact that we are following the law, where the law requires us to make such referrals we are making such referrals.

Q. But you do not think there's any basis that X might

think, on a voluntary basis: we have information, there is a danger of death or serious physical injury, we will share that? The response would be: we have information, there is a danger of death or serious injury, but we are not lawfully required to share it, so we are not going to; is that right?

A. Again, if there is no legal obligation -- and we are not aware of any such instance -- there is no obligation for us to provide that information.

Q. But I'm not asking about obligations, Ms Handoo. I'm asking you about what X does voluntarily. And the answer is it doesn't do anything voluntarily, correct?

A. Outside of what is required by the law, correct. For now, I mean. I just want to clarify.

Q. Is there a proposal to change that approach?

A. Again, it depends on our legal requirements.

Q. Well, it doesn't depend on your legal requirements, with respect, Ms Handoo, at all. All the other platforms -- or at least, we heard from TikTok yesterday and they said: yes, we would report. I think, if I'm not mistaken, Discord said the same this morning?

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: They did.

MR BOYLE: Why doesn't X do the same thing?

A. Again, I can't speak to the specifics or future scenarios but I can work with my team and get back to

you on that.

Q. Are you going to take that away?

A. Yes.

Q. And give it serious consideration?

A. Yes.

Q. Thank you. The final topic before I conclude is about VPNs, virtual private networks. Trying to cut through this, I think your statement suggests that X can detect VPN use, is that right?

A. In very limited circumstances, we can. So X does collect IP addresses off the connections it receives, which are used for enforcement and transparency labels perspective, but we don't kind of proactively monitor.

Q. Sorry, using those IP addresses, you can tell whether a VPN is being used?

A. Again, to the best of my knowledge, where a VPN or proxy has been detected, X will indicate that the information about the account's country or region may not be accurate within the transparency labels that we make available. But we don't specifically track or hold data concerning VPN use.

Q. Where you have identified that a VPN has been used, is there any way to tell where the user actually is from? So you might be able to tell that a VPN is being used. Could you tell that it is a UK user?

A. I think we would probably use the IP address data to determine whether an account belongs to a UK user, for the purposes of age assurance. I think that's one kind of limited circumstance where we might do that.

Q. Yes, but my question is: if you were to use your IP address data, you have determined that the user is using a VPN, you have put a warning on the website to say that the location data may be inaccurate. Can you use that to determine whether the provisions of the Online Safety Act should apply because this is a UK user?

A. I think where we have confidence that the person, based on their IP address, does belong to the UK, we would apply our measures under the UK Online Safety Act.

Q. So if you had reason to suspect -- yes, okay. I'm not that necessarily answers my question, but it might be that's it is overly technical. Do you know whether X is able to tell, from an IP address where there is VPN use, where the user actually is from?

A. I mean, as far as I -- again, based on my very limited understanding of this extremely complicated technology, we don't specifically track or hold this data and we also do not require proof of residence when it comes to account creation of our users.

Q. I suspect -- but I don't have the technical knowledge either -- that the answer is that is "no". Has X ever

considered taking other steps to try to tell where someone is from, in the case of a VPN use?

A. I don't have the technical expertise to answer that question, I'm sorry.

Q. We will move on. You have provided some helpful comment in your statement on potential changes to the Online Safety Act in X's views. I'm afraid we don't have time to go through that in full, but the learned Chair has your statement, which stands as your evidence, at page 39 to 45.

I just want to conclude. Can I ask, given the level of violent content that X allows, the outside observer might consider that the fact that X sees it as inside its policies is actually more concerning than if it was failing to moderate more stringent policies. Can you see that?

A. I mean, look, people can disagree with our policies but at X, we are very aware and conscious of the fact that we are a global town square. People do use our platform differently than they might use other more closed network platforms, right, and because of that, for us, ensuring that we are preserving users' right to freedom of speech and expression is even more paramount. And, therefore, it is a difficult job of balancing freedom of expression and user safety and privacy at the same time.

So, we do our best to ensure that we are drawing the line, without -- in a manner that is proportionate and is necessary and is not censoring people's right to speak truth to power, people's right to kind of call to action when there is human rights abuses happening. There are so many conflicts happening in the world where we may see graphic imagery or where we may see sensitive media coming out of and that's where people come. They come to X, they want to shed light on these really important conversations.

So again, it is subjective. If users outside -- people outside of X's safety people or content moderation team disagree with our policies, that is absolutely fine. But I think we have a very important job to ensure we are not stifling people's fundamental freedom to speech and expression because some people might disagree with that speech, or people may find -- or may have unhealthy interest in a particular topic. And at the core of it at the end of the day -- and I would like to kind of just close my argument -- is that our job at X is not to settle public debates, but our job at X is to ensure people all around the world feel safe in engaging in those public debates and that is what -- you know, is a core principle behind how we think about our policies and enforcement at X.

Q. So let's pick up on that safety aspect. I'm going to suggest to you there are two risks. One is the risk to children if moderation systems are insufficient and I think we've addressed that already.

There is one other element, which is for adults. That where X is approached, if the content warnings were properly put in place, might be understandable for a well-adjusted adult who makes a conscious decision whether or not to click through a content warning on an informed basis, do you agree?

A. I mean, again, there is always a residual risk.

Q. That residual risk might include a different type of vulnerable user to whom this content, even as a young adult, could be extremely harmful; do you agree?

A. It can be disturbing and distressing, yes, and we want to make sure it doesn't come to that point and we enforce our policies as swiftly as possible.

Q. It is possible to remove content warnings from an account, correct? So an adult can remove the content warning so that they are simply provided with the content and no warning in front of it, agreed?

A. If the user purposefully selects that setting, that is correct.

Q. Yes, and if a viewer does that, they could browse violent content continuously if they were able to

navigate through it, either via algorithm if it was not appropriately moderated, or through any communities that share this type of content, do you agree?

A. That is possible, yes.

Q. I suggest that the type of people that this Inquiry is studying -- or, do you agree, that the type of people this Inquiry is studying, so that's people fixated on violence, who might spend much of their day consuming extremely violent content online, are currently a blind spot in X's approach, do you agree?

A. I mean, that's one way of looking at it, right? From our perspective -- from X's perspective, we are not tracking user behaviour or behavioural patterns, because it would be extremely challenging, from a wide range of like legal, ethical and practical reasons. Some people may have some unhealthy interest in particular types of content, but the -- safety's goal at X is to make sure we are applying appropriate remediation as swiftly as possible.

Q. And there is a real risk that there are a small, but not insignificant number of people, within that blind spot who could go on to carry out unspeakable attacks after watching material on X, like AR, correct?

A. Again, yes, that is a possibility.

MR BOYLE: Thank you. Those my questions. I will just turn

to see if anyone else has any.

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Yes, do come forward.

Questions by MR CHAPMAN

MR CHAPMAN: Please may we have paragraph 6 XIUC000187_0002 of the statement. Ms Handoo, I ask questions on behalf of the bereaved families and the associated victims of the Core Participants. I want to ask you about paragraph 6 of your statement and check I have got it right, where it says your role within X's safety team is -- within X's safety team "so I'm most familiar with the structure of that team and where it sits within X."

Is that right?

A. Correct.

Q. What is the budget for the safety team?

A. I don't have that information available right now.

Q. Is that really true, Ms Handoo, because I took you to that sentence because I assumed you would know that?

A. Look, I know how safety team operates, I know what different teams within safety do. I have awareness of our various defences and controls and mechanisms in place, to mitigate against the risks. So when I say that I have an understanding of the governance structure -- corporate and governance structure of XIUC, this is from a functioning of the safety team and what role safety plays in the functioning of the company as

well.
Q. There is a budget for the safety team, I take it?
A. I am sure there would be teams that would be -- that might have that information, but I don't have that information.
Q. You have agreed to provide the Chair, I think, with further information about resources dedicated today safety. Could we add that to the list, please, yes?
A. Yes.
Q. You say that X doesn't track behaviour, yes?
A. Yes.
Q. Does X track behaviour to serve up advertising?
A. There is -- there are specific laws that govern that type of tracking of information, including the UK GDPR, when it comes to showing advertisements on the platform.
Q. Does X track behaviour to serve advertising?
A. I believe so, but also important to note that we don't serve ads to under-18 accounts in the UK.
Q. All right, so I take that as a "yes" for adult accounts, yes?
A. That is my understanding.
Q. Why is it acceptable to do it for generating revenue from advertising, but not for public safety?
A. Sorry, could you repeat that question?
Q. Why is it acceptable to track behaviour to raise revenue

from advertising, but not for public safety?
A. I think what I'm trying to -- what I try to convey in my previous answer is that the tracking of information for the purposes of advertisements -- and again, I'm not a privacy law expert here -- it is a well established regulatory regime, which X follows thoroughly, to ensure that we are not breaching any privacy regulations for track purposes.

When it comes to tracking of behaviour of online of what users are viewing and the patterns of behaviour, I think that is a more kind of -- a different question and it also kind of opens up the discussion around whether that is legally, ethically and practically even possible.
Q. Is it your view that X should decide those difficult questions, as you put them, or the state?
A. At the end of the day, it is up to the legislator and the Parliament to decide what specific types of behaviours or contents should be and should not be permissible on the platform, outside of what X decides through its X rules.
MR CHAPMAN: Thank you, sir. Those are my questions.
SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Thank you very much, Mr Chapman. Ms Handoo, you are nearly finished, there is just one thing that I want to clarify.

Questions by SIR ADRIAN FULFORD
SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: You have helpfully indicated that you will research the unpublished enforcement protocols and provide them to the Inquiry. And I think similarly, you have undertaken to provide the performance metrics which you refer to in paragraph 65 of your statement. Can I ask, please, that by 4 pm on Monday, 16 November, UK time, X indicates whether that material has been located, and if it has been, can I ask that it is served on the Inquiry by 4 pm on 18 November, UK time?
A. Could I, please, confer with the legal team and then get back to the Inquiry on this?
SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Of course. Any application to vary that timetable can be made to the Inquiry in writing, but absent any indication that that is going to be impossible or will take longer, I am going to ask that those time periods are adhered to.
A. Okay.
SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Ms Handoo, thank you very much for your evidence and your assistance today. That now completes your evidence. If we could terminate the link, please.
Housekeeping
MR BOYLE: Sir, we resume 10.00 am on Monday. The witness for Roblox has kindly agreed to return on Tuesday. So there will be a change in our timetable to accommodate

that. We will confirm the position for the Ofcom evidence. It is possible that that moves to Wednesday, but I think not yet confirmed.
SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Yes. Given the tightness of the timetable, it would, I think, be of very considerable assistance if we were able to deal with the Ofcom evidence on Wednesday and I know that originally, indeed, as I said yesterday, Wednesday was going to be a day when we weren't sitting. But I think given the problems we have had today, it is of high importance that we don't lose time. So I would ask that if Wednesday is possible, that every effort is made to secure that as the day for Ofcom.

Thank you all very much. We will meet again on Monday 10.00 am.
(4.36 pm)
(The Inquiry adjourned until 10.00 am on Monday, 16th November 2026)

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