



OFFICIAL REPORT

OF THE

STATES OF DELIBERATION

OF THE

ISLAND OF GUERNSEY

HANSARD

Royal Court House, Guernsey, Friday, 16th July 2021

*All published Official Reports can be found on the
official States of Guernsey website www.gov.gg*

Volume 10, No. 16

ISSN 2049-8284

*Published by Her Majesty's Greffier, The Royal Court House,
St Peter Port, GY1 2NZ. © States of Guernsey, 2021*

Present:

R. J. McMahon, Esq., Bailiff and Presiding Officer

Law Officers

R. M. Titterington, Q.C. (H.M. Comptroller)

People's Deputies

S. E. Aldwell	A. Kazantseva-Miller
C. P. A. Blin	J. P. Le Tocq
A. H. Brouard	D. J. Mahoney
Y. Burford	A. D. S. Matthews
T. L. Bury	L. J. McKenna
A. Cameron	C. P. Meerveld
D. de G. de Lisle	N. G. Moakes
H. L. de Sausmarez	R. C. Murray
A. C. Dudley-Owen	V. S. Oliver
J. F. Dyke	C. N. K. Parkinson
S. P. Fairclough	R. G. Prow
S. J. Falla	P. J. Roffey
P. T. R. Ferbrache	H. J. R. Soulsby
A. Gabriel	G. A. St Pier
J. A. B. Gollop	A. W. Taylor
S. P. Haskins	L. S. Trott
M. A. J. Helyar	S. P. J. Vermeulen
N. R. Inder	

Representatives of the Island of Alderney

Alderney Representatives S. Roberts and
E. A. J. Snowdon

The Clerk to the States of Deliberation

S. Ross, Esq. (States' Greffier)

Absent at the Evocation

Deputy L. C. Queripel and Deputy M. P. Leadbeater (*relevé à 11h 23*)

Business transacted

Evocation	1021
Billet d'État XIV	1021
10. Secondary and Post-16 Education Reorganisation – Debate continued	1021
Procedural – Resume sitting at 2.15 p.m.	1065
<i>The Assembly adjourned at 1.02 p.m. and resumed at 2.15 p.m.</i>	1065
Secondary and Post-16 Education Reorganisation – Debate continued.....	1065
Procedural – Item 10 to be concluded at the Special Meeting next week	1121
<i>The Assembly adjourned at 7.10 p.m.</i>	1124

PAGE LEFT DELIBERATELY BLANK

States of Deliberation

The States met at 9.30 a.m.

[THE BAILIFF *in the Chair*]

PRAYERS

The States' Greffier

EVOCATION

Billet d'État XIV

COMMITTEE FOR EDUCATION, SPORT & CULTURE

10. Secondary and Post-16 Education Reorganisation – Debate continued

The States' Greffier: Article 10. The continuation of the debate.

[Amendment 1.](#)

To delete Propositions 1 to 4 and substitute therefor:

"1. To agree that from the earliest date practicable, alongside Le Murier, Les Voies and St Anne's in Alderney, States' maintained secondary education should be delivered through an 11-18 learning partnership across three 11-16 schools at Les Beaucamps, St Sampson's and Les Varendes and a Sixth Form Centre co-located at Les Varendes, maximising the use of the existing estate and optimising equitable educational outcomes, taking into account equitable curriculum choice, access to subject specialist teachers, pupil teacher ratios and class sizes.

2. To note that:

*a) The capital cost of reorganising secondary and post 16 education is anticipated to be substantially lower than those set out in the Policy Letter in table 8 in paragraph 9.4; and
b) The ongoing revenue cost is anticipated to be lower, in the medium term, than both the current revenue costs associated with these phases of education and the cost of the option set out in this Policy Letter; and to agree that revenue savings should be reinvested in improving the educational offer and student experience.*

3. To direct the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture, having consulted with school staff, to return to the States with the propositions necessary to put the model described in the preceding propositions into effect and to include in its proposals measures to upgrade facilities at each of the school sites to make better and more efficient use of the existing estate, including mitigation for 2 existing constrictions due to the design or layout, plus any other measures considered practicable to improve the student and staff experience and support improved educational outcomes.

4. To note the interdependencies between the 11-18 learning partnership and Le Murier, Les Voies and St Anne's in Alderney, and to agree the principle that the reorganisation of secondary and post

16 education within that learning partnership does not negatively impact – and wherever possible aligns or indeed positively impacts – the provision of education in these other settings

5. To agree that Les Ozouets should be developed solely as the site of The Guernsey Institute, and to direct the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture to progress the development of The Guernsey Institute at Les Ozouets, as agreed in Proposition 2, 'Transforming Education Programme & Putting Into Effect The Policy Decisions Made By The States In 2018', Billet XVI 2019, as a priority.

6. To approve 'Secondary & Post 16 Education Reorganisation' as a project in the capital portfolio, subject to ratification by the States as part of the Government Work Plan debate."

5

The Bailiff: Well, Members of the States, we will move to the second of the amendments that have been submitted and that is amendment 1, proposed by Deputy Cameron. Deputy Cameron, are you ready to introduce your amendment?

10

Deputy Cameron: Yes, sir.

The Bailiff: Would you like it to be read?

Deputy Cameron: Yes please, sir.

15

The Bailiff: Greffier, can you read the amendment, please?

The States' Greffier read out the amendment

The Bailiff: Deputy Cameron.

20

Deputy Cameron: Thank you, sir. Laying this amendment certainly has not been an easy decision. I was really proud and pleased to be elected to the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture at the beginning of this term. The sport and culture aspects of the mandate are both really important to me and clearly, as a parent of secondary age children myself, I am very aware of how vital it is to get the future direction for education right. No one could have missed how important a decision this is to the community during the election period, either.

25

We have heard from many people, including Deputies, over the years, that as long as you take the teaching staff with you, you can make any model work. I meant what I said during the campaign period about listening to teachers. As a Committee, we got off to what I thought was a good start in that respect.

30

The staff survey was influential in shaping our guiding principles. We put together a model that ticked the boxes. But when we engaged with staff on that model, they explained to us that there were serious problems with it. They questioned whether it is even workable. So I was keen to listen and act on that feedback.

35

There was a common theme emerging as a better alternative but I was in the minority on the Committee, as the rest of my colleagues made the decision to stick by their original model regardless. Now, unfortunately, the ESC's preferred model does not take staff along, with a massive 87% of staff who responded to surveys opposed to it.

40

Deputy Dudley-Owen: Point of correction, sir.

The Bailiff: Point of correction, Deputy Dudley-Owen.

Deputy Dudley-Owen: We have already established that those figures are not indicative of the whole total staff that we employ within the state sector.

45

Deputy Cameron: I disagree with that correction.

The Bailiff: Just a minute, Deputy Cameron. The point that has been made by Deputy Dudley-Owen is that something has been determined. I am not persuaded that it has necessarily been determined completely and utterly. The figures are open to interpretation and therefore debate, and it is not for you to disagree with the point of correction, it is only for me to disagree with it in that context. But please continue.

Deputy Cameron: Thank you, sir. With a massive 87% of staff who responded to surveys opposed to it. Just 12 teachers who responded to that survey, which had a high response rate, supported the model in the policy letter's proposals. It has done something I did not think possible and has made the previous Committee's two-school model look relatively popular.

Only 82% of teachers were opposed to the previous Committee's plans and that was at a much later stage, after the planning applications and traffic impact assessments had been published. Let us not forget that the unions told us the other day at this stage the initial policy letter proposing the two-school model was actually quite popular with staff. It was not until later, when the final detail was known, that the shine wore off the paintwork and then the wheels came off.

The model put forward in this policy letter, though, is skidding along the tarmac on bare rims already and it is barely off the starting grid. It needs an urgent pit stop for a wheel change and that is why I am bringing this amendment.

So, how am I confident that my model is more workable and has the support of many more teaching staff as a result? Because they directly influenced it. This model has been shaped from teaching staff engagements. I listened and they told us about the problems with the proposed model. The equity issues and design flaws, for example. How many times have we heard that all operational detail needs to be driven by school leaders, that we should leave it up to the head teacher and staff because they are the experts.

They are the experts in running schools and educating students. So, when they tell us they do not think the Committee's model would work effectively, we would be wise to listen. I did. Common themes emerged around the problems. Just as importantly, common themes emerged around the solution. Ultimately, the model described in this amendment is the model I think the ESC Committee should be presenting to the Assembly.

Let me set out what that is. This amendment proposes a model that is a true three-school model. It is three 11-16 schools at St Sampson's, Les Beaucamps and Les Varendes and it keeps the Sixth Form Centre located at Les Varendes. Based on student projects, if the current tipping of 26 is maintained, this model could be achieved with six forms of entry at Les Beaucamps and St Sampson's and five forms of entry, plus a sixth form, at Les Varendes.

The schools would be arranged in an 11-18 learning partnership, as in the policy letter, and the sixth form would be staffed in the same way that is proposed in the policy letter, meaning all students in all three 11-16 schools will have equitable access to subject specialists and the same breadth of curriculum choice. But because there are only three sites as opposed to four it is that much less complex, the timetable.

In other words, this amendment is every bit as equitable as the proposal in the policy letter, but simpler and less expensive to run. This amendment does not require tens of millions of pounds to move the sixth form to a new build 500 metres down the road. Capital can be invested instead in ensuring that the additional students in the 11-16 schools can be more comfortably and effectively accommodated.

We know about the congestion caused by design flaws at our secondary schools already, even while they are technically under capacity, so capital investment might be providing additional cover social space, for example, or creating new science labs at Les Beaucamps, or adding in an additional walkway at St Sampson's to deal with the bottleneck caused by the out and back corridor design.

It will also mean that money can be invested in the schools' facilities: the swimming pool at Les Varendes, for example; and let us not forget St Anne's School, in desperate need of a sports hall and a pool.

I need to make clear that the model proposed in the policy letter does not attempt equal access to facilities in the way my amendment does. I, on the other hand, do not think it is fair to bake unfairness into the system to the extent that some students will have a swimming pool and others simply will not.

The Committee's proposal does not involve investing in the 11-16 sector much at all, beyond the renovations considered essential at Les Varendes and a small extension for an autism hub at Beaucamp. In fact, I need to make clear that the Committee's proposal would be the very opposite of the kind of investment in the 11-16 sector that I am talking about. They are proposing taking money out of the secondary sector and putting it into the primary sector instead.

The proposal in this amendment, which is much more revenue efficient than the Committee's preferred model, seeks to reinvest that saved revenue in our 11-16 sector, to support the widest possible range of educational and extra-curricular opportunities and improve the student experience –

Deputy Dudley-Owen: Point of correction, sir.

The Bailiff: Point of correction, Deputy Dudley-Owen.

Deputy Dudley-Owen: I really apologise for having to do this but that is absolutely not the case that the Committee are seeking to remove money from the secondary sector and put it into the primary sector. That is a just a misleading statement.

The Bailiff: Deputy Cameron to continue, please.

Deputy Cameron: The proposal in this amendment, which is much more revenue-efficient than the Committee's preferred model, seeks to reinvest that same revenue in our 11-16 sector, to support the widest possible range of educational, extracurricular opportunities and improve the student experience across all schools.

ESC's proposal moves us from an expensive four-site model to an expensive four-site model. Like for like! It might be even more expensive to run than the current arrangements. Class sizes and pupil-teacher ratios are increasing in order to reduce running costs so that we can carve out enough money to invest in the recommendations for special educational needs and disabilities that, with a more revenue efficient model, we should be able to keep class sizes and pupil-teacher ratios lower and implement NASEN's much needed recommendations on SEND.

ESC's proposal is to defund the 11-16 sector. The model in this amendment proposes investing in it. The policy letter is actually proposing rebalancing the budget away from the 11-16 sector, which adds insult to injury, given they are not proposing any mitigation for the higher student numbers on each site.

This amendment, by contrast, proposes capital investment in 11-16 schools and re-investing revenue savings in them too in order to improve educational outcomes and student experience. Moving a sixth form centre into a new build 500 metres away is hugely costly and will not deliver any educational advantages. The Sixth Form Centre and the Guernsey Institute may be on the same site but they would be very separate organisationally and culturally. Turn left for academic and right for vocational, as the unions describe it.

So there are no educational advantages to their co-location. There is no utopian convergence of academic and vocational pathways here ... Apologies. There are lots of potential problems, though. Not least, competition for pressure on facilities and traffic flowing to the new, North Beach Side's car park, for which a traffic impact assessment has not even been done. If you thought the kickback over the two-school model was bad, brace yourself for this one.

The model I am proposing to replace, the Committee's model, concentrates the capital on making the very best of our existing estate. Because we are not building an additional school, we have more to invest in our 11-16 sector. The model I am proposing is far more efficient in terms of

150 annual revenue. This, again, allows us to plough this money back into improving equity, educational outcomes and improving student experience in our three 11-16 schools.

The Secondary School Partnership will be responsible for ensuring equity across the school sites. The Committee's preferred model did make a lot of sense during our initial design, making the sixth form to the TGI site seem almost like a utopian dream, mixing academic subjects with vocational courses was surely a fantastic way to upskill our students?

155 The staff feedback information gathered by the previous ESC Committee that we had used to build the proposed model was flawed. Tick boxes for questions such as 'would you like a parking space?' or 'would you like staff showers?'. These questions produced obvious answers, which in turn weighted our decision-making on the ESC model.

160 After recent staff engagements, it became very apparent that the reality is that there were few or no synergies between the TGI and the sixth form, shared canteen space being one of the few advantages of having them on the same site. In fact, there are many, if not more disadvantages to sharing a site. For example, safeguarding issues of having adults and children using the same sports facilities. Staff simply could not see any advantages to moving the sixth form 500 metres down the road and, as I listened, I realised that neither could I.

165 Timetabling to make the 11-18 learning partnership would require complex organising that would see the three 11-16 schools' timetable rigidly co-ordinated with the sixth form's timetable across four sites. So much for giving schools the gift of autonomy. It was estimated by one member of staff who oversees timetabling that we would lose the equivalent of four full-time teachers in travel time between sites.

170 The model I am proposing reduces these problems. By having fewer sites, it makes the whole system more efficient and allows for greater autonomy. The policy letter proposes looking at leaving the sixth form down the road for the best part of £55 million. The theory is that by co-locating the sixth form with the Guernsey Institute, we will somehow address equity and parity of esteem and make the 11-16 schools more equitable.

175 However, the Committee's proposal does nothing of the sort. It does not do nearly enough to address the unequitable state of our current three 11-16 schools. Les Varendes will not have a swimming pool but instead will be used as storage space for the music service. Where is the equity in that?

180 If we are looking at a postcode lottery, how can we possibly consider living near Les Varendes a win. The plans for the Guernsey Institute are fantastic but adding a sixth form college to the campus adds nothing positive at all. In fact, they risk detracting from the vocational and technical offer as the Guernsey Institute would have to share space and facilities with the sixth form and there would be a lot more pressure on that one site.

185 The traffic impact of the Guernsey Institute on its own is unknown, as a traffic impact assessment could not take place because of COVID. Even so, the Committee's preferred model proposes adding 400 driving age students to the site, which will only add to the daily chaos and exacerbate existing problems in the area.

190 Speaking of students, student population numbers are projected to peak in around five years' time and this creates another problem with the policy letter proposal. We are going to spend tens of millions of pounds to build a permanent solution to a temporary problem. Currently, we have 400 sixth form students but these numbers will dwindle down to just over 300 in 10 years' time. That is fewer students than we currently have in most of our primary schools.

195 We would not spend tens of millions moving one of our primary schools 500 metres down the road and it makes absolutely no sense moving our sixth form 500 metres down the road, either. Under the current arrangements, the school sites are not equitable but we can make them the closest they possibly can be if we can make capital and revenue savings.

200 The Committee's proposals are inherently expensive and, to be blunt, extravagant. We cannot afford that kind of extravagance right now, of all times. It makes no sense to build at great expense additional capacity that will be instantly redundant pretty much as soon as the new model has been

implemented, only for us to watch that over-sized new building get less and less economically efficient and less and less suitable for its intended purpose.

205 The three 11-16 schools require capital investment in order to deliver essential requirements under the Committee's proposal. There would be next to no investment in these schools. Teachers tell me that the message seems to be that they should stop complaining about facilities and layout and simply organise their way around these increased student numbers. Is that fair, when we know they already have to contend with design flaws that cause problems with the number of students they currently have?

210 Think about the teaching opposition logically. The Grammar School teachers are being offered a shiny new sixth form and reduced hours of face-to-face teaching as they will have to factor in more travel time between sites, so why would they not support the model in the policy letter? They are not on board because they care for their students and how the inefficiencies of the ESC model would have a negative impact on student outcomes.

215 We have an opportunity to genuinely consult the teaching staff and unions to ensure that the model we deliver is one that they feel will work best for student outcomes. They are the experts and we need to engage with them in order to deliver what is best for our children's future. The States can have confidence that this model is considered more workable and will be more broadly supported by the experts than the model proposed in the policy letter, which is facing literally unprecedented opposition from the very people we have to rely on to make it work.

220 This amendment maximises the use of the estate we currently have. The Committee's preferred model is, in reality, a glossy brochure full of nice words but no substance, for a compelling trailer for a very disappointing movie. Look beyond the sales pitch and what does it really offer our students? In reality, sixth formers and students in the Guernsey Institute will be able to share a canteen and that, colleagues, is literally about the extent of the benefits. Is that really worth tens of millions of pounds?

If it looks expensive now, think how extravagant it will seem in a decade's time, when student numbers have fallen significantly. Some might go as far as to describe it as a vanity project. Add in the complications and risks around the pressure on the site and competition for space and facilities and it really is not a compelling proposition at all. In fact, it is not even a good idea at all.

230 The Committee's model pours all its energies into this false dream of post-16 utopia and completely disregards what is required by the three 11-16 schools. There simply is no requirement to move the highly successful sixth form 500 metres down the road, but many potential problems and a lot of expense doing so. The model proposed in the policy letter is operationally very challenging, financially nonsensical and educationally detrimental.

235 But there is another way. By supporting this amendment, you will have taken the most prudent, pragmatic and practical path, not just for the near future and medium term but also the option that affords most flexibility to adapt to whatever the future of education holds. The Committee's proposal is an expensive shuffle sideways that keeps us trapped in a cycle of higher revenue costs on top of a hefty capital bill for no good educational reason. Take a sensible step forward instead. Invest not in a flashy newly built Sixth Form Centre but in our 11-16 schools, our existing sixth form and an unhindered Guernsey Institute and in doing so support a drive to better efficiency, better educational standards and a better student experience for all of our secondary and post-16 students. Thank you.

245 **The Bailiff:** Deputy de Sausmarez, do you formally second the amendment?

Deputy de Sausmarez: I do, sir.

The Bailiff: Thank you. Deputy Falla.

250

Deputy Falla: Thank you, sir. I commend Deputy Cameron for his bravery, really. A brand new Member of the States, like me and many others of us. To go against a Committee so early on in a

political career takes some courage. He could have taken the easy route and just sat on his hands, but he has chosen not to and he has listened to teachers.

255 The Cameron amendment addresses a big problem for me, one which Deputy Cameron has explained, and I would like to just give my point of view on it, because I do not read this policy letter as balanced. There is far too much emphasis on the post-16 provision at the expense of truly improving the educational experience of 11-16s. There is a big play on perception.

260 ESC makes a very big deal of alleged disparity of esteem, the implication of superiority of pathway, some of the community placing higher value on academic, and inequity, barriers to realising personal ambition, disparity of esteem in the current post-16 provision. I totally agree that we should proceed with developing the Institute, it is much-needed, and improve the facilities offered to vocational and technical students, but I remain unconvinced that there is disparity of esteem between vocational and academic to anywhere near the extent argued by the Committee.

265 Is there any evidence that vocational students feel there is inequity? If there is, the Committee has been unable to provide it to me in response to my emailed question. Paragraph 5.20 refers to repositioning:

... technical, vocational and academic pathways as routes of equal value ...

But are we trying to pretend everyone is the same? Paragraph 5.22 states:

270

It is essential that students moving on to post 16 education have the opportunity to select from a broad range of options including academic, vocational and technical qualifications ...

But surely they have that opportunity now? How will neighbouring buildings change that? Paragraph 5.24 argues for:

... the opportunity for all learners to exploit their abilities without being stereotyped.

275 The Committee says this will be achieved by eating together and shared social activities. So, yoga was mentioned at the meeting at the Castel Douzaine Room and maybe, we heard yesterday, outdoor theatre and cinema. But they will be operationally separate organisations. Paragraph 1.17 states that the post-16 campus ...

... will ensure that academic and vocational pathways are considered as equally valid choices for the island's young people ...

280 But surely our students choose the courses which are the most appropriate to them? They vote with their feet. I do not see how this proposal provides a truly unified experience between academic and vocational. It is not a tertiary college that is being proposed. It has the appearance of being a one-size-fits-all but it is not.

285 ESC says that it would be inequitable for Les Varendes to continue as that would effectively be an 11-18 school. Well, if they believe that an 11-18 school offers advantages over 11-16, isn't that acknowledgement that 11-18 is better all-round? Why not then propose an 11-18 model across the board?

290 Teaching staff were divided on whether it was necessary for the Sixth Form Centre to be on a separate site. Just over half, 53%, considered it either essential, highly desirable or desirable. Sir, we know that a sixth form centre at Les Varendes works on several levels, including access, and it is only a stone's throw from where the Guernsey Institute will be located at Les Ozouets, a five-minute walk around the corner.

295 In Appendix 6, the review of models and secondary education, table four, states under the title Factors Involved in Determining Versions of Each Model to be Included in the Review, making the best use of the estate:

It was considered desirable to continue to utilise the existing Sixth Form Centre at Les Varendes for use by Sixth Form students, in part because of the purpose built accommodation and in part because of the proximity to Les Ozouets, to better facilitate mixed programmes with the future Guernsey Institute.

300 The proximity. The proximity between the two already exists. They are already almost next door to one another. Sir, I am going to support this amendment because it is the least worst option that we have been presented. Thank you.

The Bailiff: Deputy Roffey.

305 **Deputy Roffey:** Thank you, sir, and thank you for giving me permission to speak generally, alongside this amendment and I would encourage others to do likewise, because I think if they wait until all the amendments have been dealt with, frankly, the guts will have gone out of the whole debate.

310 Having listened yesterday to debate, I think my vision for what is important in our future state education system is more than slightly different to Deputy Murray's. Firstly, over the importance of exam results. Of course, I accept they are not the be-all and end-all of education but neither should we play down their crucial importance, not only as an indicator of what else is going on in the school, as Deputy de Sausmarez pointed out yesterday, but just as importantly because exam results open up pathways in life for our young people. They are their passports to opportunities, which will otherwise be closed to them.

315 So, I make no apology for saying that the delivery of good exam results should, in my opinion, be a key feature of our future education system. Certainly, I think 90% of Guernsey families will regard exam results as a real key indicator of how successfully Guernsey's future education system is performing. I agree with them and I think we play down their importance at our peril.

320 Similarly, I do not share Deputy Murray's obsession with skills. Of course, skills are important, but knowledge is just as important, including academic knowledge. Now, it may just be me, but I find it truly astonishing the way in which academic is almost being used as a pejorative in some quarters these days. If we want well-rounded Guernsey citizens in future, then we are going to need to teach them far more than just workplace skills alone. Literature, history, yes and even philosophy, academic knowledge in general enriches lives in a way that is almost impossible to overstate.

325 We must learn the lessons from other places, like Scotland. Fifteen-20 years ago, their education system was regarded as one of the paragons in Europe. Then they went down an ideological experiment, putting skills above knowledge, and they got themselves in a real mess and they are now having to address that because their standards have plummeted.

330 So, of course we should be providing education which prepares young people for the workplace, but we should also be providing education for education's sake, in our state schools. We should be fostering a joy of knowledge. We know that they do just that in our private colleges and I would hate to see an educational divide opening up on the basis of how wealthy a child's parents happen to be.

335 So, where does all that lead me in terms of the choices before us today. I know some Members think that actually, with the financial challenges facing Guernsey, this is not the time to be investing tens of millions of pounds in changing an education system which is not broken. Nor, as we heard yesterday, do some feel it is time to be closing a school which has turned itself around and is performing well and serving its community magnificently.

340 I listened and I understood their points but I cannot fully agree. While our education system is not actually broken, it is far from optimal, in terms of educational provision, educational outcomes or the efficient use of our limited revenue budgets. So, sir, I am certainly not against spending significant capital sums to improve any of those aspects. I am happy to invest in educational provision because, as Deputy Dudley-Owen said yesterday, Guernsey's human capital is our prime asset and if we do not invest in our young people, then we limit our future success as an Island.

345 I am also particularly happy to invest in creating operational efficiencies and costs savings, because our revenue budget is strictly limited and sadly will be for the foreseeable future. Indeed,

far from being two separate issues, the questions of how we can make our school system more revenue efficient and how we can improve educational provision in Guernsey, are two sides of the same coin because, with capped revenue spending, the more efficient the system the better the provision that we can afford. On the other side of the coin, the less revenue efficient the system, the worse the educational provision that can be provided within any given cash envelope.

So, going forward, we need to choose a secondary education system, which is both proven to deliver good educational outcomes – I do not think a community like Guernsey is a place for experimenting with new ideas – and one which is efficient to operate. So, while I am desperate to see some closure brought to this whole saga, there is no way I can support proposals which satisfy neither of those criteria and, sadly, the proposals from ESC do neither.

They are spending many tens of millions of pounds to create something, which is astonishingly inefficient in revenue terms. So I really hope that the people who stood for this Assembly on the grounds of fiscal conservatism will think deeply before they decide how to vote. Not only is it inefficient in revenue terms but it is actually educationally sub-optimal as well. They are proposing replacing one four-school model with another four-school model, by closing one school and building one new school. Importantly, they are proposing bringing to an end a long tradition of 11-18 provision within Guernsey's state sector and leaving that as the exclusive preserve of the private sector, where interestingly enough all of the schools recognise it as being the optimum model.

Now, they introduce a standalone sixth form college on a scale which is far too small to be ergonomic. Not just a bit too small but far too small by a factor of three. We were told yesterday, do not listen to the teachers, listen to people with experience of whole-school system design. I have done that over decades and the one message that one expert after another, on whole-school systems, have told me is that a standalone sixth form college of 400 simply cannot work well because it is not big enough – it really needs to be closer to 1,200 as a starting point.

And the proposals in the Billet also stuff additional pupils into our existing secondary schools with little or no investment in either space or facilities to allow them to cope. They necessitate larger class sizes, where other, more revenue-efficient models would not require that. And, the detail, where the real devils would definitely lurk, are being held back from this policy letter, to be revealed or, perhaps more accurately, to be determined, further on down the line.

This really is, by far, the skimpiest policy letter I have ever seen, asking the Assembly to sign off on a really big capital project, which would then never come back before it. We are almost being asked to vote blind.

I want to look at a few of those issues in greater depth. Firstly, retaining a four-school model of secondary education in Guernsey. Of course, we all know that expression is not quite right. We have special schools, we have the Guernsey Institute and we must never forget St Anne's in Alderney. But for shorthand we have four schools now and we will still have four in future.

Now, ESC claims that it will not cost any more to run their new model than the current model. Indeed, yesterday, we heard pulled out of a hat the fact that it might be a little bit cheaper. Although it wasn't explained how, I think I know how, I am starting to get complaints from senior teachers saying how key positions are not being filled, as it is leading to fewer lessons being taken by specialist teachers. But in the run up to this debate, what they promised us is that it would cost no more than the current system.

Now, I for one do not question that claim. What I do say is it is a very low bar indeed to compare against. The current system is recognised, and long has been, as being fiendishly revenue inefficient and to produce a new one, which simply replicates those failings, really is quite extraordinary. We should be moving to a far more efficient model, not just to save money, although that is important too, but more importantly to be able to reinvest and expand our educational provision.

I make no secret and I can be booed if you like, I make no secret that I thought in the last Assembly the best way to do that was through the creation of two medium sized 11-18 colleges. In my heart of hearts, actually, I still do. But I accept there was no community buy-in. Certainly, not nearly enough community buy-in to make that remotely feasible.

400 So I assumed the obvious Guernsey compromise was to move from a four-school system to a three-school system. Indeed, when I tramped the streets, that was what I kept being told, people wanted to go to a three-school system. That is not what we are being offered today. We are being offered to move from one four-school system to another. To bake-in, to use Deputy Cameron's expression, the inefficiencies that that involves. No sense at all.

405 It makes no sense with our current pupil numbers but with the official projections of dwindling pupil numbers in the future, it is complete madness. Its inherent inefficiencies will come back to plague not just this but future ESCs for decades to come and, as a result, it will prevent Guernsey providing the sort of educational provision that our youngsters deserve and that will be true no matter how much money we throw at education and, frankly, that sadly looks likely to be fairly constrained for many years to come.

410 But however much money we throw at it, the outcomes we deliver will not reflect that money that we put in, because we have accepted a system, which does not come anywhere near giving us the biggest bang for our buck. Now, sir, that brings us to class sizes. I do not claim that small class sizes are the be all and end all of educational provision. But they certainly are desirable. After all, they are one of the features of private education that some parents are willing to pay quite heavily to have for their own children.

415 So, it is very sad indeed that class sizes in Guernsey's state schools are going to go up under the proposed new model. Once again, ESC says exactly the same would be required under the current model. Once again, I do not doubt it, but once again it completely misses the point. Of course it would be required under the current model because the current model is inherently inefficient.

420 But the one thing we should not be doing is replicating those inefficiencies under a new system, which will be in place for a generation or more. If we are to invest our limited available capital anywhere in politics, but particularly in education, it must be to create revenue efficiencies and these proposals completely fail to do that, so higher class sizes in future are inevitable. Just how high they might eventually go remains to be seen. All totally avoidable, with the right model. These proposals are just a bad use of capital. As Deputy Cameron says, how can they be anything else when the main capital spend involved is to move the sixth form provision by a few hundred metres.

425 Let us move on, sir, to the sad death of 11-18 education in the state sector in Guernsey. Personally I see two problems with this. One is simply the disappearance of what most educationalists do regard as a superior educational offering and the other is the impact on recruitment.

430 Now, I am not an 11-18 snob. Indeed, back in 2001, and I am one of four Members that were here when that seminal debate took place in 2001, I was willing to consider and to vote for the creation of a tertiary college in Guernsey. I still would be, but sadly that has been firmly ruled out by the ESC.

435 As for giving equity of esteem between academic and vocational pathways, I think the idea of a co-location as opposed to a tertiary does absolutely the opposite. We have come to the same place but it is over there if you are vocational and it is over there if you are academic. You might eat together but, apart from that, ne'er the twain shall meet. I think that exacerbates any perceived – and I agree with Deputy Falla – I speak to people in the vocational sector, I do not think they have an inferiority complex, but if there was this would only exacerbate it.

440 I would be willing to consider a tertiary college but that has been firmly ruled out by the ESC. Anyway, even people who have some sympathy with tertiary, like myself, I think have increasingly had to bow to the undeniable reality that over recent decades the vast majority of top-performing state schools have persistently been those organised on the 11-18 model. That cannot be a mere coincidence and nor can it be a coincidence that nearly every private school chooses the 11-18 model as their template.

445 But in future, in Guernsey, if we accept the ESC proposals as they stand in the Billet, it would only be the private colleges that would be offering 11-18 provision, creating a real divide in educational provision in Guernsey. One model for those that can afford to go private, another for those who cannot. So sad when that divide is so easily avoidable.

450 One of the advantages of an 11-18 set-up is that it optimises the use of teachers who are real subject specialists. They can both teach their subject at A-level and across the 11-16 phase of education. In 11-16 schools, unless they are really large, the option for all lessons to be undertaken by subject specialists diminishes, as it does within a positively Lilliputian sixth form college.

455 Indeed, the only way to avoid that in such an under-sized sixth form college is for many staff to be part time. In reality, they will either be taking multiple subjects at A-level or else driving around Guernsey, teaching in both the sixth form college and one or more 11-16 schools and that brings me to recruitment.

460 Survey after survey has shown that the vast majority of teachers have a preference for teaching within an 11-18 setting. Actually, that even applies if they do not want to teach the whole age range themselves, even if they are happy only to teach 11-16. Most teachers prefer to be in an 11-18 setting.

465 But let us focus on those who do want to teach the whole age range. Now, ESC themselves have recognised that this will be a problem and they are seeking to overcome it by saying that recruitment will not be to an individual site but to the new Guernsey Secondary School Partnership, which will allow new recruits to teach 11-18 if they wish to.

470 But how does that work in practice? Either lots of teachers are going to be offered the chance to teach across the 11-18 phases, that will benefit recruitment but it means that there will be almost no permanent faculty at our minuscule new sixth form college and we will develop a peripatetic workforce of teachers driving around the Island between lessons. Or else, very few will be offered the chance to teach in 11-18, in which case we may have a permanent core faculty at the sixth form college but we know we will be deterring very many good, potential candidates.

475 Luckily, we know from briefings that ESC expect, their best guess is, that about 12 teachers across the whole state sector will be given the chance to teach at 11-18. That is the area that so many talented potential recruits would wish to come to Guernsey to teach in but they will be limited to 12 opportunities in the state sector. Hardly a compelling offer.

Indeed, it actually represents far fewer 11-18 teaching posts on offer in Guernsey than we have now. Do we really want to actively hamper recruitment? Plus, it is really hard to see now many of the remaining, core full-time sixth form teachers will not have to take multiple subjects. Subjects outside their real area of expertise. Something, which could be avoided in an 11-18 setting.

480 And most importantly, perhaps, is that this is a move that will be very difficult to reverse once it is revealed – as it surely will be – to be sub-optimal. Once you have built at great expense your experimental, dinky-size standalone sixth form college, far smaller than any conventional wisdom says can work well, then you cannot just abandon it, let the tumbleweeds go through it, and return to teaching A-levels and IB into an 11-18 setting.

485 Then, sir, what do these proposals from ESC do for our 11-16 schools? It is quite easy to say what they do, they put more pupils in each school, in some cases many more, without any extra facilities. Overcrowded refectories get even less fit for purpose and even more pupils have to be taught science in general classrooms, rather than in proper science labs.

490 In many ways it is our three remaining 11-16 schools who will be the biggest losers and yet they lie at the heart of our education system. All our state pupils spend five of their most formative years in what is now four, in future will be three secondary schools. What does the future hold for them? Less space and bigger classes. Hardly the brave new world we were all hoping for. Even the traditional benchmark of the *status quo*, which I certainly do not support, I think comes out ahead of the proposals from ESC.

495 So, what do I support? As I said earlier, I was unashamedly of the view that two medium size, 11-18 colleges were the best option for Guernsey, but politics is the art of the possible. That is not possible and I need to look at other options. What would have been really useful would have been a full, like-for-like, review of the revenue costs, the educational provision and the capital costs of all of the leading options. I have to say I find it extraordinary that a Committee headed up by Deputy
500 Dudley-Owen has seemingly set its face firmly against providing just that.

505 Actually, I would still like to see that review completed as an aid to objective decision-making but sadly I have to assume that that will never be done, so I have to look at the other options on the table today. Really, we are being offered two. I know there are others, probably, in the pipeline but I think there are two credible ones that we are being offered today. One, which will be shortly by Deputy Le Tocq, which is three 11-18 schools, and one which is on the table now, the Cameron option, which I am sorry, Deputy Cameron, I am going to describe as one 11-18 school and two 11-16 schools.

510 I know that it has been sold as a co-located but entirely separate sixth form college but I think to the people of Guernsey, if it looks like a duck and it walks like a duck it probably is. I do fully take there are actions that could be taken to make it less integrated, less of an 11-18 school and more of a standalones sixth form, but I still think for many, it will be seen as one 11-18 school and two 11-16 schools.

515 So, although we have not yet come onto the Le Tocq amendment, in deciding how to vote on this one, I have to weigh up the strengths and weaknesses of both options. The strength of the 3x11-18 model is universal provision of 11-18 education. I actually think that that would be a very good outcome, and the equity that it provides. Every state secondary school would be taught in an 11-18 setting, with the result that the large majority of lessons will be taught by subject specialists, teaching across both the sixth form and the 11-16 phase.

520 The obvious weakness, though, would be the small sixth forms. Now, I am not saying that cannot work. In fact, we know from the private colleges that it can work. But such small sixth forms are sub-optimal. It would require a very close federation indeed, effectively one sixth form across all three sites. I think it could be made to work well but it would require really careful thought. One of the many reasons why I thought, had it been achievable and acceptable to the community, two 11-18 colleges would have been easier in that respect.

525 But moving onto the co-located sixth form or, depending how you want to put it, one 11-18 and two 11-16s, again I think it has its strengths and weaknesses. The one really obvious strength is it does still retain an 11-18 offer within the state sector. It would be completely tragic to my mind if that were lost altogether.

530 Another strength is it has a far lower capital requirement at sixth form level than the ESC proposals. That is not to say nothing should be spent on expanding or improving the facilities in our current Sixth Form Centre. I think it should. But it would be at a fraction of the cost of building a brand new one.

535 Why is that important? Because it frees up limited capital resources to invest in the three 11-16 schools, at Les Beaucamps, Les Varendes and St Sampson's, and help them to create the facilities and space needed to cope with the influx, which will follow any decision to close La Mare. This is absolutely crucial, but simply cannot be afforded under the ESC plans.

540 I agree with Deputy Cameron, if we do free up that capital, I think that we should look at St Anne's as well, because I actually believe that it would make, and I speak as a former Member of the St Anne's School Committee, that it would make some of the things that we cannot do at the moment more affordable because we will have freed up that capital.

545 But what about the weaknesses of the Cameron model? Really the only one that I can see is a perceived lack of equity. Depending on which primary school they attend, one third of pupils will go to either call it 11-18 school or 11-16 school with a sixth form co-located, and the other two thirds to an 11-16 school without the advantages of a co-located sixth form.

550 Now, in some ways I quite like the idea that it would be the children, because of the way the catchment areas work, from our less-advantaged cohorts in the primary schools who would benefit from that 11-18 site. But I still cannot argue that it is entirely fair. Mind you, I can argue that it is not entirely fair, but what is certain is that ESC definitely cannot argue that it is not entirely fair. Why is that? Because I happen to think, together with most educationalists, that there is an inherent advantage to an 11-18 setting, where the specialist teachers not only teach at A-level but throughout the school. But ESC, weirdly, do not believe that, or at least I presume they do not believe that.

They cannot believe that because if they thought for one moment that there were advantages to 11-18 provision over 11-16 provision, then they surely would not be proposing completely eliminating 11-18 provision from the state sector? So, logically they cannot possibly argue that the Cameron model is unfair, because it is only unfair if there are some advantages to being taught in an 11-18 setting.

But I still feel it is slightly unfair. I feel that one of its weaknesses is its lack of equity but, that said, no model is perfect. The one thing that I think we are all agreed on is we just have to find a way forward and this one is an affordable, progressive, and do-able way forward.

I want to finish by referring to the views of Guernsey's teaching profession. I am an oddity, perhaps an oddity – I know I am an oddity in many ways – amongst Members in this Assembly in that back in the election, when I did promise to be open-minded on the question of education, I did not stress in my manifesto, or anywhere else, the paramount requirement to take our teachers with us and to listen to the majority of our teachers.

Others did. Others absolutely made a big thing of that, including the President of Education, Sport & Culture. I hope that all of those Members will stick to their election rhetoric today. But the reasons I personally did not make that promise were complex. Firstly, the dangers of teachers' wishes being unaffordable. We know they will advocate for the best they can possibly have.

Secondly, with the greatest respect to classroom teachers, who do know far more than me or any Member of the Assembly, including the Members of ESC, about education, that does not necessarily make them world leaders in designing school systems. And, lastly, the knowledge or at least the fear in my mind at the time that there would likely be a range of competing views from the profession rather than an agreement on one solution.

That said, sir, we should always listen to the experts working in the field and take their views into account. On this occasion, more than most, as they seem at last to have coalesced around an agreed direction of travel. That to me is crucial. Firstly, we have to remember that we are speaking about a profession, which is overwhelmingly speaking with one voice in telling us that what is being proposed by ESC is completely wrong-headed and would damage secondary education in Guernsey. We surely cannot vote for it in those circumstances?

I for one deprecate the use of statistics to try and actually downplay what was patently – to any objective outsider – the fact that there was a survey of all secondary teachers with a very high response and only 12 amongst them supported the system. To try and twist figures to try and show that that was not overwhelming opposition I think was unfortunate and did actually no good to the ESC cause in this Assembly.

So, I do not think we can vote for it in these circumstances. But that is the easy bit. I suffered the same. I suffered the same when I was on ESC of a profession that came out not quite as strongly but pretty overwhelmingly against mine and I was frustrated because I kept asking them, 'Okay, that is what you do not want ...' A bit like Brexit, what type of Brexit to have. 'You are telling me what you do not want, tell me what you do want.' At that time they did not.

But this time it does seem to be a bit different. I am sure it has not been easy and I am sure it has involved a lot of unwelcome compromise but I think there is a clear consensus now and I think the vast majority of the profession, even though it may not be their first choice, will go with the Cameron alternative. Certainly ahead of the proposals in the policy letter. They will do that on two conditions.

The first being that the majority of capital investment saved by not creating a new, micro, standalone sixth form college is ploughed into the other schools to make them really fit for purpose with sufficient space and, crucially, the facilities. It is not just about square footage, it is about the facilities to cope when the current pupils that are now split amongst four schools are only split amongst three instead.

And the second is that action is taken to mitigate the inherent disadvantages that the two standalone 11-16 schools would be likely to be at without such action. Because, traditionally, they have suffered on issues like curriculum breadth, subject combinations, access to specialist teachers

605 and class sizes. If we go with the Cameron alternative, we have to put in the mitigation to make sure that is no longer the case.

Luckily, within the proposed partnership put forward by ESC, with a single executive head teacher, those actions will be possible. We will be able to do that and I actually congratulate the profession, at last, belatedly, on reaching that sort of pragmatic position, that sort of pragmatic consensus, even though in many cases I am sure it was not their first choice.

610 So, will I back it? Yes, I am going to back it. It is not my first choice, either. It is not my first choice but, Members, if we do not reach compromise and an achievable compromise we will be going around this mulberry bush for years to come. Actually, I think that is true if we pass the ESC proposals today. I do not think that will be the end of the story. I think we would pass something where the people that need to deliver it are so implacably opposed to it, it will not be the end of the story.

615 I have been around in politics for long enough to know that that will not be the end of the story. It will be coming back to haunt us. We should be trying to find a way, whether it is our first choice, whether it is our second choice or our third choice, and some of us would be moving from different directions, something that we can coalesce around, where the majority of the profession can coalesce around and we can move forward.

620 And for those of us that it is not the perfect solution, at least it is open-ended. This solution of Deputy Cameron will not prevent, in 10 years' time, if we feel that it can be built upon, honed, improved in some way, that happening. Once you get rid of 11-18 altogether and build a new 16-18 college there and three 11-16s, that is basically you locked in for a generation or more.

625 So I think, actually, the Cameron model is the way to go. That is not to say I will not be open-minded when further amendments come forward later but, as Deputy de Sausmarez reminded us, what we are discussing now is the choice between the proposals in the Billet or the proposals in this particular amendment. I have no doubt these proposals in this amendment are better than the ones in the Billet.

630 Just finally, before closing, I – like Deputy Falla – would like to congratulate Deputy Cameron on his strength of mind and his perseverance. It could not have been easy for a new Deputy to do what he has done. It would be so much easier, so much nicer for his lifestyle and everything, for his blood pressure, to have simply gone with the flow on Committee.

635 But he had the character, the strength of character, not to do that. He decided to stand out for what he genuinely believed, even if it was not the obvious route to an easy life. I for one admire him for that and I for one think that he has actually hit on the only way that will take us forward to some closure on this and I intend to support him.

The Bailiff: Deputy Oliver.

640 **Deputy Oliver:** Thank you, sir. I have to say, I am slightly confused because we have had a lot of numbers being batted around and they all seem to be different and everybody's numbers apparently are correct ones. But that aside, I do like some of what Deputy Cameron is saying. It is going to cost less and potentially you will put more money into providing facilities. However, it is not a three-school model, it is four. In fact, it is five, because you are not doing any work to the College of FE, so you will still have two sites at the College of FE, so it is actually a five-school system.

Deputy de Sausmarez: Point of correction.

650 **The Bailiff:** Point of correction, Deputy de Sausmarez.

Deputy de Sausmarez: One of the Propositions actually gives the explicit instruction to crack on with the Guernsey Institute, as originally planned, and actually that should be progressed quicker without the sort of hindrance of the delay waiting for the Sixth Form Centre to come across.

655

Deputy Oliver: Okay, well it is still a four-school system, then. I apologise for that. However, I just cannot agree with, whether it is perceived as a potential benefit or not, some students will get 11-18, while others will get 11-16. In the last term, when trying to sort out whether non-selection or selection, everybody said you have to have it equal and it has to be equal for every student. Well, this is just not equal.

We are going to be going from the school-by-selection to school-by-postcode and whether Deputy Roffey is right that it will be, in the main, under-privileged children going to the 11-18, or if it is not, I just do not think you can actually say that because I just think that it is not as clear cut as that.

In my opinion, I just cannot vote for something, whereas everybody said that it had to be equal, it had to be equably and this is just not that. So, unless I can be talked around that, I just think that is such a big one. I think I would actually prefer to bring an amendment back to say, let us have a vote on selection and go with this model, and we can keep the 11-18 and have that as the selection model, because I could agree with that. That, I would be right behind. Thank you.

The Bailiff: Deputy Soulsby.

Deputy Soulsby: Thank you, sir. I will start by giving a little lesson. It is an education debate, after all. Since the beginnings of recorded time, mathematicians have been occupied with how to construct a square of an area equal to that of a circle. First examples are thought to date back to the third millennium BC. But it was the ancient Greeks that got really excited about it, from Pappas to Hippocrates and Archimedes, to name but a few. But it was a German mathematician, Ferdinand von Lindemann, who ultimately found the solution to the problem of whether this could be done by rule and compass in the late 19th Century when – now bear with me, everyone – he proved that Pi was transcendental, that it is not the root of any polynomial equation with rational coefficients.

He proved, after over 5,000 years of the best brains of the world trying to work it out, that the circle cannot be squared. It was impossible. And the relevance of this lesson to this debate is? We have, if not over millennia or centuries, at least over the last couple of decades, tried to find the perfect model for the secondary school system in Guernsey. But we have not accepted that there can be no such thing. That compromises have to be made, be it class sizes, room sizes, outdoor areas, curriculum provision, traffic management, car parking, equality of opportunity or of equity, for that matter. The circle cannot be squared.

Perfection is the enemy of time and so it has been proved. Our children have been failed with no one willing to compromise. A whole generation, my children included, have gone through school since this subject was debated and this cannot go on any longer. During the period that I have been in the States, successive Education Committees have spent, as Deputy Dudley-Owen said yesterday, over £10 million on investigating various permutations of school buildings, without changing a single one, bar the odd roof.

During this time, the Ladies College has built the Wessex Wing, which includes a fantastic canteen, The Core, an art and drama block, re-clad the main school and, yes, built a sixth form centre, all for less. Just think about that. What have we got for the £10 million we have spent? Diddly squat except to have lined the pockets of numerous consultants. This has got to stop. We need to make a decision today and stick to it. The question is what 'it' will be.

Now I knew the two-school model was not perfect, but I do know that once selection ended, it was a model that made the most logical sense for this Island and I still stand by that. But of course logic has not had much to do with decision-making when it comes to education anyway. Clearly, it was not acceptable publicly and the election showed that. However, it was a model that I believed in so any model to me is second best.

But we are where we are, as they say, and we say that quite often, particularly in education debates. So I need to think about which model makes the next most sense and do so, comparing each one with the education model. Now, there were complaints about the Education Committee's proposals, lacking detail but clearly there is not any relevant to this debate when there is even less

detail behind this amendment. In fact, I think it is an erroneous complaint, anyway. When we met the Beaucamps teachers on Monday, a few of us, more than one, said they liked the two-school model when they got more detail. So, there you go.

710

Now, my immediate reaction to this amendment was it went against everything that I have been told – or is taught, given the subject matter – since I was in the States. Just like Deputy Oliver. That is an 11-18 school is better than an 11-16 and so you do not have equality of opportunity when you have a mix of the two.

715

Of course, you could say the C model is only about 11-16 schools, so inherently that will lead to all children having equality of opportunity, but is that a lesser offering? A levelling down, perhaps? Although perhaps not if there is a sharing of resources between those schools and the Sixth Form Centre, which will have to be the case anyway.

720

So, on first reading, I did dismiss it and I may still do. The one thing that is causing uncertainty for me, in this, is where we are today, more generally. We are still in the middle of a pandemic. Brexit only happened at the end of last year and we still have not enough money to do everything we want to do. This also when the projection showed falling pupil numbers in the near future. The question I ask myself is should we be looking at our forever school model now or one that sees us through a time of greater certainty on so many different fronts?

725

An inherent weakness of the ESC model is the fact that it retains four schools but through replacing an 11-16 school with a sixth form college. Should pupil numbers fall, it will be much harder to adapt to meet the demand, or the falling demand. But then, if that does happen and we do not see an uplift in numbers, we are in a bad place, full stop. A modern building that could be repurposed is the least of our problems and, dare I say, we will also need to consider the number of primary schools too.

730

So, I am bothered about investment being focussed on the sixth form college and attracted by the fact that by accepting this amendment, those costs will not need to be spent straight into one building. But on the flip side, amending every building on three different sites will likely be more disruptive and may actually be harder to literally get off the ground logistically than working on a single site.

735

Clearly this amendment has resulted from the proposer and seconder talking to Les Beaucamps teachers and just a mention of covered walkways and the need for new labs. Something that was mentioned when we met them on Monday. It was a useful meeting, I should add, and I wish that other schools had done the same. I also assume Deputies Cameron and de Sausmarez also met with the Grammar or Les Varendes as we are meant to call it now, through reference to their swimming pool. Frankly, I do not get the obsession with swimming pools, which always form part of every debate – when we ever have a debate on schools.

740

But, anyway, really, covered walkways and labs are things that can happen irrespective of the model. It should not be beyond the wit of man to convert a classroom to another lab and a covered walkway is not a major structural alteration. These would be considered minor capital expenditure and could be requested as part of the normal budgetary process.

745

Staying with budgets, the one part of this amendment I cannot support is Proposition 3. Agreeing through Resolution to re-invest any savings in education is the wrong way of doing things. What if there is a more pressing need in Home Affairs, say, or Health & Social Care? We know that finances are tight and we need to ensure we are targeting revenue most effectively and privatised in line with the Government Work Plan, which has yet to be debated, of course. But we know we do not have enough funds to do everything we want to do and need to prioritise across the States, rather than looking just at the Committee level.

750

That does not mean that I disagree that more investment is needed. In fact, I definitely do. But a business case needs to be made for that work that will be required. It should not say, 'Right, we have saved a bit of money here and let us give it.' I know, I am talking from someone who was on Health & Social Care for many years, wanting to be able to do that. But I do understand that is not the right way of doing things. So, should this amendment pass, I would not vote for that Proposition when we get to the final vote.

755

760 But, as Members can work out from what I have said, I do believe that this amendment does have some merit. Whether it is enough for a pass or fail, I am yet to determine. I do know that I am unlikely to support any of the other amendments, should they be laid and, for me, it is between this amendment and ESC's proposals.

765 On that, I would just like to say that I did take part in a few meetings with the Committee as they went through the process and I can say that they have been diligent and worked incredibly hard in reaching their decisions and the assertion that they have made up their mind from the start is completely incorrect.

770 Sir, I have to say before this amendment came along, I had decided that I was happy to support the policy letter. However, it really has made me think such that, entering this Chamber today, I still am not decided how I will vote. For me, it is about the debate and quite frankly I think that is how it should be on such an important matter. The speeches thus far have been more or less those in favour and Deputy Roffey clearly has spent some considerable time putting forward a compelling case that, in particular, I thought was worth listening to.

775 But I want to hear those firmly in the opposite camp put together a similarly forensic analysis. Let us have a debate worthy of the importance it has to those who are the future of our Island, our children. Thank you.

The Bailiff: Deputy de Lisle.

780 **Deputy de Lisle:** Sir, I wanted to make a very brief point or two. Deputy Cameron's model is to close La Mare. Let us be quite clear. That is just like the proposals of the ESC Committee, to close La Mare. Now, all those students, from eight parishes, have to be relocated and they have to be provided accommodation. The accommodation is going to have to be in different schools because they are from different parts of the Island.

785 As a result, it means that we are going to have to look at accommodation building in the other schools in order to provide that particular accommodation. Or, of course, and – perhaps it is an and/or – increasing the average size of classes. In other words, increasing the tipping point and that is something that Cameron's model is also going to be doing.

790 So, we are looking at those two factors, particularly in his case, because he is not allowing, as the ESC model does, the movement over the road, 500 metres or whatever it is, to the old St Peter Port school site. Therefore, that accommodation would be available on the Varendes site. But that is not going to be available to him and therefore his whole business of accommodating those students is really a bigger issue, with respect to the Cameron model.

795 So, I wanted to make those points clear. The fact is that I do not see that there is any sense in closing a school and then rebuilding all these facilities to accommodate those people somewhere else. It just does not make a lot of sense and I think we have got to look very carefully at that particular issue.

800 Two issues, then, with regard to this Cameron model. One, the increasing average size of classes and of course you do not increase educational opportunity by increasing the size of classes. People get left behind. It is very difficult. You know, the inspectors come into a classroom and they say, 'Oh, look, you have got various ability groups in here. Divide them into six groups, please.' So, there you are, you have got 40 minutes in the class, you have to divide your class into six different mini groups in order that you are teaching according to ability.

805 That is very difficult to do. Let us be quite candid. We have a problem here of closing a school and fitting in all those students from different parts of the Island into different schools and building the accommodation for them. I think, by the time we have finished, we will be saying we would have been better just leaving that particular school and investing some money in providing and uprating those facilities at La Mare. Thank you, sir.

810 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Murray.

Deputy Murray: Thank you sir. *De minimis* version, I have got written at the top of my paper here. Well, let us see. Perhaps it is, perhaps it is not. Sir, over half of this Assembly are what Deputy Soulsby once fondly referred to as 'rookies'. Now, that gives us something of a disadvantage insofar
815 as we may sometimes not entirely understand some of the nuances of parliamentary or indeed committee etiquette and practice

As the late Deputy Guille was fond of saying: 'It is never about what it is about.' However, the strength that we rookies do bring to the party, or perhaps I should rephrase that, what we bring to the Assembly, are fresh eyes. We have not been scarred by past battles and we have not, as yet, lost
820 the convictions that brought us here in the first place. Although, I would argue that perhaps Deputy Cameron may have reinterpreted his manifesto pledge on education somewhat.

For myself, I had a small number of key concerns when I stood for election. One of those was to attempt to sort out the decades-long impasse on education. Another, to stop taxpayers' money being spent unnecessarily. For myself, I hit the jackpot with this amendment, sir. What we have here
825 in this amendment appears to be a personal educational shopping list. Everyone gets something, except, of course, La Mare de Carteret High School.

I say 'appears', sir, since it is by no means clear what exactly it is that is being offered, since there are no costs, just unsubstantiated claims in relation to saving money in both revenue and capital. Now, I am going to challenge both of those assumptions, however, using the same figures produced
830 by the same officers who did the projections for the Committee's model.

There are many unsubstantiated claims in Deputy Cameron's explanation of this amendment and many incorrect assumptions, which are somewhat surprising given that Deputy Cameron has had full access to the same understanding of the educational arena that we have, including with officers, educationalists and consultants.

Indeed, the same team who we have made available to all Members and all amenders, as required, including their seconders, such as in this case Deputy de Sausmarez. Now, I mean no disrespect, sir, but to make some of the very bold claims contained in this amendment, given the actual costs and the realities of what is being described, it is almost as if it might have been written
835 by another person, with considerably less exposure to and understanding of our education system, our stakeholder engagement feedback and certainly of our policy letter proposals.

There are only three amendments before the Assembly today, which seek to change the model of education. The Committee's proposed model, the variation on that from Deputy Leadbeater and Deputy Le Tocq's three 11-18 schools. This model from Deputy Cameron, however, subject to this current amendment, changes nothing, apart from the closing of La Mare School, and adds nothing
845 to the educational *status quo*, except cost.

Instead, we will tread water, add questionably needed facilities, leave thousands of students in ongoing limbo and, worst of all, perpetuate inequity. If it was not for the very hefty price tag, which I will talk about much more in a moment, I might well accept the suggestion that it was indeed a 'do minimum' alternative. Certainly, for those who lack ambition for Guernsey's future students.

The shopping list would cost in the region of £50 million-plus of taxpayer money, which I am going to suggest would deliver a less flexible model, with more complex management requirements, will have convoluted transition arrangements, will require students to endure ongoing building works, add to the building timeline of the TGI, with a more expensive element of accommodation, cost more in revenue terms and spend money unnecessarily on facilities which,
850 though nice to have, are not deemed essential.

That is my assertion, sir, and I now intend to explain and break down that vast amount of money that is proposed to commit to the education shopping cart and try to convince anyone who thinks otherwise, that paying for this on the States' credit card is likely to end up getting it torn up. But I must allow Deputy Cameron some leeway here. Like me, he is a rookie, so it is entirely possible that
860 with the best of intentions, he feels that far from taking the advice of the Committee's consultants, trained and experienced educationalists, he has sought instead the opinions of a few trusted Deputies to inform what is necessarily the best way to get the best educational outcome.

Deputy Cameron: Point of correction, sir.

865

The Bailiff: Point of correction, Deputy Cameron.

Deputy Cameron: I have taken the actual opinions of teachers, not Deputies.

870

The Bailiff: Deputy Murray to continue.

Deputy Murray: Thank you, sir. Again, sir, meaning no disrespect here, but his seconder Deputy de Sausmarez, I suspect would not necessarily disagree that this time last year she would probably have rather have died in a ditch than lose the much heralded equality being associated with the two-school model and I admire her for that. I really do. I admire her for sticking to her principles. She, like me, cannot bear the thought of a postcode lottery when it comes to education. And yet here we are, exactly that. A single 11-18 school in the mix, as mentioned by Deputy Roffey, dressed in the camouflage of a co-located sixth form. It is very curious. But let me return to that in a moment.

875

To be concise, this amendment purports to save money without any financial basis upon which to justify that claim, for those trying to make sense of the content of the amendment. I would contend, however, it does not. Instead, it requests that money in one capital scenario just gets spent in another and it does not deliver the same equity or future flexibility that the Committee's model does for largely the same amount of money.

880

On the face of it, the only difference to the Committee's model that this appears to suggest, is the location of the sixth form. But there are certainly still the BAU maintenance costs required for the Grammar School, required under both models, something between £7 million-£10 million. However, what is significant but not immediately apparent is that the 11-16 component of the Grammar School cannot accommodate six forms of entry and it needs six forms of entry. A necessity, once La Mare de Carteret is closed, and the students distributed amongst the remaining settings.

890

Deputy de Sausmarez: Point of correction.

The Bailiff: Point of correction, Deputy de Sausmarez.

895

Deputy de Sausmarez: That is not actually the case. If Deputy Murray runs the numbers on the student projections, he will realise that actually it only needs to go to five, which it can happily accommodate with the current sixth form and the projected sixth form numbers as well. I have got all these numbers written out in a great deal of detail if he wants to go through them.

900

The Bailiff: Deputy Murray to continue.

Deputy Murray: Well, my numbers are coming actually from the officers and the educationalists that prepared them.

905

Deputy de Sausmarez: I thank Deputy Murray for giving way. As are mine. And, while I am on my feet, I will also take the opportunity to correct the assertion that Deputy Murray gave earlier that somehow the figures have been ignored that were from the education officers. I do thank the officers for their time but is Deputy Murray aware, as they fully admitted to us, that all those costings were based on the two-school model assumptions, not the assumptions of the model in this policy letter and that makes a huge difference because the space standards are different, the tipping point is different, the teacher/pupil ratio is different. They are just so completely different, they are not comparable. This is why the numbers are unclear and this is why we needed a like-for-like comparison.

910

915

Several Members: Hear, hear.

Deputy Murray: Did you, sir?

920 **The Bailiff:** Well, Deputy Murray, Deputy de Sausmarez thought you were giving way to her rather than raising a point of correction. It is customary to say, 'Yes, I will give way to the Deputy.' Or 'I will not give way to the Deputy.' But she took it that you were giving way. If there was a give way then it is not for me to invite you to recommence your speech, but please do.

925 **Deputy Murray:** Thank you, sir. There is a breakdown here, for anybody who would like it and I can send it to anybody that would like. These are substantiated, so I think we can probably argue until the cows come home but it is really important because the amount of money we are talking about spending here is significant. So, we do need to get to the bottom of that.

930 Unfortunately, unlike our model, we are not provided with any essential details in terms of student transition, feeder schools and timing in this amendment. But logistically the Grammar would have to be extended for us to accommodate the six forms of entry and I maintain that; which incidentally would mean eventually, and I do not think anyone can be in any doubt about this, coping with the accommodation of some 1,100 to 1,200 students on one site, something that is most decidedly not suggested in our model.

935 Now, this is significant for two reasons. Firstly, it clearly means that until this extension is built it is not possible to accommodate any students from La Mare. That has a knock on impact on any transition model timing, giving there will be plans, approvals and ultimately a build to undertake. But this Grammar build, which probably could not even begin until at least 2023, even if everything went swimmingly, will be an extension to a 35-year-old building, which already incorporates a 16-year-old sixth form extension and that will cost a further £10.5 million- £13 million and please, sir, and I would implore the Assembly to pay close attention to this, out of necessity, the sixth form and the rest of the school currently share considerable resources.

940 The sixth form cannot function without access to at least 60% of the special areas of the other building such as science labs, design and technology, art rooms and more. It is not clear, but it is certainly implied, that the sixth form will continue to operate in this way under this amendment, which is why this approach ends up with a combined integrated student population of at least 1,100 when complete. Is there a sixth form with the door closed, self-contained, or co-located, as it is enticingly described? Or integrated? We do not know.

945 Now, the teacher survey undertaken by the last ESC, which was extensive by any measure, certainly in comparison to the binary one conducted by some teachers recently, revealed that 1,100 students would be at least 300 –

Deputy Cameron: There will be at least 1,200 students on the Les Ozouets campus.

955 **Deputy Murray:** Thank you for that, but they will not all be there at the same time.

Deputy Cameron: Point of correction.

The Bailiff: Point of correction, Deputy Cameron.

960 **Deputy Cameron:** They will be there at the same time. There are 2,000 students that will be attending the TGI, 800 are full time students. If we put a sixth form onto that there will be 400 students, there will be another 50 teachers with the sixth form as well, so that will be 1,250 driving age and they will require parking spaces as well. Thank you.

965 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Murray to continue please.

Deputy Murray: Thank you for that. As I was saying, in a school setting, in the last ESC's survey, the teachers said that the optimum size of a school was between 600 and 800 students. So, there will be more than 300 on the Les Varendes site as a consequence of this and, remember, it is actually
970 an integrated site. That means they are all working in the same space.

Bear in mind, too, that the population decided that such a figure was also unacceptable under the two-school model; notwithstanding, and this is important, the ramifications for students with a SEND designation, who will be the most affected by large school populations that they have to navigate.

975 Secondly, and in total contrast to our model, there will be major disruption within the Grammar site whilst this is achieved, ongoing building works, and where is the additional build going to go? The lower car park, perhaps? Well, that is used for student sport facilities at the moment. The fact is the Grammar site has very little room for expansion at all. However –

980 **Deputy Cameron:** Point of correction.

The Bailiff: Point of correction, Deputy Cameron.

Deputy Cameron: The sports facility that Deputy Murray is referring to is an unused netball
985 court. It is only used as an overflow car park. Thank you.

The Bailiff: Can I just make a comment before inviting Deputy Murray to continue his speech. You can disagree on a fact without it necessarily being inaccurate or misleading and if people still have the opportunity to speak in the debate, subsequently, they can draw attention to that at the
990 time, rather than continually interrupting the flow. Deputy Murray.

Deputy Murray: Thank you, sir. The fact is the Grammar site has very little room for expansion at all. However, perhaps by means of compensation, the students will have access to the amendment's suggestion of bringing the pool back to life after many years, at a cost of £1 million-
995 £2 million, not forgetting its additional running costs of some £60,000-£70,000 a year.

However, the main impact of this is that unfortunately that also means that the Music Service, Youth Commission, and SHARE teams who were to occupy that very pool space coming out of the locked campus, under the Committee's model, will have to be found accommodation elsewhere temporarily until a new facility can be built on the locked site at a cost of £5 million and it might
1000 also impede the TGI build timeline as a consequence.

Realise too that the Music Service needs to be located within reach of a performing space, has extensive storage needs, services all the Island schools and has for many years worked extremely effectively at Les Ozouets campus having access to the Princess Theatre but using the Grammar School as a central partner.
1005

Meanwhile, finding an appropriate temporary home with all of the kit and within easy reach of the Princess Theatre and the Grammar School is not going to be easy and it is not specified. Now, the amendment talks of improvements in the other 11-16 schools, which with our school governor hats on, I am afraid we do not believe are actually essential and I will return to why in a moment.

1010 However, what is being suggested is some sort of parallel corridor at St Sampson's to improve circulation at a cost of £2.5 million-£4 million, more science labs at Beaucamps, about £4 million, and an associated requirement to move the MUGA, £2.5 million and covered social spaces at both St Sampson's and Beaucamps. These improvements are apparently necessary, despite St Sampson's only having been built in 2008 and Beaucamps in 2012, both to the most generous building standards we have in Guernsey in the school sector, BB-98, plus the Guernsey factor of a further
1015 16%.

Further, according to the Peter Marsh Associates survey, commissioned in 2018, Beaucamps School was operating, then, at 47% of space efficiency, with 470 students. Now, given that in May of this year, it only had 471 students, it is very hard to understand why there is a belief that

1020 Beaucamps in particular feels it has a space or facilities problem that requires further capital investment.

The investment that we do want to make, however, is for the CASS base, which we have proposed at Beaucamps, since that is most definitely a requirement, although it is not referred to specifically in the amendment, we have to assume that this is included at a cost of £1.5 million.

1025 Nevertheless, officers have run a predictive costing for what is required by all of what is suggested and of course what is absolutely necessary, such as extending the Grammar School to take six forms of entry, bearing in mind that this includes not just building costs but programme costs too and that will fall somewhere between £37 million-£54 million. But then we have to include optimism bias, which given the uncertainty and lack of detail in the proposals brings us up to £51.7 million-£75.9 million. That compares directly with the outline policy letter top line of
1030 £54 million.

So, let me remind you that description of the capital costs in this amendment, anticipated to be substantially lower than those set out in the policy letter. But let us not forget that these suggested upgrades are so extensive that they will have to be carried out in term time. They are not modular, erect on-site additions, they are traditional building techniques that hundreds of students affected
1035 will have to endure for a considerable period of time, too.

We do not know the time. We do not know the time it will take for all of this to become a reality but the cost of maintaining two inefficiently sized schools will run into millions until it is complete. There is also a hidden disruption cost that is not accounted for as a consequence.

1040 Now if some members of the profession are saying these improvements are essential to impact educational outcomes I am afraid the Committee are not convinced, since the educationalists who guide us and the professional educational consultants who have scoped the buildings and the way they are used themselves are not convinced.

I would like to turn to revenue. In the medium term, the amendment says, revenues are proposed to be lower than the current revenue and also less than that which is proposed in the policy letter, which by the way is expected to be in excess of £1 million. I would also remind you that this claim
1045 has no supporting evidence, either.

So, let me first remind everyone that one of the concerns that has been raised by the profession and indeed by a few Members in this Assembly is that our policy letter lacks details. Now the biggest impact upon revenue will be the very complex, detailed issue of negotiating staff deployment and contracts, which it is truly impossible to embark on without some sort of agreed model upon which
1050 to base those discussions and which would apply equally to any model arising from any amendment agreed today.

However, the other level of detail, which would have some bearing on revenue, and it has been touched on before, is the operation of our proposed Sixth Form Centre on the locked site. Now,
1055 this has been a very specific issue raised by the Grammar School, who have repeatedly claimed that moving staff between the 11-16s and this site would be extremely complicated, involve lots of part-time staff, have incredibly complex timetabling, would impose a single timetable on all schools and would impact upon pastoral care. But we have addressed and manually modelled these concerns to a level of detail that stands up to proof concept, including curriculum modelling for September
1060 across the whole of the secondary sites.

We have also made use of what Deputy de Sausmarez likes to call the magic algorithm, which despite her derogation is sophisticated timetabling software that is used across 3,000 worldwide schools and enjoys a 98% retention rate with customers. Indeed, we have been working with it here
1065 in Guernsey for 18 months, albeit only using a fraction of its capabilities, as staff gradually become accustomed to it. So, we have done some pretty extensive modelling, insofar as it is possible to prove that it can be practically achieved, without getting into what must be accepted as the operational responsibility of the schools involved.

Now, clearly, having a single sixth form owned by three schools, instead of the exclusive preserve of only one school, brings challenges as well as opportunities but is a long way from being run by
1070 part-timers, as has been suggested, or not having subject specialists available. Yes, there could be

a need for perhaps 12 teachers in one scenario who might move between their home site and the sixth form under our model. But some degree of teacher movement is also suggested under this amendment if the suggestion that the sixth form is genuinely at the disposal of the other two schools.

1075 However, this is where we have to be very clear about what is being proposed here. This model is not a three 11-16 and a sixth form, as has been suggested. No, as I explained before, this is an integrated 11-18 Grammar School with two 11-16 high schools. Why do I claim that? Well, the sixth form is not co-located in the sense that it operates from on the same site independently, it does not. It cannot.

1080 As I previously explained, it requires access to some 60% of the facilities from the main school, so the timetabling of the sixth form has to be integrated with the 11-16 schools in order to maximise access to those rooms and the other two schools would have to work to that integrated timetable if any of their teachers wanted to spend time in the Grammar School at sixth form.

1085 So, just to be clear, it is not possible to close the door to the sixth form in this scenario. It is an integrated, 11-18 facility, which will dictate the opportunity for other, non-resident teachers to participate and in fact does far more than what our model has erroneously been accused of, dictating the timetables of all the schools as a consequence, simply because it does not have the facilities to stand alone and provide complete flexibility.

1090 I would go so far as to say describing this model as a three 11-16 and a sixth form is actually misleading the Assembly and it is certainly inequitable. Without a doubt, this is the *status quo* by any other name, other than the removal of La Mare. It is completely at odds with what we are proposing, which is a sixth form which can be owned by all the true 11-16 schools, including Les Varendes whose timetables can be far more flexible to their own needs and integrated to whatever extent they have staff wishing to participate in a true 11-18 learning partnership.

1095 Further, the fact that it is capable of standing alone means that timetabling opportunities between the TGI and indeed for the grant-aided colleges, should they so wish, for cross-working across pathways, is considerably broadened, not limited to what can only be made available due to the integrated nature of the Grammar School. We have said, and we maintain, that today's revenue model can clearly accommodate this.

1100 The suggestion that because the current sixth form is integrated means that revenue costs will necessarily be less is discounted by the fact that it limits curriculum choices to that which works only within the available sharing of the premises with the 11-16 building at Les Varendes. That the other 11-16 schools will have to dance to the timetable tune of the Grammar School negates flexibility for their staff to participate and in any event, limits them to the status of visiting teachers to another school, not participants in a partner sixth form.

1105 Now I do not know about anyone else, but I would far rather have a broader curriculum choice available to participate in than one limited due to available room resources in a shared school. Timetabling savings for the suggested model is a myth. Conversely, the timetabling limitations that our model is accused of is also a myth.

1110 This amendment, which seeks to be deemed the do minimum approach succeeds in living up to its name in only one regard. It does nothing towards moving our education system forward. Further, it relies upon returning to tipping points mentioned to deliver class sizes that are deemed marginally smaller. That will mean revenue costs will go up and the suggested improvements and outcomes will still not be found because, unless you get to class sizes of 15-20 students, which is widely understood to be necessary to improve outcomes, and this is endorsed by educationalists everywhere ...

1120 I would like before closing to just answer a couple of Deputy Roffey's points because I think again some myths here. Deputy Roffey mentioned the two-school model having medium sized schools for Guernsey. The same size we are talking about here that would be the outcome of this amendment for Les Varendes.

A separate sixth form is not a fourth school. It is a part of the 11-16 secondary partnership. Eleven to 18, and I must bust this, is not by any means considered the best for outcomes. There is

1125 equally the same amount of data, which can be found on 11-16 and I would have to say, Deputy Roffey, I think it is insulting to the teachers in the 11-16s to suggest that in some way they fail to meet the grade. Recruitment is another myth –

Deputy Roffey: Point of correction, sir.

1130 **The Bailiff:** Point of correction, Deputy Roffey.

Deputy Roffey: I made no such allegation.

The Bailiff: Deputy Murray to continue, please.

1135 **Deputy Murray:** Well suggesting that 11-18 is the pinnacle I think rather does suggest that 11-16 is not. Recruitment is another myth. We already have nearly 100 applicants for jobs in Guernsey from teachers. However, I do agree with Deputy Roffey on the appearance of the 11-18, because that is the true nature of what it is.

1140 I also agree that teachers' wishes sometimes are not affordable and we have to make choices. Primary is already larger than the class sizes in secondary so this tipping point, that fact that we are somehow reducing the capability of teachers in secondary, our primary teachers are already working in much larger class sizes and we forget this. If they can function satisfactorily, I fail to see why, with the best-equipped schools that we have in secondary, we believe that actually we should be doing anything any less. They work to a tipping point of 28, that is what we now have in secondary.

1145 Finally, I will look forward to Deputy Cameron summing up and addressing these real issues that I have been talking about in relation to how claims are made about saving costs, but without a satisfactory explanation, clearly not moving education forward and I would ask you to reject this amendment as a consequence. Thank you.

1150 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Leadbeater, I noted that you arrived probably about an hour and half ago, or so. Now, fortuitously Deputy Queripel has also arrived during the course of the last Member speaking. Is it the wish of both of you that you be relevéd?

Deputy Queripel: Yes, sir. I apologise for being late for school!

1155 **The Bailiff:** Yes. So we will record both Members as present now, which means we have got a full Assembly. Deputy Prow.

1160 **Deputy Prow:** Thank you, Mr Bailiff. Sir, I am very glad that I followed Deputy Murray's forensic examination of this amendment. It was extremely useful and persuasive, so I will not repeat the specific points he has made as ESC Vice-President. Sir, like other Deputies who have spoken, I need to speak quite generally, not least because the amendment before us, that we are debating now, actually substitutes all the ESC Propositions.

1165 During this debate many significant dates will, I am sure, be mentioned and have been mentioned. Some of those will go back decades. Some dates will appear on the myriad of reports that we are told have cost this Island over £10 million, the counter reports, open correspondence from educationalists, the public and media opinion writers. Some dates will relate to the pig's ear that successive Assemblies have made in deciding – or, more accurately, not deciding – how to develop secondary education.

1170 A lot of those dates will encompass 2016-20, including an early term decision to throw out selection with absolutely no Plan B. (**Several Members:** Hear, hear.) This was followed by more bends and twists that the Val des Terres and, astonishingly, the setting up and funding of a shadow education committee.

1175 Not, as Deputy St Pier has described, *Alice in Wonderland*, but in my view a script for an XX-rated political horror movie. However, this debate on this day must, I hope, be forward looking. Sir, I therefore wish to concentrate on only two dates. The first being 21st October 2020 and not because it was Trafalgar Day. The second is 28th May 2021.

1180 I would ask Members to cast their minds back to 21st October. We were all newly elected, with some election manifestos not yet confined to the shredder, and doorstep conversations ringing in our ears. What was the main public angst? I do not need to answer that question. Either, for those who were successful and for some who were not.

1185 So, what did we do on that day? We unanimously appointed the current Committee for Education, Sport & Culture. Using the diplomatic language we have before us, we elected a Committee to take this out of a period of extended turbulence in attempts to reorganise education. Sir, we have faith in that political team to deliver us a model for a progressive and sustainable secondary and post-16 education provision and we tasked them accordingly.

1190 On my second milestone date, 28th May, only some seven months later, that Committee, and bless them, have delivered us a policy letter enriched by presentations and access to much supporting information, which sets out a clear, concise and transparently articulated States-maintained ecosystem, as they describe it, which is both ambitious and aspirational.

1195 I thank this Committee and congratulate them and all those professionals involved on the high quality of the report. Frankly, I find most policy letters hard work but I was actually excited by the content, especially around the post-16 and lifelong learning content. The fog of despair dissipated. I agree with them. A viable solution is long overdue and they have delivered.

1200 This Committee inherited a difficult and disparate education policy and a transition from a selective system was already put in train, but with no vision or blueprint for the infrastructure or in an educational estate that was fit for purpose to deliver such radical change. In my view the policy letter carefully analyses the options and recommends its preferred option of three schools each to cater for between 720-740 students on each site.

1205 These are catered for in the existing schools and in our high quality SEND support school provision for learners, recently endorsed by NASEN, which is maintained. However, sir, I believe the jewel in the crown, crafted to be appropriate for this time, to take us out of our troubled education debacle is, for me, the 11-18 partnership concept, underpinned by a skills and lifelong learning strategy.

1210 This is a vehicle, which will provide an aspirational, strategic direction, with increased delegated authority with our professionals, opportunities for 11-18 staff deployment and investment in a Bailiwick-wide Sixth Form Centre, alongside an institute for all our young people, for both academic and vocational pathways.

1215 But sir, this also provides for the availability for the right choices to realise their aspirations and crucially allows the development for lifelong learning, which is essential, not only in the preparation for the world of work, but to respond to future skills gaps and the needs of employers. The emphasis and investment in a post-16 campus will, I believe, achieve a dynamic opportunity for people to prepare for their next steps in education or work in a mature, adult learning environment. This will be realised and developed over time by the staff working in a strong partnership and in collaboration with the Sixth Form Centre and the Guernsey Institute.

1220 Sir, we must seize this opportunity to invest in our young people and develop all those who contribute to our economy, including the businesses and third sector workplace requirements. I close by referring to section 1.24 of the policy letter. What we cannot and must not do is delay or procrastinate and jeopardise the future of our prosperity, or risk alienating the community further.

1225 This Island, together with Alderney, must deliver and the Education policy letter gives us a clear strategic direction and the opportunity to rebuild public trust and invest and deliver. Today is the opportunity to move forward. I implore Members to throw out this amendment and support the ESC Propositions unamended. Let us get this done. Thank you, sir.

1225 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Fairclough.

Deputy Fairclough: Thank you, sir. The best educational outcomes. It has almost become a cliché in Guernsey in recent years. A phrase which gets tired with over-use and it is not the only thing tired with over-use. A bit like a team deep into extra time in the last game of a long tournament, many seem to be on their last legs. But who will have the courage to step up and strike the decisive penalty in this delayed tournament?

Greater minds than mine have spent longer considering this subject and all of the options. I have done as much as I can in the time since the election to read all of the documents I can get my hands on, take into account all of the views, attend every meeting I was invited to, hoping for and searching for some sort of epiphany.

Probably like many of my fellow Members, I have been scrabbling around, trying to find the evidence. That nugget of information that will make everything clearer, to help me finally see the light, a solution to the future of secondary education in Guernsey. I have tried with all my might to see things and understand things through the eyes of ESC. I have been to all of their excellent engagement sessions. But it has been difficult. Much more difficult for them, no doubt. I am not an expert in education. I do not profess to be.

Like many, I stood determined with a steely resolve that we need to move forwards but I am not going to be made to feel guilty by anyone for wanting more evidence, as much evidence as possible, in a bid to ensure we provide the best possible system of secondary education. I fear that we may end up with a compromise and a solution that ends up pleasing no one.

There has been a lot of talk about money and it is short-sighted to simply look at bottom lines. What we need to think about is investment in the long term. It might take a while for us to realise that return on investment but this investment just happens to be in our greatest resource, our young people. The value of a well-educated, happy, confident youngster living and working in the Island in the future cannot be under-estimated and is actually intangible or immeasurable.

But let us also recognise that more youngsters than ever before want to go to university. I wanted us to bottom out what is the best solution for secondary education. We cannot simply ignore the views of teachers and their unions, who are going to work in the schools and live with the consequences of our decision.

If you are building a hospital, would you not seek and get the approval of nursing staff? Yes, you would, and I believe HSC has done exactly that. If you were rebuilding a harbour, would you not take on board the views of a harbourmaster? Maybe best not to answer that.

There is no silver bullet, we are told, but there is a golden thread. I accept that in a post-COVID world we have to cut our cloth accordingly but the reality for some is that meaningful progress is coming apart at the seams. So, is the golden thread referred to in ESC's policy letter the one which can stitch this policy and system together? I want to buy into it. The many sessions the Committee has put on have given me reassurance and I commend them for that. I like the equality of opportunity and provision. But I am still not convinced.

How much of a leap of faith do you have to take when tens of millions of pounds of taxpayers' money are involved? Maybe all that glistens is not gold. It certainly is not if you listen to some of the teachers' concerns and it was enlightening to hear views expressed at Beaucamps High School this week, or Les Beaucamps as former Deputy Carol Steer would have us say.

If we listened to staff, we would be undertaking a review and/or backing this amendment from Deputy Cameron, I think. It is easier for people, staff and the community, of course, to knock proposals down rather than build them up and I appreciate Deputies Le Tocq, Leadbeater, Cameron and others attempting to do the latter, to be constructive rather than destructive and I think they should be commended for that and I welcome this debate and the many excellent speeches that we have had already today. They are trying to provide a way forward, even if that is just a vehicle for debate to try to ensure that we have flushed out every argument.

As many colleagues have said, whatever plan for future education is brought forward is not going to be perfect. We all know that, I think, and I think we can all agree on that. But someone who emailed us all just last night hit the nail on the head in many aspects for me and I quote:

Please listen to the views of teachers, they are best placed to know what can or cannot be delivered. They have offered constructive feedback. Please do not dismiss their views. How will the proposed separate sixth form be staffed to ensure specialist quality teachers want to work in the model being proposed, enabling our children to achieve the best possible full education. I also fail to understand how adding more pupils to existing schools without further investment in those facilities is in the best interests of our children.

1280 I heard yesterday about investment in SEND, in literacy and digital literacy and wellbeing and I applaud that but what about investment in our secondary schools? Yesterday Deputy Dudley-Owen spoke of the presence of vermin at La Mare. That is what gets in the way of good educational outcomes, we were told. Well, what about the children being forced to sit on the floor to have lunch on a wet day because there are not enough tables or chairs? Or the lack of science labs?
I give way to Deputy Inder.

1285 **Deputy Inder:** Just on that specific point, sir, and I have got two children at St Sampson's High. We had similar problems with the previous head teacher. Vicky Godley came into our school and had this miraculous epiphany. She asked her children to sit in the classrooms. Now, Beaucamps is quite capable of asking their children to sit in their classrooms. They do not have to sit outside. Get the head teachers to come up with some new ideas. We do not need to build a new school because
1290 they cannot put their teachers in their classrooms like they have done at St Sampson's High, with the right head teacher, with the right pragmatism.

Deputy Fairclough: That does not solve the problem of a lack of science labs in the same school. This is not some Dickensian view of the past. These things are happening now at Beaucamps High
1295 School, one of our newest schools. And that is before the attempt is made to integrate hundreds more pupils onto the site, potentially. Who will get a seat at the table, I am left to wonder?

What of the head teachers themselves that Deputy Inder has just referred to? Why should we not hear their views? I would very much like to, to give me the reassurance that when I am committing to spending tens of millions of pounds, as I am being asked today, along with many of
1300 my colleagues, that it is a model that they and others can sign up to and back to the hilt.

I, like probably many people, have concerns about the loss of a school, of the amount of traffic going to the proposed Les Ozouets site, of the concerns of teachers about the future or where they might fit in. I wish we had rebuilt La Mare and I am sorry that that community, not just the school, that community was never given a new school there despite the promises of previous Assemblies.
1305

I wish we had more time. I wish we had done a review. I wish that the proposed model before us, if approved, will be refined, will be finessed, will be invested in and will ultimately be supported. Because, like many Members, I am sure this was top of my list of priorities when we were first asked to rank what we wanted to achieve this term, to sort out secondary education once and for all. Thank you.
1310

The Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

Deputy Inder: I did have a bit of a prepared speech. I am going to talk a little bit about my role as President of Economic Development once a decision needs to be done for the economy but I
1315 must pick up people before I start on this whole false flag of a review. Under any review there are two things that will never happen. La Mare de Carteret School will never want to close and the Grammar School will always want to be 11-18 and the Beaucamps School will always want the same size classrooms. So, I wish people would stop ... Like Deputy Trott I went to the same maths lessons as him, there are actually three things, so sorry about that!

1320 This whole idea of a review was always a false flag and to be perfectly honest with you my vote last term was entirely disingenuous. I voted for full pause-and-review for the complete nonsense of the two-school model that split our Sixth Form Centre, our highly successful Sixth Form Centre in half. Now Deputy Cameron or Deputy de Sausmarez, whoever wrote this amendment, I would not get too excited about that because it does not necessarily mean I will not disagree with a better

1325 Sixth Form Centre in a better place being on its own, independent of, not stuck with the timetables of the 11-16 or the facilities involved.

Where I do agree with Deputy de Sausmarez and Deputy Cameron, in that order, is that a sixth form centre can certainly work where it is on the Sixth Form Centre's site but where it would be better placed is outside of the 11-16 faculty, because all of the tie-ins with the current school and the Sixth Form Centre, brand new, even anywhere else but on the current Varendes site, is likely to be better for the future.

1330 But, anyway, in my role as the President of Economic Development, there have been recurring themes for meetings with businesses and representative bodies, the importance of long-term investment in skills and education so that we can support the economy of the future. Now a concern that has been continually raised with me, repeatedly, by businesses is the inevitable impact of more delay. Basically, if we do not agree a plan, we cannot begin to invest and certainly, there is no two-ways about it, if the de Sausmarez/Cameron amendment gets through – sorry, I keep getting it wrong – the Cameron and de Sausmarez amendment gets through today, that will be a decision. It will certainly be a decision.

1340 But it is not the silver bullet by any stretch of the imagination because I have been there before where the 11-18 school wanted to be in place and the concerns from 11-18 teachers were management allowances, pensions and faculty grants. On the other side, I have been in La Mare de Carteret School, where they were concerned that effectively any changes to the school structure would mean that the management allowances, the pensions, the positions and the faculty grants, will all stay in place.

1345 So those of you who think that everything is all about teaching and schooling I would box very carefully because I have been in all of those schools and the first job of the union is to protect the roles, the pensions, the positions, the management allowance and the faculty uplifts from all of their staff.

1350 The job of a union is not to represent the children of our Island. Their job is to represent their representatives and that is a fact. It does not matter how they play it, if you look at all the responses you have had from teachers, there have been some elements, I must admit, of how they might be able to manage the schools, but it always is about them first and at the very end you always get a line, 'and do not forget it is about the children'. That is always the last thing that is ever said.

1355 Anyway, in short I am being told that further delay will hit the reputation of the Island hard and will prevent some businesses making long-term decisions in respect of their investment in Guernsey. The Skills Strategy, for example, is a critical economic recovery action in the Government Work Plan. It is critical because, post-pandemic, Guernsey needs to develop a better, qualified and more attractive and diverse workforce and to do this it is also critical for individuals to see that there are no limits to personal ambition.

1360 This is not about teachers, this is about the children that we are educating. So I will say that again, there are no limits to personal ambition – not teacher ambition – personal ambition and for those children to have confidence to undertake the upskilling and personal development as well as employment-based programmes.

1365 Now, how secondary and post-16 education is provided is essential in delivering this ambition and confidence. It is hugely important. There may be philosophical differences but there are no two ways about it, the post-16 education is where our children start looking at their work paths. This is particularly true of post-16 education. It will be more difficult to make tangible progress on the 'promote education skills' and learning workstream in the absence of a decision on what the secondary education structure looks like.

1370 And the Cameron amendment is a false flag. Do not think a decision today means that this will be the last part of the debate. It is simply not true. Some of you may walk out of here punching the air, going onto Twitter, getting clicks, getting likes, having teachers tell you what fantastic people. I know, I have been there. But you are wrong. Because this will not be the end of it. Absolutely no way will this be the end of it. That much I can guarantee.

I think Deputy – I was about to call you de Sausmarez, I think Deputy Dudley-Owen said there had been three major education debates. There have not. There have been more, five or is it four? There was the four-school debacle in the States before ours, there was selection itself, then there was the checking again if we still wanted selection. (*Interjection*)

1380 That is true, there was a motion of no confidence in the previous Committee, which was another test on the education model itself, thank you Deputy Gollop for reminding me of that. Of course, six months later, the 8th August meeting, which I am not too sure, from the gang of four, where they all got a meeting at the Grammar School.

1385 I remind you people – sorry, not you people – Members of the Assembly, through you sir, I am not talking to the people of Guernsey I am talking via the Bailiff to the elected Members of the Assembly, on 8th August of I think it was 2017, a number of people were gathered into a room, led by members of the Grammar School, to design a two-school modern. There were eight or nine people in the room, there were senior members of the Grammar School in that room and their job was to find a way of keeping an 11-18 school in place.

1390 So, please, there are things going on in the background and they have permanently gone on in the background, all around educational, and we are basically, and I have fallen for it for myself to a degree, we are effectively, some of you are effectively becoming delegates for the unions. That is not our job. We are here to represent the people of this Island. We are not union delegates.

1395 Now, the location of a larger Sixth Form Centre on the same site as the Guernsey Institute will help achieve that ambition, a wider curriculum choice, mixed learning with the Institute and increasing the perceived value of vocational and technical courses and I will get to this parity of esteem, which Deputy Roffey – who is not here – and Deputy Falla and I think Deputy Kazantseva-Miller have mentioned either publicly ... I will get to parity of esteem later on.

1400 There will be a wider curriculum choice and the perceived value of vocational and technical skills will be important to maximise the value to business individuals in the economy. Now, it is essential for the future development of the economy that business investors can see clear commitment to educational improvement and attainment on the Island. Doing the same thing, fighting the same wars, doing exactly the same thing that we are doing, is not moving the educational conversation forward.

1405 If you want to give up. If you, as Members of this Assembly, want to be the dog wagged by the tail, then vote for the Cameron amendment. You will please a few people. You will certainly please a few people. You will be raised on chariots through the car park of Les Varendes, with petals thrown in front of you, but you will not have moved the educational conversation on in any way, shape or form. You will have won for a day. You will only have won for one day.

1410 Now, a recent survey by the IoD conducted in March 2021 found that 64% of the businesses who responded to the survey said that they have skills that they need to succeed. However, 36% of the business respondents said they did not have the skills that they need to succeed. Sixty-one per cent of those businesses say it is because they cannot find the skills that they need. They are not in the Island. They need to import them. They need to import talent into this Island. We are not educating our children for the way that our economy is quite clearly going and I will get to that later.

1420 Now, looking at business experience of trying to recruit, it is the specialist skills, such as technical skills, which have proved the most challenging. Sixty-nine per cent of businesses say this was either very hard or often hard. Now, what are we doing? What is our job, at least as President of Economic Development, is to recognise the problems that we have within the economy and in some way is to, where possible, support something that improves that. I genuinely believe that a way of improving that is concentrating and changing the way that we deliver post-16.

1425 Now business leaders believe that their teams' skills will need to change in the next five years. Not look back to what they were doing 10 years ago, on 11-18, that was built on a selection system, the selection system that we have all dumped. It is what we are going to be doing in the future. Not what we dumped five years ago. Be very careful, I will say this time and again – what is the word? –

I suppose the context of the conversations that you are having with some of the teaching staff. It is not future-looking, it is backward-looking.

1430 Pressures being on digital technology skills, adapting to increased automation and regulation, several aspects should be more agile in the future as they experience and embrace change and, from my own personal experience and that is a real job, because I have employed people, I was there at the start of digital in Guernsey, I knew what was lacking. So those who have got experience in business and might have had an NED, might have hung around people like the IoD, you need to talk to real people like me.

1435 I was taking people off the Trident scheme and employing people because we did not have the skills. We did not have the copywriters, we did not have the web developers, we very rarely had the creatives. It was us, our businesses, through continual personal development, we could not find them on the streets. About five years after we finished, we started developing, guess what happened – digital exploded and they were being stolen away from us because effectively the banks started moving into digital. They needed back end systems. So these are the real challenges and they are still here today.

1440 This is from a real person who has done a real job, who has employed a lot of people in this Island, all in what effectively is what I call the real economy. They are not financiers, these are real people doing real jobs. This is not people in my imagination. That is what is happening out in the sector right now and people in this Assembly need to recognise this.

1445 Now, virtually all employers expected to upskill or re-skill existing staff, 95% in fact. When asked how our education system, children and adult education, could deliver more workplace-ready candidates, there was a strong focus from business on both soft skills and vocational skills. Soft skills, which is what the policy letter is trying to deliver and where the de Sausmarez and Cameron amendment does not deliver. It leaves you exactly where you were minus La Mare de Carteret. It does nothing for the future at all. It is backward-looking.

1450 Several cited a desire for stronger English and maths skills. There was a clear appreciation for the need for more design. This is not from me, this is from the IoD, the people that we represent. All of us candidates who sat in that room, in front of the IoD, people who are actually in business doing business, day in day out, not politicians who did business. These are people doing business. Real people.

1455 Desire for stronger English and maths skills and there was a clear appreciation of the need for more design, engineering, programming, economic skills for the future. Are you going to deliver that just in a Sixth Form Centre, sitting on its own, with the existing staff? That is not going to happen.

1460 The majority of businesses, 92%, felt this upskilling required more collaboration with business and more vocational – 58% – and specialist training – 55%. Employers are clearly expressing a need for enhanced skills and upskilling and call for our education providers to work with business and for our Government to incentivise and lay the foundation for our digital future wherever possible. They are not asking us to go back to the teaching profession, ask them how the faculty uplifts are doing, are you alright with your pensions and should we keep the management allowances in place. That is not what they are asking us to do. They are asking us to act like a Government for the future of this Island.

1470 A recurring theme from within the Guernsey Building Trade Employers' Association (GBTEA), Deputy Leadbeater, you will understand the GBTEA, and other representative bodies has been the importance of long-term investment in skills and education. The Guernsey construction industry has always relied heavily on trained, skilled and competent local workforce.

1475 I remember, actually, looking in lockdown one – or maybe lockdown 37, whatever we were in last week – I asked I think it was via STSB to look at the people that were unemployed in the Island. Absolutely, there was not one person who had a trade or an apprenticeship that was unemployed. There was one, actually, it was a carpenter and we are not entirely sure but I got the stats the next week and that carpenter had gone. He was employed.

1480 There were a lot of basic administrators unemployed. I am fairly sure, as we look at the stat, and I do not know, I am not even sure / even know, as we look at the stats coming out of the UK the graduate jobs are not in the economy. You have got the 2019 graduates, you have got the 2020 graduates, you are about to hit the 2021 graduates.

1485 Your future, as good as university education is, it is not entirely the future and we are unfortunately in a position where we have 30% – I will say that advisedly – we are in a very good position where 30% of our children go to the independent colleges, but it changes the conversation. We see everything through the scope of the independent colleges. If this was England, there would only be 6% at the independents.

1490 We would almost certainly, if we were in an Assembly full of people who had gone through a comprehensive system, everyone would understand everything that I have just said because everyone in that Assembly, and if Guernsey was sitting in the middle of England somewhere, would understand exactly what I meant because most of the people in that Assembly would have had the same experiences.

1495 But until you have got some kind of lived experiences and your whole scope is through either independent colleges or the 11-18 process, you are not thinking correctly, because everything has changed and is going to change very quickly, through you sir.

1495 Now, the Guernsey construction industry has always relied heavily on that competent workforce and Guernsey has an excellent apprenticeship scheme that is the envy of other jurisdictions. Fantastic staff that the College of FE, doing fantastic jobs and developing our children to move into that more technical area and all power to their elbow.

1500 However, the GBTEA is genuinely concerned that constant change and delay to future secondary education, which will impact on the Guernsey College of Further Education, and I am slightly miffed why we have not heard from them in this conversation, the one thing that delivers them their future, they have gone silent. They have gone absolutely silent.

1505 Where are the College of FE or are we here only concentrating on the union voice and the union voice that is allowed to speak? Where was the College of FE? Where is it now? The one thing in this policy letter this delivers is a future for the College of FE and they have gone silent. Absolutely silent. So, advisedly, draw your own conclusions before I do. Or I suppose I do have some kind of protection in the States, so I could say it, but I just will not bother.

1510 Now, the GBTEA is concerned that the constant delay to future education, which will impact upon the College of FE, is adversely affecting recruitment and delivery of construction trade and apprenticeships. This is at a time the GBTEA members are facing increasing workload and consequent labour shortages. There is a demand out there. The future is not entirely sitting behind swiping a screen, doing gestures on screen.

1515 Someone has to work. Someone has to get their hands dirty. Someone has to build your offices. Someone has to put the foundations in. Someone needs to run your IT systems. Someone needs to do it and we just do not have the people, those background people, the quiet people, the silent people, not the MDs, not the directors, the people who actually run the systems and we are lacking in them entirely.

1520 As well as the negative impact of any delay, our local employers' ability to recruit people with the relevant skills, there is another skills shortage. We have probably got a child shortage as well, but we have certainly got a skills shortage. A delay in the decision on secondary education provision could also have the impact of discouraging employers and families from bringing new skills and knowledge to the Island. There is a clear risk that this will limit future economic growth and productivity.

1525 So this is the message, not from the teachers, not from the manifesto-led politicians. This is real people telling you that we need to move on very quickly and do something better than we are doing now. So this will be your decisions, Members of this Assembly. I was going to say 40. Thirty-eight of us in Guernsey, two in Alderney and the benefits are clear for Alderney, this is where we are at. We can sit at top level and pretend we are all directors, think that we have got the knowledge of

1530 the people in our hand and then we can make a decision, X of the reality of the situation, and it is always the economy.

I will tell you now, for all of those people who want clear social policy, I will tell you what pays for it: it is the economy. This is what earns everyone their social policy. There is no magic money tree. We cannot borrow forever. We can only tax so much. That is where the economy ... 'It is the economy, stupid,' as someone said in a fairly famous line.

1535 Now, speaking with Locate Guernsey there is a stark message. Guernsey is starting to look backwards and hesitant, as well as being slow to making decisions, not least in respect of education. So, again, it is another agency under our Committee's mandate, I have had to speak to them directly and this is what is coming back from them.

1540 Although many of the high net individuals who come here choose to put their children into private schools, many of those professionals who come here to work would prefer to put their children into a state school. At the moment they do not know what that future education provision will look like. Again, the de Sausmarez/Cameron amendment does not give you a future, it just gives you a decision. It gives you no future, a decision. La Mare is still closed, there is an awful lot of money being spent and no decision is being made.

1545 There is nothing you can confidently go to the people of this Island: 'This is the whole package. We are confident this is good. This is what we do. We set policy.' We do not get the passengers to fly the plane, we set the policy and that is our job as policy makers and we have to deal with the outcome after that and if you have got to let it get a little bit harder, we cannot continually have the tail wagging the dog.

1550 Let us be clear, I am not asking business or their representative bodies to tell the States what decision to make. That is clear. To their credit, and the business community certainly did not do that and when I asked them I was very neutral on the subject. I asked them what their opinion was and they came back and told me the risk. I was very careful when I wrote the email to businesses not to try and influence them in any way. To their credit, they are not trying to say that.

1555 What they want us to make is the right decision and they want the decision to be made without further unnecessary delay. Now, during this debate, various talk about showing our schools and our community leadership. We need to show our leadership to the economy as well. We really do. So, what does the Ozouets site do for our learners? I will separate the two. What I told you before was from the business community and I really do not like using the business community as a political tool, I will never do that, so just for *Hansard* and the record, the rest of this really is from me personally.

1560 I have told you what the economy wants and I want to tell you what I think is how we can effect that. What does the Ozouets site do for our learners? I genuinely think it does provide a stronger offering and an independent offering. Independence is important but it is currently, under the 11-18 or the Sixth Form Centre and the 11-16 schools, there is a symbiotic relationship between the two. The Sixth Form Centre on its own is not independent. The timetabling, some of the delivery of the lessons, is certainly related to the fact that it has got that sort of herring bone connection to the 11-16 school. It is not independent enough to move its future forward, whatever that future might be.

1570 But the future is not the current stock. We are looking at, I think Deputy Dudley-Owen mentioned in her opening statement – actually we are not looking from today, we are certainly not looking from yesterday, we are looking to tomorrow – we are looking at how the economies are being changed, how a skills-based economy is going to change things.

1575 So, actually, as interesting as the comment is from the Guernsey current teaching profession, it is not necessarily the future. So that is where we are looking. We are basically, I am going to use that word, horizon-scanning. Did I just say that? Sorry, I apologise, I cannot stand that phrase. But we are effectively looking to the future.

The Ozouets offer is not locked into the facilities of an existing 11-16 at Les Varendes. This is where the de Sausmarez/Cameron amendment falls down a bit. It plays into the belief that the only

1580 path to success is a school system where one school is perceived as better than the other schools and that the only path to success is necessarily embedded through an 11-18 setting.

Now, I am not entirely sure what the fixation is with ages in the schools, I know they have got 11-16, you hit the GCSE, then you have got 11-18 and then you hit A-levels and then after that you end up to university. I am not entirely sure what the fixation is there. It is the output that is important. 1585 Actually, weirdly enough, it is the input that is important from the teaching profession and the output that comes out the other side. So it is the output that is really important.

Where I agree with the de Sausmarez/Cameron model is that they finally recognise that the Sixth Form Centre should remain intact and Deputy Roffey even agrees, which is, if he agrees by really wanting two schools but will accept, at least we have got somewhere. At least we have got the understanding, which actually was in my manifesto, that we cannot split a highly successful sixth 1590 form in half. That does not necessarily mean it needs to stay where it is.

But it is a nonsense to go for a review, which some of you and some I am quite sure are baling through, to prove that the two-school model was brilliant. It was not brilliant, it was a disaster. It was led by a disastrous President and should have never have hit the table. I warned them and warned them but we are in a different world at the moment. 1595

The Island is desperate for trades, technical, engineers, technicians, software developers. Guernsey needs it. It needs nurses, social workers and it needs to deliver one site that may eventually do that. One site, bit of academic, lot of technical, mixing up some of it. Just because the lessons today in the Sixth Form Centre are delivered in a sort-of, I am going to use the A-level setting and you have got the engineering, the dirty stuff on the other side, it does not mean that is not going 1600 to change. It could change tomorrow.

So, if you think slightly out of the box and understand there is vocational, academic and you mix it up a bit, there is a future in a single school on the Ozouets site. But it is not what you are thinking it is today or what you thought it was tomorrow. If you want it tomorrow, then just bring back selection. Sorry, if you wanted yesterday, just bring back selection. That is easy. That is the last time 1605 we had a stable education system, because the day we lost that and did not know what on earth we were going to do, we got rid of it on a Monday, we did not know what we were going to do Tuesday, that was absolutely disastrous.

What is surprising here actually is those who were against selection did not deliver what happened the day after, it will almost certainly, it will be by a majority, I am fairly sure there is majority of selectionists in the Assembly, it is the selectionists that are trying to deliver the comprehensive system. The perversion is unbelievable. 1610

Those who could not and did not want that exam have not done anything to deliver a comprehensive system and this Assembly, I am quite sure by a majority, is more likely to deliver the comprehensive system that this Island so desperately needs and for that reason I will try and at least 1615 defeat the Cameron model.

Now, the policy letter ... It is all quite depressing really, Deputy Cameron claims that his model will carry the teaching staff with him. Will it? It may carry the Grammar staff, as it embeds pensions, management allowances, faculty grants. It will not help La Mare and if he honestly thinks ... It will 1620 not help La Mare because Deputy Cameron is closing La Mare de Carteret School. That is what he is doing and so is Deputy de Sausmarez. They are closing La Mare de Carteret School. So, Deputy de Lisle, Deputy Leadbeater, do not go anywhere near this, because this ... (*Interjection*) Thank you. I am happy to sit down, but Deputy de Lisle could give way and shout out, 'We will not.'

Deputy Cameron's model, dressed in white robes, walking two feet across the Sea of Galilee, like 1625 the modern day Messiah, closes La Mare de Carteret. Man of the people, bringing it through together, 'I am the hero'. (*Interjection*) I will give way.

Deputy Gollop: I am saying, if this amendment should win, it is by no means the final answer and there may well be an amendment to this amendment that could be placed. 1630

Deputy Inder: Well, I rest my case. What an utter disaster. Forty Members of the Assembly, Deputy Gollop again, looking for another angle, another amendment, another four days on this. Seriously, Lord in Heaven help us.

1635 I will briefly touch on the parity of esteem and as a parent who is watching it unfold, what it looks like for many parents in the 11-16 sector. I think it was Deputy Falla has asked about parity of esteem. Deputy Kazantseva-Miller has made a big play of it over emails and Deputy Roffey says it does not exist. Well, I am telling you it does. I am telling you it does.

1640 Child one leaves their 11-16 setting to the Grammar School Sixth Form Centre. It is cultural. It is what drives much of the 11-16 teaching plans to pass certain GCSEs and that path towards A-levels and potential university is success in 11-16. I challenge anyone to get up and challenge me, especially all the college mums and dads, who can tell me that I do not know what I am talking about. Please stand up. I did not think you would because I know you cannot.

1645 Child two has a different experience. Less academic, more practical and maybe not heading towards those important GCSEs that move him or her onto the Sixth Form Centre and then onto university. Be under no illusion, those children are largely identified way before they get towards their GCSEs, way before. They are often at a lower level and the teachers have got an indication of where they are going. It is not equal. It is not parity. It is very different indeed. They will not be on the 11-18 path.

1650 Deputy Kazantseva-Miller can shrug her shoulders but I think it is quite important as a parent in the 11-16 sector. She is not, I am. I know what I am talking about. We, in the 11-16 sector know what it looks like. Those in the independent sector do not.

1655 They will go to CFE open day. There will be tables. A presentation, limited options, apprenticeships for the boys and apprenticeships have been a fantastic success, media studies for the inbetweeners, hair and beauty for the girls and, if you like cooking, you can be one of only four apprentices in a £250,000 kitchen with four members of staff. The offering is okay for some, it is not for all. That is what parity of esteem looks like in the real world to people in the 11-16 sector. Clear difference.

1660 We are basically de-selecting our children at 16, to go somewhere not quite as good as the Sixth Form Centre. That is what is happening and that is why the Cameron model is so wrong. I say Cameron model, it is the de Sausmarez model. Sorry about that. So, sir, Members of the Assembly this is –

Deputy Cameron: Point of correction, sir.

1665 **The Bailiff:** Point of correction, Deputy Cameron.

Deputy Cameron: Deputy Inder is constantly referring to it as the de Sausmarez model, it is the Cameron model.

1670 **The Bailiff:** I think that is –

Deputy Inder: I accept that point of correction, sir.

1675 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Inder –

Deputy Inder: He is absolutely right. Slip of the tongue, 15 times. So –

The Bailiff: Try not to let your tongue slip too often, then, please.

1680 **Deputy Inder:** I will try that, sir. So, sir, Members of the Assembly, the decision is ultimately yours. Many of us know exactly what they are going to vote and few will be persuaded by debate. I hope, possibly, those of you the so-called rookies – I do not particularly like that word because

every single one of you earned your seats, every single one of you and be you rich man, poor man, beggar man, thief, in this Assembly your vote is equal to everyone else in this Assembly.

1685 The decision to remove selection meant a number of things. Well, two things actually. A full comprehensive system. That is what it meant. Now, I cannot get what I wanted, what I thought the last time we had a stable education system, that is not going to come back. So, ultimately, the swing from that has got to be 100% the other way.

1690 You cannot have a little bit of selection. You cannot be, as was used by previous Presidents of Education, you cannot be half pregnant. You either go for a full comprehensive system or some of us could make the argument to go back to selection. I would not mind testing that by a referendum. If this Assembly really cannot deliver an education system, and the previous one and the one could not before that, I actually wonder if this goes so wrong, and the Cameron amendment will go wrong as it closes La Mare de Carteret, which is the intention of Deputy de Sausmarez and the intention
1695 of Deputy Cameron, to close La Mare de Carteret, Deputy Cameron threatened ... he suggested there would be some kind of kick back, if you thought that two schools were so bad do not vote for my amendment and everything is going to be great. What a load of nonsense.

I genuinely think that if this amendment goes through, if what I predict will happen will be catastrophe, I think we need to go to the people of this Island. I really do because this Assembly
1700 and previous Assemblies are utterly incapable of doing it. It is that bad. We are all jointly incapable because the tail is wagging the dog. We have all become delegates of the unions and that is where we need to change.

So, when you talk about your leadership, your governance, your strengths, your strategies, think
1705 about this day, because the mistake you make today will be a mistake that will haunt you for the rest of your political careers. Sir, defeat the Cameron and de Sausmarez amendment. It is not what it thinks it is. It is the wrong amendment for the wrong Island, wrong design and does nothing but keeps you back in the past. Thank you, sir.

The Bailiff: Deputy Matthews.

1710

Deputy Dudley-Owen: Sorry, may we take a view on sitting later?

The Bailiff: What we will do is we will hear from Deputy Matthews, we will see how long he
1715 takes but I can give a fair indication to Members that I am minded to propose that we sit until about 12.50 p.m. today and then we will work out when we resume. But Deputy Matthews.

Deputy Matthews: Thank you, sir. I was not going to speak to this amendment because the
1720 model that I am supporting and the model that I have made my support clear for since being elected and actually in my manifesto is the three 11-18 model. But I am going to support this amendment because I think it is the most expedient way to get something that is different from the ESC proposal.

That is partly because I think that there is an issue with creating a separate sixth form college,
1725 which has been very clearly spoken about by teachers in the sixth form and across all of the schools. Now, sixth form colleges can be more efficient in the UK but they benefit from much greater economies of scale than can be achieved in Guernsey, where the proposal is simply to move the existing provision and does not create any efficiency gain.

It is just a lift and shift operation and it looks like an expensive folly, which has not been
1730 completely thought through. My feeling is that it will be detrimental to state school students at all levels for years to come but one affected group will likely be state school students towards the upper half of the ability spectrum, specifically those whose parents lack the funds to afford private education.

The policy letter at page 15 confirms no consideration has been given to comparing state and
independent education in Guernsey, a mistake which could lead to an increasing educational and social gap between the haves and have-nots. The Committee's proposals lack imagination. The

1735 vaunted parity of esteem that is claimed does not require merging the sixth form and vocational offer at a single location.

This is not the conclusion of the only paper in the policy letter that is cited, that is the National Foundation for Educational Research paper and it is not amongst any of the recommendations of the paper that that paper cites, which is the Wolf Report from 2011, which has been very influential on the development of direction of further education.

1740 It is worth reading that paper – the Wolf Report was a very seminal report on further education – for what is said about further education. For one thing, it cites an example of Highlands College in Jersey as a very successful example of further education. It does say at one point about this concept of parity of esteem. I just want to read that section. It says:

Up to now, this report has consciously avoided discussing parity of esteem for vocational academic awards. The phrase has been a staple of political speeches and policy initiatives for decades, testimony to the fact that academic and vocational education are not seen as enjoying such parity. It is also a completely misguided objective. Not all qualifications can be seen as completely identical in prestige or content, that is true among academic qualifications just as it is true among vocational ones. Every country on Earth has a status hierarchy for school and educational level options. There is no reason why vocational awards for 14-19-year-olds should not figure among that subset, which enjoy high esteem.

1745 Really, what that is saying, if you unpack it, is that this parity of esteem slogan that has been repeatedly used – and it is not just this Committee, it was used by previous Education, Sport & Culture Committees and it has been used by politicians all the time – is really a bit of a nonsense. The reason why different qualifications have different levels of esteem is because of what that qualification offers and what you could do with it and how useful it is. If you want vocational
1750 education to have higher esteem then you need to invest in vocational education and you need the courses that they offer to be ones that people will want to do and that will provide employment.

Simply plonking a Sixth Form Centre next to it does not increase the parity of esteem between vocational and academic education. So, the Committee's preferred option might improve parity but the majority of the gains would come from replacing the dilapidated premises that the College of
1755 Further Education currently operate from, facilitating greater co-operation between the TGI and secondary schools, adoption of more relevant qualifications and numerous methods that do not require academic and vocational buildings to be on the same site.

Not only this, but as the site is quite small, it is likely that all provision and facilities on the site will suffer from a lack of space and traffic congestion issues. I will talk about it but I am sure other
1760 people will talk about it, it is an absolute nightmare in terms of the traffic. Anyone who has driven around there will know it is one of the worst places in the Island that you would want to put a very large school with, I think was it 1,200 – Deputy Cameron will probably correct me – number of students arriving there every day.

By failing to address the real issues behind the parity of esteem concept the proposals let down
1765 those learners with lower attainment as well, So it is completing a failure to address the entire spectrum of needs in the Island. In my view it would be vastly preferable to offer a more optimistic vision where all schools and the TGI are improved, rather than the negative option, which costs more money but results in a downgrade at all.

The policy letter title – *Belong, Be Confident, Become* – it sounds like it is aiming for three B
1770 grades, which I actually call a charitable assessment of the result. I am sure we heard Deputy Ferbrache once say that we should aim to reach for the stars and I wonder why we are not in this case.

I did want to address a couple of points that have come up before. Deputy Soulsby and others
1775 actually have talked about the amount of money that has been spent investigating different permutations, £10 million investigating different permutations. It is not nothing. But getting the system wrong is incredibly expensive to the economy and to the Island. We sometimes find that citing these numbers that seem very expensive – £10 million, over a decade I think is the time it has been spent – we can sometimes be very penny wise and pound foolish. If we are going to complain

1780 about the amount of money that it takes to pause and look at what we are doing it is much more expensive to make a mistake and do the wrong thing.

But I did want to talk about something from Deputy Inder's speech, where he talked about having contacted Locate Guernsey and how many high net worth individuals prefer to look at state schools, which is absolutely the case. A lot of people who are looking to relocate to the Island will be looking at the state of schools. It is one of the main things that people look at.

1785 I think this has particular relevance to anybody, and I was thinking really of Deputy Moakes and the paper that the Guernsey Party produced, which I thought was a very good paper, looking at the demographics of the Island. A lot of this education debate has been driven by demographic issues but looking at the problems we have got with demographics in the Island and potentially how we might look to try and encourage people to move here, especially in that paper.

1790 It was talking about the concept of freshers with an expected income of £250,000 or higher. Of course, it does not have to be just that group. There are plenty of young people who leave the Island and do not come back and the Island is particularly attractive, you would think, due to its tax status, to people from the UK in higher tax bands. The tax bands in the UK, it is £50,000 to £150,000 that is a 40% rate and £150,000-plus is the 45% rate.

1795 If you were looking in those brackets as well you would certainly, I think it is certainly the case that if you were looking at the £250,000 but people will be looking at the quality of state schools. This is not just an opinion. If you look at what happens in the UK there is an 18% price premium to living in an area where schools have a high rating, an outstanding rating. That is from a Rightmove survey. Santander Mortgages found that one in four parents with school age children have bought or moved home because of the quality of schools. Zoopla did a survey where they found that up to
1800 a third of parents would consider moving home to provide their child with a better education.

It is absolutely the case that people will be looking at the quality of education on offer when they are looking where to move and will that be something that we can achieve, with the Committee's model of 11-16 schools. I just do not think that can be done and that is simply because
1805 schools, which have a sixth form attached, generally tend to perform better and generally tend to be better schools. So, looking at a result from 10 years ago, nearly all of the top 50 comprehensive schools listed in the *Telegraph* 10 years ago, GCSE league table, shared a common feature with independent schools and selective grammars – they have a sixth form.

1810 If we are trying to make the Island an attractive place where people might want to relocate or people from the UK would make their home, we are shooting ourselves in the foot if we create a system that is entirely based around 11-16 schools in the state sector. So I think that would be an incorrect way for us to develop our education system. Thank you.

1815 **The Bailiff:** Well, Members of the States, it has just gone half past 12. Is it your wish to sit for another 20 minutes or so and then break for lunch? Those in favour; those against?

Members voted Pour.

1820 **The Bailiff:** I will declare that carried.
Deputy Kazantseva-Miller.

1825 **Deputy Kazantseva-Miller:** Thank you, sir. Just a quick mention to say that when I listened to Deputy Inder I either feel the apocalypse is coming or the economy has fallen down. He is always so angry and frustrated. It is a bit worrying. I am a bit worried about his health. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) I will make reference to Deputy Inder later, as well, in a different context.

I would like to start by thanking our colleagues at the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture for taking up the challenge of delivering on a very difficult mandate. Undoubtedly they had a very steep learning curve, given that four Members of the Committee were new to the Assembly and I am sure they have given this challenge to resolve the secondary education riddle the full energy and attention it deserves.
1830

We know that the Committee chose not to complete the full review, which would have given us a complete picture of the different options based on the terms of reference, although they did publish the unfinished review. And we know from the General Election that three 11-16 schools and a sixth form were the preferred model for many candidates.

1835 But, of course, there are different permutations such a model can take and so the unfinished review looked into three. They were options C1, two 11-16 colleges and one integrated 11-18 college; option C2, three 11-16 colleges and a sixth form, co-located at one of the schools but operationally separate; and option D, three 11-16 colleges and a sixth form at a separate site and the sites that were chosen in that review La Mare, Beaucamps and Les Varendes.

1840 Of course, we know the Committee came up with an additional location for a standalone sixth form, at Les Ozouets, which became the cornerstone of their preferred new full model and this is where the difference, of course, is with the current amendment. So, it is the separation of the sixth form, away from Les Varendes, to a new build, less than a mile away that forms the small but fundamental difference between the Committee's preferred model and that proposed by Deputy Cameron.

1845 We know that this model, driven by the standalone sixth form, is heavily opposed by the teaching profession. I am ready for the Committee to come and start correcting me, but 87% of the teachers who responded to the survey are opposed to this model – 87%! Eighty-six per cent, if you look at the combined totals of the staff in that survey, that is including teachers, learning support assistants and other school staff. This equates to 63% of all teachers surveyed opposing and 59% of all staff surveyed, both those who responded and who did not.

1850 Yesterday and again today the President and Deputy Haskins both gave a different spin on the figures of this survey. They said 46% were opposed. I have asked them to provide evidence of their calculations and I have not yet received a response. This was not an education survey –

1855 **Deputy Haskins:** Point of correction, sir.

The Bailiff: Point of correction, Deputy Haskins.

1860 **Deputy Haskins:** I have received no question in that regard, personally.

The Bailiff: Deputy Kazantseva-Miller to continue, please.

1865 **Deputy Kazantseva-Miller:** I asked for that evidence to be substantiated yesterday, in the point of correction that I raised myself in debate and I believe Deputy Haskins did say that that evidence will be provided.

1870 I have asked them to provide evidence of their calculations and have not received a response. This was not an education survey, this was an independent survey conducted by teachers, with permanent school staff and based on reaching 311 staff across the four schools. If Education does not agree with those figures, let us look at the figures another way. Only 20% of the staff supported the survey. I do not know what denominator ESC might want to use in this case but it is 9% of those who responded to the survey, it is 6% of those who were surveyed or it is 0.03% of total population of Guernsey.

1875 Just looking back at the importance of teachers' opinions, I wanted to refer back to Deputy Inder when we were debating the Bury/Gabriel debate in March 2021. Deputy Inder said:

What I would like to hear from Deputy Dudley-Owen when she does sum up is where she is with the unions and professionals. This is what I really want to hear.

I really want to hear from Deputy Dudley-Owen that as part of this process, as you move forward, whatever the solution will be, that she has the profession by her side because I do not want to go through this again.

I also want to refer to several supplementary questions again in *Hansard*, that Deputy Dudley-Owen herself has asked numerous times. This one is from 15th January 2020, a Rule 11 question:

In light of the result of the surveys released by the teaching unions in November 2019, which found that over three quarters of teachers do not agree with the current plans for school transformation, can the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture provide details of what tangible and substantive changes have been made, if any, to their model in response to the concerns?

1880 And an email we have all just received, Deputies, we have been challenged, those of us who have not spoken, we are being challenged and I will read that email:

... to stand up to the contempt Deputy Inder has shown to the teaching profession.

1885 So, here I am, I am standing up to the contempt being shown to what the teachers are saying, the overwhelming majority of teachers are so early on in the process. We have received many emails about education. Not as much as abortion, I must say, but many. I can only recall one email received last night that was actually in support of the Committee's plans. If I was a CEO for business and had 87% of employees opposed to a new direction of travel, I would struggle to see how I could possibly push such changes through the organisation.

1890 So, if you want to make a decision today, and I agree we should be making a decision today and I think this amendment presents a very good option for making this decision, please do not support an option, which is currently opposed with 87% by the teaching profession that will be taking place with it

1895 The key reason underpinning the preferred model and moving the sixth form away from being co-located at Les Varendes to being co-located with the Guernsey Institute was based on the core guiding principle of achieving parity of esteem and creating equity for post-16 academic and vocational qualifications, by building a single post-16 campus. But would be at the combined cost of £80 million-plus.

1900 From first sight, this sounds like an interesting, albeit expensive solution. So I was eager to learn more. Unfortunately the policy letter fails to explain what is meant by parity of esteem and equity of post-16 academic and vocational provision, what problems it would solve and what outcomes such parity and equity would achieve that could justify paying £30 million for a standalone location. I have asked several questions to the Committee and as Members will have received, we have received those responses on Tuesday evening. My question included:

What evidence do you have to say we have inequity in post-16 provision?

1905 The response was:

We know from our careers team that many vocational qualifications are not well understood by many employers, despite their equal value to academic qualifications.

1910 Well, I am sorry but this is not evidence of inequity of post-16 provision. This is an issue of education and awareness of employers and industry about the variety of qualifications available and how they could approach recruitment. Other evidence provided was that when employers post a job vacancy advert within Careers Guernsey it is not unusual for them to refer only to A-level grades as entry requirements. I am sorry but, again, this is not evidence of inequity in provision, but a matter of education and awareness for the employers and industry. I asked:

What exact positive and measurable outcomes will you achieve with one post-16 campus?

1915 The response was:

Bringing the students onto one campus will change the mindset of the community about the importance of all post-16 progression groups.

Well, how could this mindset be measured? Would it really change from co-location? More importantly, what educational, social and economic problems this lack of perceived parity might be

1920 causing for our community? Did it mean that not enough students were taking up vocational qualifications? Did the Committee want to see more students take up vocational qualifications instead of academic? Did the Committee want to see less young people go into careers of finance and professional services and more into construction and hospitality? That would be an interesting proposition to sell to our core industries such as finance and professional services, who struggle to recruit.

1925 In their email sent to Deputies just last night, the writer said:

The argument that there is not already parity of esteem between academic and vocational courses is unfounded. A successful trades person has no less standard of living or social standing than an office worker and in many cases are better living.

The policy letter is silent about how exactly parity and equity could be achieved and, more importantly what the significant advantages of co-location with the Guernsey Institute were, at a cost of £30 million, that could not be met by keeping the sixth form at Les Varendes, as proposed by this amendment.

1930 I also asked how equity could be achieved without much closer cultural, operational and strategic integrations between the Guernsey Institute and the sixth form. The response was that parity of esteem will arise from the joint working of the two organisations and the co-location enables them, much more easily, to look at how they use resourcing and expertise to achieve a shared goal.

1935 Well, that response sounded very much like the direction of shared timetabling, shared staff, not far from a tertiary college but again this model apparently is not proposing a tertiary college and this model was heavily defeated three years ago.

We know that the current Grammar School and sixth form already work closely with the Guernsey Institute and have pathways, which provide mixed academic and vocational qualifications. Very few students take such courses and I understand that they are hard to make work logistically and timetable-wise. This type of close co-operation with the Guernsey Institute can continue from the location of Les Varendes, which is less than a mile down and, as Deputy Cameron says, 500 metres.

1940 In summary, I did not receive one tangible and measurable reason as to why the relocation of the sixth form, just a mile up the road, at the expense of £30 million, would provide, in terms of educational, economic and social outcomes that it could not provide while remaining at Les Varendes. This reason for parity of esteem and equity of the post-16 provision is the absolute fundamental principle of why the Committee's preferred model has been chosen.

1945 So, Deputy Inder has referred quite a lot to the skills and I would like to bring that to the conversation again. This policy letter leans heavily into the Skills Strategy that is being jointly developed by the Committees for Economic Development and Education, Sport & Culture. A restart button was pressed on this workstream earlier this year, a workstream that was previously co-led by Deputy Dudley-Owen.

1950 This is a workstream that myself and Deputy Haskins are leading with numerous officers across both Committees and I hope the Committee *for* Education agrees that it has been a very productive and positive relationship and we have come up with some good, high-level thinking and have made a bid for further funding in the Government Work Plan.

1955 The outline of that scope of work and the very high level early thinking was presented to Members and officers a month or so ago and I very much share with the Committee the aspirations we have around this agenda. At the highest level, what we are looking at is the overall supply of skills on the Island and the development pathways for skills.

1960 Various early workstreams have been identified, including numeracy, literacy and digital inclusion skills, connecting children and young people to the world of work, early career starters, lifelong career development, skills for longer lives, digitisation across all sectors, expansion of remote, flexible working, supply and demand of skilled workers leading to population strategy.

1965 Of course, the Guernsey Institute will be playing a very important role in being a key delivery partner of the Skills Strategy, but it will not be the only one and delivery of education and upscaling through one physical location, is not going to be the only delivery platform of the future. Deputy

Murray may correct me but I believe he thinks that physical universities will become redundant because students will be learning online only.

1970 Upscaling on the job, using smartphones, connecting to external online providers and all sorts of combinations of ways how skills can be acquired throughout a lifetime, will be explored, developed in partnership with industry and service providers and Islanders.

1975 So, from a Skills Strategy perspective and the workstreams we are developing, and this will be my personal view here, it would not make a difference where a sixth form is located because the post-16 school provision plays only a small part in the overall Skills Strategy and is not linked to buildings and co-location.

1980 So, while I agree with many of the aspirations presented regarding the skilled workforce, as I mentioned before, I simply do not see the additional value of the £30 million building, focused on just two year groups, to be co-located next to the Guernsey Institute, which, just as a project itself, will cost £54 million but meet the demands of thousands and thousands of Islanders across their lifespan.

1985 I absolutely see the transformational value of the Guernsey Institute as a hub for post-16 education, but I simply cannot see the value of the taxpayers' money and educational outcomes for a single post-16 campus at that combined cost of £84 million. I do not understand why the Guernsey Institute has not started as a project. It was approved, I believe, in 2018 and the capital vote has been open.

1990 I can only imagine that it is delayed because of the secondary education debate and now the added complexity of having to build a co-located sixth form. It will be easier and quicker to deliver this project and we must progress this without delay. This is again where Deputy Inder put a huge focus on skills. I absolutely agree on the skills agenda, the vocational, all the things he was talking about will be and should be delivered by the Guernsey Institute. The Guernsey Institute is not part of the discussion of this policy paper.

1995 I want to move into the point about staffing and logistics of a separate sixth form, it has been touched by Deputy Roffey and Deputy Cameron. The teachers have come out very strongly to oppose a standalone sixth form on the grounds that it is logistically, revenue-wise, a sub-optimal option to that of keeping a sixth form co-located with a school. A variable proportion of teachers will need to travel across the Secondary School Partnership. This means time is lost, it takes away from the provision of one-to-one supervision, pastoral care and taking part in activities with children.

2000 So the need for a proportion of teachers to travel will mean that all schools have to operate to one, centralised timetable. The centralisation of such a core activity and the ability to set your own timetable and resourcing takes away one of the key drivers of devolved governance, that gives schools an independence to manage their school in the way they see fit and this lack of autonomy, despite the talk of devolution, was seen as one of the key problems of –

2005 **Deputy Murray:** Point of correction, sir.

The Bailiff: Point of correction, Deputy Murray.

2010 **Deputy Murray:** I did reiterate the situation of timetabling under the current suggestion in the amendment. If you have an integrated sixth form with Les Varendes, 11-16, that is actually sharing space with 11-16 and you are trying to have a partnership with the other schools and sixth form access, those teachers that want to participate, all of the schools are then driven by the capabilities of the sixth form working within Les Varendes. That is actually the driver for the timetable across the schools. That is actually not what we are proposing at this point in time, so there is less flexibility under the one proposed under this amendment.

2015

The Bailiff: Deputy Kazantseva-Miller to continue, please.

2020 **Deputy Kazantseva-Miller:** Thank you, sir. I think the exact operational details, I believe, about exact timetabling and how things work with integrated or co-located actually will be discussed in the next stages, so I am quite surprised that the Committee knows such operational details and knows for a fact that the model proposed by the amendment will be sub-optimal. So, I would argue against that, because having a separate location where there is more travel involved will be more complicated, in my opinion.

2025 Co-locating the sixth form and sharing the majority of teachers with the base school at Les Varendes, I believe reduces the logistical challenges and achieves more efficiencies through sharing some of the facilities such as sport and labs. Teachers were concerned that the secondary education reform was too focused on investing in the post-16 provision, because all of the capital funding will go only to the sixth form, with no new capital funding allocated to Les Beaucamps and St Sampson's despite the need to accommodate more students.

2030 Teachers at Beaucamps have been especially vocal about the capacity issues at the school, especially around social spaces such as the library and the canteen, when children had to sit and eat lunch on the floor during lunch hour, especially in wet weather. Although I have heard Deputy Inder's ingenious suggestion that our students should now be eating lunch at their classrooms, I am sure teachers and students will be delighted at this proposition as something that moves our secondary education forward.

Deputy Inder: Point of correction, sir.

2040 **The Bailiff:** Point of correction, Deputy Inder.

2045 **Deputy Inder:** [*inaudible*] but I thank Deputy Kazantseva-Miller I was responding to Deputy Fairclough where his suggestion was some of the space problems were the fact the children were not allowed into Beaucamps on a rainy day. It was not my suggestion, it was the head teacher at St Sampson's who actually decided they do not leave them out in the rain, put them in their tutor groups. That is where practical people can make changes.

The Bailiff: Deputy Kazantseva-Miller to continue, please.

2050 **Deputy Kazantseva-Miller:** Thank you, sir. Independent reports have shown that both Beaucamps and St Sampson's were built to accommodate more students and this may well be the case and more students could fit in and also numbers will decline over time. However, if we work on the basis that we want to improve provision in all schools across the secondary section, how can provision be maintained when 200 more students are expected to fit into schools like Beaucamps, with no additional capital investment?

2055 They may fit, with a lot of jiggling and juggling and pragmatism that Deputy Inder is referring to. However, this is not going to lead to an improvement in provision. In fact, teachers have come out to say that it would be difficult to maintain provision, never mind try to increase it when school reaches absolute capacity.

2060 So that when the preferred model is looking to invest £30 million, which the Island does not have, into a sixth form just down the road, but not to invest in any extension or improvement of facilities in the 11-16 schools, it is not surprising that teachers feel the model over-invests in the sixth form at the expense of the three 11-16 schools. This amendment addresses the concerns of the teachers because it invests and resources the 11-16 provision. It builds out the sixth form, which would be significantly cheaper than building a new one. It has better revenue savings because of operational efficiencies of having –

2065 **Deputy Dudley-Owen:** Point of correction, sir.

2070 **The Bailiff:** Point of correction, Deputy Dudley-Owen.

Deputy Dudley-Owen: I am afraid that is an assertion from Deputy Kazantseva-Miller that is incorrect.

2075 **The Bailiff:** It is her opinion, as much as anything, and she is entitled to express an opinion.
Deputy Kazantseva-Miller.

2080 **Deputy Kazantseva-Miller:** Thank you, sir. By closing La Mare, which I do believe is unfortunate in all the circumstances, and by moving to a three-school effectively estate, further revenue savings can be achieved and reinvested back into the provision if that is deemed appropriate. It invests into some minor capital developments at Beaucamps and St Sampson's, which the preferred model does not.

2085 In fact, this model does not seem as different from that presented by the Committee as they make it out. It was one of the three models that made it into the Committee's narrow review, which is mentioned in the policy letter. It is option two, outlined on page 68. Unfortunately that narrow review that follows only takes three pages long, culminating in a high-level comparison table on page 71 and option two, which is Deputy Cameron's option presented in this amendment, it shows a red colour against the criteria of achieving greater equity for post-16 education and training, which as I mentioned before, is at the core of this proposal.

2090 I have extensively described at the beginning of this speech that the Committee has not provided any tangible and measurable metrics on how educational, economic, social outcomes might be improved through removing the sixth form and co-locating it with the Guernsey Institute. There is also the red box against improvements equity, stating that there will be perceived inequity.

2095 I know Deputy Roffey referred to it, there is the perception of inequity and it will be a different provision, but I question the Committee whether they could provide further information and evidence if that perception actually existed and if it translated into worse outcomes for students. Because in the end that is what matters.

2100 The answer provided said the disadvantage was that the new students settling into the sixth form from other schools were not aware of the school layout and did not know the teachers. Why accept that? For how long would it take to learn the whereabouts of a new school and get to know new teachers? There will also be new teachers that actually none of the students knew previously.

2105 Many Deputies met with the teachers at Les Beaucamps High last week and this issue of perceived inequity was raised. Did teachers mind that another school could have a co-located sixth form? They said, 'No.' They were confident that a co-located sixth form could be run in a way that did not create disparity of provision that would be affecting the actual educational outcomes and they could work collectively via a Secondary School Partnership model.

So, the question of potential equity was not seen as important and certainly not anything that would be compared to the cost of £30 million of relocating a sixth form at the expense of the 11-16 schools.

2110 The Committee did a rushed review of models proposed within the various amendments, based on ambiguous criteria. If only the Committee showed a similar sense of urgency to deliver pause-and-review or simply to provide a more comprehensive set of information on their own narrow options.

2115 Deputy Murray, as I mentioned before, went into extensive detail of how a co-located sixth form could not possibly work out. I am quite surprised he had those operational details at his fingertips because the Committee has consistently said it was not up to the politicians to get involved in operational detail.

Deputy Murray: Point of correction, sir.

2120 **The Bailiff:** Point of correction, Deputy Murray.

2125 **Deputy Murray:** I think I did relay the fact that we have done extensive modelling, This Assembly would expect that sort of extensive modelling before coming forward with any type of Proposition and we have done that. We have done it manually and we have done it using software. That is what we have done. We have to do that in order to prove the concept. We have not, obviously, brought teachers into this situation because clearly that is their area of expertise but we had to know that it would work and we have done that.

2130 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Kazantseva-Miller.

Deputy Kazantseva-Miller: Thank you, sir. This is where I hear mixed messages. On the one side the politicians should be kept out of the detail but on the other side you have done extensive modelling. Teachers have had detailed questions and you have told teachers that we would not be getting into operational details, 'we will leave it to the professionals to conduct that'.

2135 **Deputy Murray:** Point of correction, sir. I also –

The Bailiff: Deputy Murray, is it really a point of correction? It is not an opportunity to say something with which you disagree. Now I did not hear anything from Deputy Kazantseva-Miller that needed to be corrected at that time. We are already straying into the lunchtime. Other Members of the Committee will be able to correct anything in later speeches anyway. If you want to make a point of correction, you can, and I will call you.

2145 **Deputy Murray:** I did mention, sir, that actually we did say that operational details were the preserve of the teachers but I am trying to understand why we are being told at this point by Deputy Kazantseva-Miller that actually modelling required, done by our educationalists, not by us as politicians, is not acceptable. Would you not expect us to do that?

2150 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Kazantseva-Miller.

Deputy Kazantseva-Miller: Thank you, sir. I think Deputy Cameron, by being on the Committee, despite being a new Member like the Vice-President, would have had a similar level of access to expertise and understanding that sixth forms could be co-located and the reasons presented by Deputy Murray were not necessarily correct.

2155 This model proposed a variation which is actually not very far from the Committee's own preferred model, unlike they make it out. However, its core principle of keeping the sixth form co-located, helps solve and mitigate the issues presented from having a standalone sixth form: that of high cost, revenue inefficiencies and operational challenges around staffing and timetabling with other schools.

2160 Importantly, teachers and unions have signalled support for this model and I want to stress that again: teachers and unions have signalled support for this model. Unlike with the preferred model. Contrast this to the many emails we have received against the proposals, some authors branding the Committee's model as the worst of all options.

2165 A few weeks ago I was coming into this debate thinking that I do not know if I can make a decision this time without a review and with the lack of details provided. However, having considered this amendment and having spoken directly with teachers and considered their views, this is far from the least worst option we have on the table today. It is far from what is being called a *de minimis* or do minimal option. It is a very good, workable, educationally supporting and financially efficient option.

2170 It is a compromise, it is not perfect, as many have said. But it is an option I think the Assembly should align behind and I am especially minded to support this model because it came from Deputy Cameron actually listening and hearing the feedback of teachers. When I hear Deputy Dudley-

Owen's opening speech, that her model is the only way, then what I hear is blind following to the detriment to any other options.

2175 When a Committee is not flexible to see others' points of view and to listen to what teachers are saying, to refuse to provide unbiased reviews of options, I am worried that they are not in the mindset to come up with the best solution for our community. Those who will pay will be our teachers and our community.

2180 Deputy Inder talked about winning. He wants an amendment to win or lose. This is not about winning, this is about coming up with the best solution we have to take for our children. The outcome of a theoretical mirage that can cause serious damage to our education provision and the future potential of our Island is what the preferred model is.

I want to finish with a quote from the email Deputies received yesterday:

I think it is essential that the vanity project that is moving the Sixth Form Centre a stone's throw down the road is entirely without merit and an expensive folly and needs to be shown the door.

2185 So, I will be supporting this amendment, because I think it is in line with what the teachers are saying. We have heard them and I believe we should be supporting their views. Thank you.

**Procedural –
Resume sitting at 2.15 p.m.**

The Bailiff: Well, Members of the States, we will now adjourn for lunchtime but I will just test your appetite to come back at 2.15 p.m. rather than 2.30 p.m. So the Proposition is to come back at 2.15 p.m. Those in favour; those against?

2190

Members voted Pour.

The Bailiff: I will declare that carried, so we will adjourn now until 2.15 p.m.

*The Assembly adjourned at 1.02 p.m.
and resumed at 2.15 p.m.*

**Secondary and Post-16 Education Reorganisation –
Debate continued**

The Bailiff: Deputy Burford.

2195

Deputy Burford: Thank you, sir.

I have never been a cheerleader for any particular model of secondary and post-16 education, the main reason being that I have not known enough about what is a complex issue with a multitude of considerations to be able to take a sufficiently informed position.

2200

That was a bit tricky at the election, when oftentimes, the first question that a voter would ask when they opened the door to me was 'Which school model do you support?', or more simply, 'How many schools?' I thought it was a little sad that such a vital, complex, and nuanced issue had been reduced to the mantra of 'Two schools bad; three schools good.' But what was crystal clear was that, politically and publicly, the concept of two schools had become undeliverable. I said in a video produced at the time that one cannot impose on a community something that is resolutely decided that, for whatever reasons, it does not want. I have not moved from that view.

2205

2210 Although I did not know what the answer was, I was also fairly certain that we needed to move away from the current system of four schools. There is no doubt that on nearly every measure, a lesser number of buildings would bring educational and financial advantages, partly because revenue savings could be spent on teaching and learning, as opposed to running a building, and partly because it allows for wider curriculum choice and more efficient timetabling.

2215 So, three schools it was. Helpfully, there was a review in the pipeline that would allow an informed choice to be made on the best version of three schools. Some voters tried, via the doorstep or social media, to pin me down to a specific version, but given that elsewhere in my manifesto I had said that I would always strive to make evidence-based decisions, I explained that I could not back a specific model at that stage; how could I without the evidence?

2220 I did – possibly rather foolishly, given the prevailing climate at the time – also explain that some of the popular accusations against the paused two-school model were incorrect, such as it leading to larger classes, because I am keen on facts – even inconvenient ones. I said that the important thing was that any three-school model could not be a significantly inferior offer, and we would have to be prepared to accept that – because of economies of scale, if nothing else – three schools, in all probability, would cost more for the same standards than two.

2225 All was well until December, really, when the Committee gave a presentation to Deputies at Les Ozouets. I started to suspect that we might not get the completed review after all. My suspicion was further cemented when the President declined to answer certain of my Rule 11 questions on the subject. It became crystal clear, if it had not been already, that no completed review would be forthcoming when ESC backed rescission of the Propositions directing it.

2230 For me, none of the reasons given for not doing the review were compelling. Was there a fear that the two-school model would come out on top? So what if it had? That would not have meant that it had to become policy? But at least, we could have made an informed decision and known the cost of choosing something else.

2235 Sir, the Committee's policy letter is long on entreaty and marketing speak and short on cogent argument and evidence. The President herself, speaking on the BBC, described the policy letter as a mere sales brochure for Deputies. Sir, I was utterly gobsmacked at the admission, but to be fair, it is not inaccurate. I do not believe I have ever seen a policy letter written in such a style as this policy letter, and I would prefer not to see one like it again.

2240 To be fair to the President – and indeed, to her Committee – they have worked extremely hard since the publication of the policy letter to try and address the deficiencies therein and to answer the numerous questions from Deputies and others that have arisen, and I commend her and her Committee and staff on that point. But still, the hard information is lacking, and the conclusion I came to in the end was that the case simply had not been anywhere-near made, particularly in these financially challenging times and with the prospect of falling school rolls, for spending tens of millions of pounds to move the sixth form to the Guernsey Institute site some half a mile down the road.

2245 I understand the point of parity of esteem, even if I am not keen on the soundbite. But if there is – and there should not be, but there may well be – if there is a feeling that vocational qualifications are of lesser importance than academic ones, there must be a better and cheaper way of addressing this perception than expensively cramming two institutions on one side that, for nearly all intents and purposes, will operate separately. I do not think it will do what the Committee thinks it will do.

2250 Neither is the case made for retaining four schools – resulting, as it does, in revenue being spent on the wrong thing: on buildings, instead of people. In his speech, Deputy Vermeulen asked, justifiably, 'Shall we incur the inefficient costs of operating four schools, how much longer for?' Exactly, Deputy Vermeulen; I could not agree more. Yet, Deputy Vermeulen is, it would appear, going to vote for exactly that: a four-school model – St Sampson's, Les Varendes, Les Beaucamps, Les Ozouets – four schools. I have to confess that I am baffled by the support for this revenue-inefficient model that is coming from those who rode into this Assembly on a ticket of cutting unnecessary Government spending. I personally do not object to the extra spending, but I want to

see it spent on education, not on running more buildings. The Committee says it will not cost more than what we have now, but what we have now is intensely revenue-inefficient.

2260 I cannot endorse the Committee's proposals. I am truly disappointed –

Deputy Dudley-Owen: Correction, sir.

The Bailiff: Point of correction, Deputy Dudley-Owen.

2265

Deputy Dudley-Owen: The Committee has elaborated that, actually, the revenue costs for the preferred model will be less than what we have now, and that was stated yesterday, during debate.

The Bailiff: Deputy Burford to continue, please.

2270

Deputy Burford: Thank you, sir.

As I said, it will not cost more – which, I think, comes to the same thing.

I cannot endorse the Committee's proposals. I am truly disappointed, as like everyone, I want to move on this issue. But I am not disappointed or, indeed, bored enough to make a fundamentally wrong choice. I see a significant risk that if the Committee do get their proposals through – and it has been feeling increasingly unlikely over recent days with the backlash that is building, particularly from the very people who would have to operate this model – that the model will founder three or six months down the road as the operational detail becomes clearer. That would truly be the worst of all worlds.

2275
2280 I will support this amendment because it has the capability to evolve, and vitally, does not tie us into a revenue-inefficient four-school model for decades. But sir, it still goes against the grain to be having to make such a decision in the information lacuna in which we find ourselves. It is not how a system of education should be designed, but the Committee has brought us here, and we have to resolve the next steps as best we can whilst not making any expensive and difficult-to-reverse mistakes.

2285

Thank you.

The Bailiff: I am going to call Deputy Queripel, on the basis that he has got his crutch with him. *(Laughter)* So Deputy Queripel.

2290

Deputy Queripel: I hope it does its job, sir. Thank you, sir.

As Deputy Murray said, when he spoke, as the former Vale Deputy, the late Graham Gill, often said when he spoke in this Chamber, it is very rarely about what it is supposed to be about.

In his opening speech, Deputy Cameron said he was a great supporter of sport and culture, and I took great comfort from that. I was listening to his speech on the radio – I was not in the Chamber at the time – but I am also a great supporter of sport and culture, and it has concerned me greatly that governments all over the world have never realised the value of sport and culture to the community. The States in general also have not realised the value of sport and culture to the community, and has never invested anywhere near the amount of money they should have done in sport, the arts and culture.

2300

What is actually needed is that the States instigates a culture change, a wake-up call, that would actually involve the adults and the children in our schools. I did not hear that wake-up call in Deputy Cameron's speech; all I heard was, he was a great supporter of sport and culture. Although, I did hear him say a swimming pool would be built in a school – I think he said that. I am afraid I did not get, really, all the information, because there was interference on the radio at that time; in fact, the interference got so bad, I could not really hear what he said a lot of the time in the rest of his speech, so I apologise to him for that.

2305

To repeat: in my view, we need a lot more than just a swimming pool. We need a lot more than that if we are going to up our game and improve facilities for our children. What we actually need

2310 to do is provide them with everything they need. I just want to emphasise: I am not saying
'everything they want'; I am saying 'everything they need.' They need facilities for sport and the arts,
and everything to encourage them to get involved.

But I am rather attracted to this amendment, and I could be persuaded to support it. Having
read what it says and heard what I could hear in Deputy Cameron's speech, it seems to me to be
2315 fairly close to where we need to be at this stage, where we need to be going at this stage. It is not
going to be the *panacea* – we all know that – or the silver bullet. But as I said earlier, I am not totally
convinced, as of yet. I could be persuaded; it depends on what Deputy Cameron says in response
not only to me and my query, but to the debate in general – the questions that were asked and the
things that were said.

2320 As well as being attracted to this amendment, I am still attracted to the ESC proposals in the
policy letter, especially after hearing what I managed to catch on the radio when Deputy Murray
was speaking – it sounded like an excellent speech to me. Of course, Deputy Dudley-Owen could
possibly persuade me when she responds as well.

Now, sir, I am being optimistic there, because I may not make it to the end of the day in my
2325 condition. So I am going to speak now in general debate as well, in case I do not make it to the end
of the day because of the problems I am having with my back and my leg.

When Deputy de Sausmarez spoke on the amendment laid by Deputy Leadbeater and Deputy
de Lisle, she said something that really stirred me. She said something like – and I apologise to her
in advance if I get this wrong – she said something like, 'Education should not be a sausage factory,
2330 turning out little sausages at the end of the line in robotic fashion,' and that 'we should all focus on
skills as much as we do on education' – I hope I got that right. That resonated with me. I resonate
completely with what Deputy de Sausmarez said. Not every child wants to be an academic; they
want to do different things. We must not keep on trying to force a square peg into a round hole;
we must appreciate and realise children often want to do other things, they want to pursue other
2335 things. But if we do not support them and encourage them, we will only create problems for them
and their families and us all further down the line because they will lose out and we will lose out.

Some children, of course, absolutely loathe school. They detest it. They do not want to be there.
I want to give some examples of just a few people who absolutely loathed school. All they ever
wanted to do was enjoy their childhood and have fun. They had no desire whatsoever to be
2340 academics; they had other ideas. So they rebelled, and the consequence of that was that some of
them were expelled from school with absolutely nothing to show for the time that they had been
there. And yet, they went on to become some of the most successful people in their chosen
vocations that the world has ever seen.

After one young lad had left school and was well on his way to becoming immensely rich and
2345 famous, he wrote this:

We don't need no education
We don't need no thought control
No dark sarcasm in the classroom
Teacher, leave them kids alone

That was written by a guy called Roger Waters when he was in a group called Pink Floyd. It came
from a song he wrote entitled Another Brick in the Wall, which hit the number-one spot in music
2350 charts all over the world and sold millions of copies. Roger Waters, along with the other three
members of Pink Floyd, are all multi-millionaires, with fortunes worth at least £300 million apiece.

Then there was John Lennon, who, as we all know, wrote dozens of songs that became famous
all over the world and whose fortune, at one time, was logged at well over £500 million. Yet, in his
own words, he hated school and played truant more times than he attended school. When he played
2355 truant, he would climb over the back wall of the house where he lived with his auntie and uncle,
and he would go and play with the orphans in an orphanage known as Strawberry Fields. He would
spend all day there, playing with the children. As we all know, later on in life, when he was a member
of the group that became known as the most famous group of all time, he wrote a song called

2360 Strawberry Fields Forever about the time that he spent at Strawberry Fields. He was a multi-millionaire, world-famous songwriter, poet, and rock star who absolutely hated school. As he said in one his songs, which was entitled Working Class Hero:

They hurt you at home, and they hit you at school
They hate you if you're clever, and they despise a fool
Till you're so ... crazy, you can't follow their rules ...

2365 'So they torture and scare you for 15 long years, then they expect you to pick a career, when you can't even think straight, you're so full of fear'. That is what school did for him: filled him full of fear. That came from a man who went on to become one of the most famous pop and rock stars of all time. Also, of course, we must not forget he became one of the greatest ambassadors for peace and equality the world has ever known. That was coming from a man who was playing truant more days than he attended school. He wanted to pursue other things, and the school he went to did not encourage those other things; in fact, they did their best to discourage them. They would have discouraged John Lennon if he had not been strong enough and determined enough to pursue his dreams. The world would be a poorer place, in my view, without the words of John Lennon and the songs of John Lennon, and the person that we knew as John Lennon.

2370 There are many more names I could focus on, sir, of people who absolutely hated school, people who played truant and left with absolutely nothing but dreams to pursue, rock singer Janis Joplin, blues singer Billie Holliday, being just two of the many I could mention.

2375 I was incredibly fortunate at school. When I got to Vauvert Secondary Modern School, there was a teacher there named Paul Gradwell who recognised my desire to be creative, but he also recognised my lack of confidence. This is the thing that we have got to remember as well: teachers have an incredible influence on children's lives, not only from what they teach, but in helping them build their confidence. He spent a lot of time with me, not just in the classroom, but after-hours, after school, helping me with my art and building my confidence, and I put my thanks to him on public record in this speech. In fact, I cannot thank him enough for what he did. I would not be where I am today if it was not for my parents and the likes of people like Paul Gradwell encouraging me to express myself with my words and my art.

2385 Just because a child does not get on at school does not mean they are going to be a failure for the rest of their life, which is why I think we should stop putting so much pressure on our children to all be academics. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) We should allow them to be children and encourage their skills and their creative side, (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) and we should provide a lot more facilities and opportunities for them, whether they want to excel in sport or the arts, theatre, music, a particular skill. Governments are notorious for not getting the message when it comes to realising the value of sport and the arts in the community, and it saddens me to say that.

2390 Currently, we give something like – I stand to be corrected by a colleague if I am wrong here – £240,000 to the Sports Commission and £140,000 to the Arts Commission, which is an absolute joke! And they perform miracles with that sort of money, *absolute miracles*. But of course, they rely also heavily on volunteers. If it was not for the volunteers – I know this because I volunteered for Arts Sunday for the last eight years, and several other things that the Arts Commission stage – those things would not happen. They simply do not have the money. They need more money. I am not talking about £100,000; I am talking about millions. They need millions of pounds. I just remembered this, pre-COVID, the arts was the fastest-growing industry in the UK. It was creating hundreds of jobs throughout the country. Guernsey is paying a huge price for our not realising the value of sport and the arts to the community and to our children.

2400 The children of our Island are our future, and to have so little in place for them to pursue their dreams is simply not acceptable. We need to do a lot more for them than we are currently doing. As I said earlier, what we need is a culture change led by the States, this States. Our children would then be a vital part of that culture change, and we would all benefit. Yes, I know we have the Schools' Music Service in place, I know we have the Performing Arts Centre and a few other things in place. But we need so much more for our children to enable them to pursue their dreams.

2410 In 2009, I wrote a thesis on the arts and sport. Included in that thesis was a list of islanders who had made a name for themselves on the international stage. There were 31 names of islanders on that list who made a name for themselves on the international stage in 60 years – 31 in 60 years! There could and should have been hundreds in those 60 years, and there would have been if the States had invested the money that is needed to put those ambassadors for Guernsey ... because that is what they are; when they get out on the international stage, they are ambassadors for Guernsey.

2415 I want to name just four who pursued their dreams and made it on the international stage: footballer Matt Le Tissier played eight times for England – he should have played 108 times for England, but England had the wrong manager in place at the time, did not recognise his quality and did not recognise his skills; tennis player Heather Watson; racing driver Andy Priaulx – both of whom are champions in their own right; musician Chris Bran, who, not long ago, wrote with Sir Paul McCartney, and it does not get any better than that. They had no help whatsoever –
2420 I give way. Could I stand up, sir, as I give way? Thank you. (*Laughter*)

Deputy Falla: Just to correct Deputy Queripel: it is *Tim* Bran.

2425 **Deputy Queripel:** Oh, you are right, thank you for that. I read the top of the wrong page. Yes, indeed: Tim Bran, musician and producer who recently worked with Sir Paul McCartney.

Which brings me onto the rest of my list, Deputy Falla, thank you: Chris Bran and Justin Chubb, authors and actors in *This is Jinsy*; Peter Frampton – I was not going to do this but you have inspired me, thank you – (*Laughter*) voted number-one country and western guitarist in the UK in the 1980s;
2430 Lee Savident and Tim Ravenscroft, both played cricket in the UK for top UK cricket teams; John Whalley, UK sand racing champion; Kris Moherndl and my own son, Blane Queripel, selected in 2008 to play for an ICC European Academy team at international cricket festivals all over the world; G. B. Edwards, author of *Ebenezer Le Page*; (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) Richard 'Flip' Le Flem, footballer, played for Nottingham Forest and Wolves in the 1960s; Martine Le Moignan MBE, world squash champion, 1989; David Parsons, three-times world champion, one-armed golfer, 1990, 1995, and 1996; Timothy Thompson, internationally renowned artist; Alison Merrien, world bowls champion, 2008; the late David Robilliard, dear friend of mind, internationally renowned poet and artist – newspapers all over the world published tributes to him on his demise at the age of 36 in 1998 –
2435 Jason Nicolle, British under-23 squash champion, 1988; Sally Podger, winner of the All-England Badminton Championship, 1988; Helen Watts, swimming Island Games record-holder, chosen to represent England in 2000; Keith Falla, athletics, holds the Channel Islands record for the 800- and 1,500-metres; Andrew King, harpist, director of The Harp Consort; Lisa Opie MBE, British open squash champion, 1991; Bobby Eggo, twice Hampshire County golf champion in recent years –
2440

2445 **Deputy St Pier:** Sir, point of order.

The Bailiff: Point of order, Deputy St Pier.

2450 **Deputy St Pier:** Sir, point of order which I suspect I might be presenting on behalf of a number of Members, as to whether Deputy Queripel could perhaps bring it back vaguely to the matter under debate. (*Laughter*)

The Bailiff: Deputy Queripel, under Rule 17, Paragraph 6:

Debate must be relevant to the matter before a Meeting.

2455 Will you accept that you have got your full list, you were minded to confine yourself just to four references, which might have been acceptable? Can we try and get back to a mixture of this amendment and the comments that you wish to make in general debate, please?

2460 **Deputy Queripel:** Sir, it is a sad day when my colleagues do not want to celebrate the children who were born and schooled and bred in Guernsey and went on, through their own determination and their own commitment and their own self-sacrifice to be ambassadors for Guernsey. I find that quite sad, to be honest. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) Quite sad.

I had four more to go, sir; may I finish my list?

2465 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Queripel, if you want to see whether you are going to try the patience of your fellow Members –

2470 **Deputy Queripel:** Sir, I am not interested. If there are so many in this Assembly, colleagues, who actually stop somebody from celebrating the ambassadors of Guernsey, who were born and bred in Guernsey and were schooled in Guernsey, I am not interested. I will read the other four.

Len Duquemin, footballer, played for Tottenham Hotspur 307 times; Adrian Breton, Commonwealth Games gold medal-winner, 1990, pistol shooting; Roy Dotrice, internationally-renowned actor; David Le Page, violinist, leader of the Orchestra of the Swan, Stratford-upon-Avon. Sir, there are many more who I could have put on that list; I apologise to the ones I missed out. 2475 Once again, I say, I am disgusted with some of my colleagues who just simply cannot see the merit –

The Bailiff: Deputy Queripel, it is not really appropriate to say you are 'disgusted' with your colleagues. You might be *disappointed* in them, but please, do not be *disgusted* with them.

2480 **Deputy Queripel:** I am disgusted, sir.

The Bailiff: If you repeat that again, Deputy Queripel, then I will direct you – I will put a motion to the States to consider what we do about it. Please, do respect what is being advised to you.

2485 **Deputy Queripel:** As I was saying, sir, the only reason these Guernsey children went on to become ambassadors was because of personal sacrifice, determination, and because of the support of family and friends, and thank goodness they did not give up.

But how many hundreds –

I give way to Deputy McKenna.

2490

Deputy McKenna: Thank you, Deputy Queripel. I will be very brief.

You are absolutely right in what you are saying. There are also three thousand swimmers in Guernsey, from the ages of six right up to our master swimmers for people who have swum the Channel. Also, we have got eight- and nine-year-olds who have swum 10 metres. To the parents, 2495 swimming that 10 metres is the greatest thing you can ever see in your life. (**Two Members:** Hear, hear.) Then, when you see them doing an egg-and-spoon race and maybe they get a silver medal for it, it is the greatest thing you can see in your life. We do not all have to achieve international recognition to be valued in what we do. To be the best you can be is amazing.

I think the sports we have in Guernsey is absolutely amazing. What we achieve in every sport is 2500 amazing. I am not being biased, Deputy Queripel, just because I am not on your list because you did not mention me as an eight-time national champion with 52 international caps, with two knockout records at two different weights at boxing, and a 2 handicap at golf; that does not matter! It does not matter! (*Laughter*) The fact that it was not mentioned that I have a bronze at the European Finlandia Cup, a bronze at the European Helvetia Cup –

2505

Deputy Queripel: What have I started now?

2510 **Deputy McKenna:** – a silver at the Helvetia European Cup, and seven UK Open titles – but hey, to me – when I first saw one of my four children get that 10-metre badge at Beau Séjour, I was crying. I thought it was the greatest thing I had witnessed in my life.

So let us not get down in the detail about, 'If you achieve up to the echelons, you are worthy, you are valuable in our society.' In Guernsey today, we are a remarkable Island. Guernsey is great, the people of Guernsey are great; I think it is us that are the problem. So I think it would be great if we do have the money in the future for sport; then maybe we can improve on the different facilities. But at no stage must we only celebrate those who have reached the upper echelons of their sporting, because to me, everybody in Guernsey is valued at what they achieve. That is the only thing – I am not disagreeing, Deputy Queripel; I just think we have got to appreciate that what everybody does here in Guernsey in all their disciplines, we are a great Island.

2515

2520

Several Members: Hear, hear.

Deputy Queripel: I thank Deputy McKenna. That was the next page of my speech! (*Laughter*) I do not need to make that point now. It is all about participating; I was focusing on the ones that went on to become ambassadors for Guernsey. My next move was to focus about, 'It is all about participating.' Thank you for that: I do not need to make that point.

2525

As I said earlier on in my speech, I am talking about big money being invested here. The reality is, we need to at least invest, I would think, £10 billion a year into sport and the arts if we are serious about providing our children with facilities and opportunities in order for them to pursue their dreams.

2530

I am going to venture into the realms of repetition, here, sir, but it is not tedious. I have said this before in speeches: one of my favourite poets is Yeats. Yeats wrote a poem called 'Aedh Wishes for the Cloths of Heaven.' This is relative to this debate: it is relative to the dreams of children.

The last three lines of that poem are as follows:

But I, being poor, have only my dreams
I have spread my dreams under your feet
Tread softly because you tread on my dreams.

2535

The biggest mistake I think the previous Assembly made was to merge culture and leisure with education. I fell for it – hands up to that one. I voted for that; what a mug! Because by the very nature of the amalgamation, it determines that the dominant force is always going to be education. It has been 'Education, education, education, education' all the way down the line, and it is due to the fact that the ESC mandate is so immense; it is not due to the incompetence of any Committee members on ESC. There is simply not enough time for Committee Members to give enough attention to the rest of their mandate, despite the fact they may work 60, 70, 80 hours a week.

2540

Art, sport, culture, our heritage should be given just as much attention and focus as education. So perhaps, what needs to happen is we go back to where we were, but that would take more than one Deputy to change, because it is such a massive piece of work.

2545

Actually, I will correct that: I know I am not the only Deputy in this Assembly that champions arts or sport or culture and leisure – and heritage, for that matter. One of them, of course, is Deputy Gollop. Deputy Gollop has been a consistent supporter of the arts over the years, and I commend him for that.

2550

I make no apology whatsoever for focusing so much on provision of sport and art facilities for our children. I can only hope that at least some of what I have said in this speech has resonated with my colleagues, because we really do need to do a lot more for our children when it comes to the world of the arts and sport.

2555

Moving towards a close, I realise it is not good enough just to rant and not come up with solutions to the problems, even though there were some politicians in the past who did just that. I do not just do that, I do not just rant; I come up with solutions. I came up with several in the previous Assembly, many of which were – most of which, actually, were – completely ignored, sadly. I have come up with some in this speech.

2560

Not only that, I offer to help when I can, and I will take the opportunity to repeat my offer to help ESC, through the Chair, if I can, sir. If I can help them to promote and support sport and the

arts in our schools in any way, then I ask them just to, please, ask me because children are our future. I have been the president of the Guernsey Walking Football Club for the last three years. I have been the facilitator of the Guernsey Poetry Group for the last 10 years. I was an active musician on the Guernsey scene for over 45 years, playing at over 600 functions, many of which I organised. I have the pedigree, I have the experience. Please, ESC, if there is anything I can do to help you encourage and promote sport in our schools, just ask me.

In closing, sir, I want to emphasise: I always listen to both sides of an argument. The irony is, of course, that some teachers tell us one thing and other teachers tell us another. So who do you listen to? It is us, the politicians, who have to make the judgement call, knowing full-well we are going to upset all the people who wanted us to vote the other way; but of course, if we did vote the other way, we would upset all the people on the other side.

Thank you, sir.

The Bailiff: Deputy Aldwell.

Deputy Aldwell: Sir, this amendment asks Members to set aside the Committee's proposals and replace with two 11-16 secondary schools and one 11-18 secondary and sixth form.

I just wanted to make a bit of a clarification: £30 million has been spoken of for the sixth form down at Les Ozouets. A bit of a breakdown on that: we had the figure of £29 million, but that also includes £7 million for the repairs at Les Varendes, £1 million for the CASS Base, and £2.5 million for moving the music service, the Youth Commission, and the Share. So actually, the sixth form is £19 million, just to clarify that.

We know the public had grave concerns with regard to large schools last year and marched against them. We were also informed by teachers' surveys, which took place in the summer and winter of 2020, conducted by the previous Committee, that the preferred optimum number of students per school were between 600 and 800 students. This is one of the key issues which our Committee has taken on board in our plans. Reading over the *Hansard* transcript of May 2015 – the education debate – it had been stated that, back in 2001, the then-Education Council at the time had a preference for three 720-pupil secondary schools or two 1,000-pupil secondary schools, but it was felt that the latter would cause social problems and other challenges.

What now surprises me is the fact that Deputy Cameron seems not to have taken this point on board. This is a sardine amendment: 720 students at St Sampson's and Les Beaucamps, with 1,100 students at Les Varendes; 1,100 students at Les Varendes, post-COVID, sir! Even in 2001, the then-Education Council could envisage in schools of 1,000+ that it would cause social problems and other challenges. There is no room here for population growth, no futureproofing; this is literally no wiggle room.

I would have hoped that Deputy Cameron, after nine months on the Committee, would have understood the challenges of mixed-ability year groups. With 25% of our students with additional needs, life would be a stressful struggle on a daily basis, especially with the large number on site. Pastoral care and wellbeing would be a huge priority with financial resources implications. The Committee has had presentations on Special Educational Needs and Disabilities (SEND). It was made aware of the very real problems students face and took on board in our model the challenges – such as sensory overload, for some. For students, this could become a daily battleground, trying to get some students actually over the threshold of a school with 1,100 students.

Sir, 1,100 students may be possible to shoe-horn in. Yes, they may well all have a seat, but not necessarily in the right class. Curriculum timetabling would be a nightmare to achieve with that volume of students on site. Of course, the site has accommodated 1,100 students: it had three temporary classrooms, with 500 in sixth form and a selective 11-16 cohort not mixed.

How will Alderney students from St Anne's feel about fitting in and joining a school of potentially a thousand more students than they are currently used to? Would they feel comfortable and confident? On our recent visit to Alderney, it was such a pleasure to hear the GCSE students give a presentation. They were such a credit to Alderney and St Anne's School. But there were concerns

2615 during the day from different quarters on the difficulties for students coming to Guernsey, and they felt that they were left out on a limb when joining the sixth form, and they did not have the advantage of the 11-18 experience on the Island. It took a long time to settle; some even returned home. It was good to hear positive thoughts on a model where all students join together and they could all start the journey together, whether academic or vocational.

2620 It is fair to say that working out student primary schools from feeder primary schools into secondary is a complex process, and we were fortunate with the Committee's plans that the numbers from the primary schools co-ordinated fitted comfortably. But I worry that the primary schools' cohorts would have to be split to make up the numbers at St Sampson's and Les Beaucamps to 780 students on each site from 720 on the Committee's proposals – 60 students plucked out from any primary setting to fill a place. With Les Varendes squeezing 1,100 students, the students at Les Varendes in the 11-16 would only be part of a five-class intake, which would make timetabling difficult. As Deputy Cameron knows, even-numbered cohorts are always favoured, making timetables easier. Obviously, when you have a split class, it is more difficult with an odd number, as we were informed by one of the school leaders on a visit to a secondary school.

2630 Clearly, each school would need to be extended. This will have to take place around students and term time, as it would be a substantive piece of work, disruptive and not conducive to learning. The Committee also understood and are committed to meeting every students' needs. This included in the secondary model a CASS Base – Communication and Autism Support Service – at Les Beaucamps for students transitioning from the CASS Base at the Forest Primary, and an Outreach Base under Les Voies in our plans, along with a special educational needs base for students with additional needs in each secondary school.

2635 Sir, I cannot help but feel uneasy with such inequity in this model before us: different numbers of students across the site, one school 1,100 11-18, two schools 780 across with 11-16s, the staff from Les Varendes teaching on the other sites when times allow. It would feel like clinging onto selection, no vision for the future, certainly no parity of esteem across the post-16 with separation of pathways.

2640 The Youth Forum comments included that they wanted employers valuing academic and practical qualifications equally, more career-orientated education, and understanding pathways, the need to do the right courses for the job you want to do, more emphasis on skills. The Committee has taken this on board in our model.

2645 The Committee could not do minimum; we needed a vision for Guernsey's future, its economy. We needed all post-16 students having the same opportunity of going to a brand new campus together at Les Ozouets – (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) not a school, but a *campus*. These were our young adults who could now vote, after all. They would be treated as equals; they were no longer children. They could choose their own pathways, so many opportunities before them, a broad curriculum. Whether academic or vocational, they could know they were of equal value to our community; there would be parity of esteem.

2650 Sir, our vision is to help build self-esteem. Whatever pathway our students choose, they will know they are, indeed, valuable to our community. We will help them be more confident and resilient, help build good mental health and wellbeing, teach them skills and practical application, which is what every employer would like in their workforce, and certainly, a measure of good academic outcomes. It is what every parent will wish for their child: a happy, well-rounded, educated young person, ready to take their place in the world and, importantly, in this world *with confidence*.

2655 Sir, the Committee listened. Our students deserve so much more than 'Do minimum.' We understood COVID has changed the world, and we have to change with it. We need to have ambition. We cannot do minimum. We cannot hang on to the remnants of selection on the grammar side. We have looked over the mountain for what is possible. We cannot stand still.

2660 With adequate space for SEND provision, with room to expand, giving students a real sense of inclusivity and wellbeing, which is paramount: every aspect of our education strategy was built with students' wellbeing in mind. I see nothing here in 'Do minimum'; our students deserve so very much more. The world has changed. We can no longer segregate post-16. We need to invest in our post-

2665 16 students at Les Ozouets so every student knows they are valued in whichever pathway they take, training our students for the future and moving Guernsey's economy forward, in our now-fully comprehensive system, and we need to allow parity of esteem to flourish.
I urge Members to reject this 'Do minimum' amendment.

2670 **The Bailiff:** Deputy de Sausmarez.

Deputy de Sausmarez: Thank you, sir.

I will start: Deputy Inder seemed flattering by describing this as my amendment, but it is really not, it is Deputy Cameron's amendment. As Deputy Inder knows, my professional background is in writing and I have considerably more experience drafting amendments than Deputy Cameron, so I
2675 was more than happy to support that, especially as I thought that his is a much better option than the proposals on the table from Education, Sport & Culture.

I am also just going to quickly go on a little trip to shoot the old canard about selection. We kept the 11-plus in place for two full academic years after the votes to remove it. It was not until
2680 the States had agreed a model and put that in place for the non-selective cohort to transition into that the 11-plus was actually removed, and that process had begun when Deputy Dudley-Owen brought her 'pause-and-review' requête, which is why we are where we are today, albeit still without the review.

Again in response to Deputy Inder, those of us who do care deeply about comprehensive education – equitable, good-standard comprehensive education – we are right here. We are trying to make sure that we level up, rather than level down. That is why our focus is on educational outcomes and improving standards.
2685

Deputy Murray gave us a somewhat forensic analysis, but I think he was looking through the wrong microscope, as it is clear he had a fairly firm grip on the wrong end of the stick. Let me take the opportunity to describe how this system would work, again.
2690

As now, the facilities at Les Varendes, like classrooms, would be shared to an extent, because that makes sense in the context of what is already there. There is no need to build a large extension to create a separate, new building on the site; that is precisely the point of this amendment. The staffing arrangements, however, would work in a very similar way to ESC's model.

If we think about what makes the current system inequitable, it is largely around the fact that the students at Les Varendes at the moment have access to a broader curriculum and access to those subject-specialist teachers that Deputy Roffey was referring to. So if all students in all schools have access to the same breadth of curriculum and the same subject-specialist teachers – like your German teachers and your Spanish teachers – which they would have under this staffing structure, then we have an equitable system. That is what is being proposed. It is mischaracterised – I am afraid to tell Deputy Roffey – as one 11-18 school and two 11-16s; it is not because it uses precisely the same kind of staffing structure as is proposed in the model, so it cannot possibly, by extension of the same logic, be any less equitable than the model on the table at the moment. It uses the same staffing structure; therefore, it is as equitable. Really, if we focus on outcomes, what we are trying to achieve is the same access to the same breadth of curriculum and the same access to subject-specialist teachers; that is what this model would deliver.
2695
2700
2705

As a result of this misunderstanding, Deputy Murray's assertions around the extent of construction work and, therefore, the impact on transition timetables are just inaccurate. The work that he has in mind, the work that would be required – certainly on Les Varendes – would not need to be, necessarily, any more extensive or more disruptive than the work that would be done under the Education model – perhaps, with the exception of the swimming pool, which could be an isolated project.
2710

Looking at the student number projections, Deputy Aldwell has just talked about having an even split; sure enough, there could be a broadly even split across the schools. This model proposes adapting the current buildings to make them more efficient, to make them work better. We are not talking about hugely significant construction work, because when you look at the student numbers,
2715

when you look at the projections, it is clear we do not have to build in much more capacity. We need to make the current buildings work better.

2720 Like Deputy Burford, I, too, picked up on Deputy Vermeulen's comment yesterday when he asked a highly pertinent question: 'Shall we incur the inefficient cost of running four schools?' The answer is in this Assembly's hands. If we support the Committee's proposals, then yes, we shall indeed incur the cost of that inefficiency.

2725 The combination of Deputy Dudley-Owen's admirable business presentation skills and Deputy Murray's admirable marketing skills makes for a very alluring sales pitch. But scratch beneath the surface and it is not such an alluring picture at all. Perhaps I have spent too long in lockdowns over the last 18 months, but this model reminds me of an online meeting gone horribly wrong. From the shoulders up, the person you are talking looks really presentable, credible, and convincing. But then, you catch sight of a mirror in the background and realise they are sitting there with their belly hanging out and nothing on their bottom half except a pair of comedy slippers, and that bubble of credibility is burst. *(Laughter)*

2730 Deputy Dudley-Owen has admitted that the policy letter is a sales pitch, so it is our responsibility to check under the bonnet before we spend taxpayers' money on what we are being sold.

2735 **Deputy Dudley-Owen:** Point of correction, sir.

The Bailiff: Point of correction, Deputy Dudley-Owen.

2740 **Deputy Dudley-Owen:** I have never said that the policy letter is a sales pitch. I take great exception to that.

The Bailiff: Deputy de Sausmarez to continue.

2745 **Deputy de Sausmarez:** If Deputy Dudley-Owen has not said that, then I retract that comment. I did believe that is what I heard her say in a radio interview a couple of weeks ago, but if Deputy Dudley-Owen has not said that, then I unreservedly retract it and apologise.

2750 Let us start with the basics. Deputy Dudley-Owen has made much of her guiding principles, but we have already heard from Deputy Cameron about how they were arrived at, perhaps by asking the wrong questions. There are some fairly extraordinary claims in there, from an educational outcomes perspective. Deputy Dudley-Owen talks about how they are making class sizes in secondary education the same as in primary – actually, Deputy Murray talked about that a little bit earlier – as though this is in some way a good idea. But why would we want to do that? Class sizes typically get smaller as you move through each phase of education. The average size of a primary school class in the UK is about 27, for example, whereas in UK secondary schools, it is just 22. Under these proposals before us today in the policy letter, our class size tipping point is going from our historic norm of 24 in secondary all the way up to 28. Justifying this detrimental decision by –

Deputy Dudley-Owen: Point of correction, sir.

2760 **The Bailiff:** Point of correction, Deputy Dudley-Owen.

Deputy Dudley-Owen: That is absolutely incorrect. The class size tipping point is not increasing to that extent whatsoever.

2765 **The Bailiff:** Deputy de Sausmarez to continue.

Deputy de Sausmarez: Well, that is what it seemed like from the policy letter.

It is just bizarre to suggest that there is something equitable about making primary class sizes and secondary class sizes the same size; it does not make any sense. It is not done anywhere else.

2770 We have heard the words 'bold' and 'aspirational' in relation to these plans – I suppose, in a way, it is bold, but not for the right reasons. I am worried that we are making the British bog-standard comprehensive class sizes look good.

2775 The Committee also plans to increase the pupil-teacher ratio – in other words, reduce the proportion of teachers. Like class sizes, pupil-teacher ratios are not the be-all-and-end-all of factors influencing good educational outcomes. But we know, and the teachers know, and parents know that they are important. Any jump in class size tipping points and the worsening pupil-teacher ratio proposed in the Committee's model is a backwards step in educational terms. Certainly, they are hardly a good foundation on which to maximise opportunities –

2780 **Deputy Dudley-Owen:** Point of correction, sir.

The Bailiff: Point of correction, Deputy Dudley-Owen.

2785 **Deputy Dudley-Owen:** I must take exception to Deputy de Sausmarez's line at the moment, which is misleading the Assembly. There is absolute research around the class size tipping point and the average class sizes which has been taken into account, and it says entirely the opposite of what Deputy de Sausmarez is saying at the moment. Please, can we stop misleading the Assembly.

The Bailiff: Deputy de Sausmarez.

2790 **Deputy de Sausmarez:** I am not aware of any research that suggests – as I have already said, I share the view that class sizes and pupil-teacher ratios are not the be-all-and-end-all. I do agree that there are plenty of other factors. But what I said is that teachers say, and parents instinctively know – and as Deputy Roffey made the point earlier on, actually many parents pay good money precisely to get their children into those smaller class sizes – that class sizes are an influential factor, certainly in terms of the perception. If the Committee chooses to take a different view to many
2795 parents, then that is their prerogative. I am certainly not aware of any research that says categorically that larger class sizes and higher pupil-teacher ratios are a good foundation for improving educational outcomes. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.)

2800 The Committee also tells us that it is rebalancing the budget in favour of primary education. Paragraph 13 of Appendix 4 tells us that the Committee's review of expenditure over all phases of education shows that there has been, and I quote:

... disproportionately high ... [spending] of secondary and post 16 students compared to other sectors. As a result, the Committee ... [has decided to] bring the secondary class size policy in line with the primary class size policy, and to make adjustments to the ... pupil teacher ratio (PTR) ...

2805 – from this year. So there is no doubt, but neither is there any surprise, that our secondary schools are more expensive. That is because we are running a four-school arrangement that is inherently costly and inefficient. The Committee is proposing that we move to a new model that is perhaps no less expensive and equally inefficient. They are proposing the most expensive model considered, according to the papers. Then we are told that, actually, beyond that they are rebalancing budgets to put money into the primary phase at the expense of secondary. Again, it is bold, but I would
2810 argue, not in the right way. How is this aspirational? How is this investing in our young people? It is not, to my mind. No matter how much aspirational language that is wrapped up in, the reality does not live up to it.

2815 Let us be clear: these financial and educational compromises are a direct result and inevitable consequence of opting for a model that is so inherently inefficient, as Deputy Vermeulen rightly pointed out. We know this because the Committee's policy letter tells us so.

I give way to Deputy Vermeulen.

Deputy Vermeulen: Yes, ladies, if you are going to quote Deputy Vermuelen, please quote him right. (**Deputy de Sausmarez:** Okay.) What I actually said to – well, I called him ‘Deputy de Cartre’ – Deputy *de Lisle* yesterday was, ‘Shall we incur the inefficient costs of operating four schools, with two of them under capacity? For how many years?’ That was a different discussion, but that is what I actually said. My words are being twisted, sir.

Deputy de Sausmarez: Actually, I think that is quite a helpful intervention. I do get onto the issue of capacity in a short while. I thank Deputy Vermeulen; I am sorry my note-taking was not up to its usual accurate standards.

But actually, the issue of operating under capacity is highly pertinent to this particular model that is being proposed by the Committee because, as Deputy Cameron alluded to in his opening speech, our student number projections over the next decade fall off a cliff – absolutely fall off a cliff! So if Deputy Vermeulen is worried about running a model over four different sites when at least one of those is significantly under capacity, then he should be worried about this Committee’s proposals.

We know that this model is the most expensive that they could have gone with. If Members turn to page 87, where we do get a brief glimpse of a like-for-like comparison across a common set of assumptions, they will see that the Committee’s preferred model is the most expensive that they could have proposed; Deputy Kazantseva-Miller referred to this a little earlier:

Given that all possible versions of Option D [which is the “3 11-16 schools with a sixth form centre on a separate site” model] are more expensive than Options A, B and C (using the benchmark of facilities to which all students would have access in the baseline model) stakeholders considered it more likely that compromises to the facilities provided would be necessary in this model compared to others.

And so it has come to pass. The Committee has squeezed the costs by compromising on important educational factors. If Members are hoping for improved educational opportunities and outcomes from this new model, they will be short changed.

Perhaps I am in a minority thinking an improved system of education should be a core aim of the reorganisation of secondary and post-16 education. But for any Member who is, perhaps legitimately, more concerned with cost and value-for-money, then they too are being short-changed, because if they are happy with the level of educational compromise in the Committee’s model, then those same compromises would make any other model even cheaper by comparison. So whichever way you cut the cake, this model leaves us with the most measly slice.

The comparable costs of each model are not particularly clear in the policy letter; understandably, because the Committee wants to put its best foot forward, and I suspect the like-for-like figures would not be particularly flattering. The main body of the policy letter carefully avoids like-for-like assumptions; instead, many of the figures used, both in the policy letter and in the figures quoted in the comparison table circulated recently, are based on entirely different sets of assumptions. All figures related to the Committee’s preferred model making these educational compromises, like the tipping points and the PTRs and the smaller space standards ... but for some reason, these measures do not appear to have been applied in the same way in other models which, as far as I can tell, according to the information given to me by education officers, are still based on the much more generous assumptions of the previous Committee’s model.

Certainly, as I explained briefly during Deputy Murray’s speech, the figures used in the comparison table were based on the two-school model assumptions, which are wildly different to the assumptions underpinning the Committee’s proposal. For example, the two-school model assumes 20 forms of entry, as compared with just 18 forms of entry in the Committee’s proposal, and it assumes a class tipping point of between 25 and 26, as compared with 28 for the Committee’s proposal. The two-school model assumes a more generous space standard and a lower – in other words, better – pupil-teacher ratio. These assumptions effectively combine to significantly overestimate the amount of space, the number of rooms required, and the building costs compared with the Committee’s much more parsimonious assumptions.

2870 Also, when Deputy Cameron and I ran through the numbers we had been kindly provided, we noticed that a far higher optimism bias had been added to the Cameron model costings, even where they were verifiably identical to the Committee's. For example, an optimism bias of 40% was applied to the essential renovations for the Cameron model, compared to just 25% for the Committee's model for exactly the same work – an accounting sleight of hand, perhaps – I am not suggesting it was deliberate – that adds over £1 million in completely imaginary costs to the Cameron model on just that one single item.

2875 These factors explain why the costs are totally incomparable. It is not so much a case of comparing apples with bananas as –

Deputy Dudley-Owen: Point of order, sir. I think that what Deputy de Sausmarez has just said cannot be let go because 'sleight of hand' does mean 'deliberate,' I am afraid. You cannot get away, I am afraid, sir, with describing, debasing, work of officers in that way, especially when it comes to accounting and talking about [*inaudible*] I am not quite sure how to address that.

The Bailiff: Deputy de Sausmarez –

2885 **Deputy de Sausmarez:** I am happy to address that, sir, and I completely accept that that was not the right choice of words. I completely retract it and apologise if there was any offence, because I did not mean it. The officers were very helpful. I could not think of a better word at the time, but I think 'inaccurate' is probably the right way of putting it.

2890 Deputy Dudley-Owen's costs in the Committee's model for exactly the same items of work had a much lower optimism bias – this is the £7 million that Deputy Aldwell was relating to. I know because we had this all on a spreadsheet and we went through it with officers. The 40% optimism bias was applied to everything, including items like that, where, verifiably, they would be identical to the work that would be required under this model. Members can appreciate, I am sure, how this is not accurate, and these cumulative differences add up to really significant disparities in those costs. In fact, it is not so much a case of comparing apples with bananas; it is more like trying to compare apples with iguanas.

2900 These costs matter because they are the driving force behind these educational compromises. If the Committee were proposing a more cost-efficient model than the current arrangements – and that should not really be hard, given how cost-inefficient the current set-up is – then these educational compromises would not be necessary. The existing budget could be used more efficiently and less wastefully, and those savings from those operational efficiencies could be reinvested in the types of things that I completely agree with Deputy Dudley-Owen they should be: into literacy and digital literacy, and SEND, and wellbeing. Yet, because the proposed model is just as inefficient as the current arrangements, we are having to rob Peter to pay Paul. It is nonsensical from both a fiscal and from an educational perspective.

2905 So, to the sixth form: as others have noted, much has been made of the Committee's vision for the Sixth Form Centre. It really is the main part of the pitch, this vision. The Committee's model proposes to construct a new building – as I was explaining in response to Deputy Vermeulen's point earlier:

2910 ... for this peak number of students despite the steep decline projected shortly afterwards.

2915 So to illustrate quite how steep this decline is, we have currently in the region of about 400 sixth formers, the absolute peak is projected at 414, but by, I think it is, 2032 the student numbers are projected to have dropped off to 328. That is small even by our own primary school standards, and as Deputy Cameron said in his opening speech, we would not contemplate spending such a significant amount of money building a new primary school with that kind of immediate redundancy baked in.

As the policy letter itself states in paragraph 17 of Appendix 4:

This cannot be considered pragmatic given the current financial pressures the island is facing.

2920 I could not agree more. If the Committee's option goes ahead, we will be building, in my view, a white elephant, and we will watch it become increasingly hollow over the years that immediately follow.

2925 Meanwhile, the situation in our secondary schools is the very opposite. Deputy Aldwell referred to a sardine can, but actually, I think it is the Committee's proposals that are far more like a sardine can than the model presented in the Cameron amendment. It is already cramped in our high schools, not because there is not enough square footage of floor space, but because of the kinds of design flaws that Deputy Cameron described in his opening speech and, I think, are fairly well recognised, especially for anyone who has taken the time to go around these schools and talk with the teachers. It is the kind of narrow out-and-back corridor at St Sampson's – that kind of feature.

2930 The Committee's proposal does not propose to address these existing problems in any way, so they would be considerably exacerbated with the addition of any significant increase in student numbers.

Another one of the parts of the vision, I suppose, was around autonomy, and that is something that has been talked about. Again, I am just left scratching my head over that. It is just not practically feasible. As has been pointed out by other Members, the timetabling across the four sites would have to be very tightly synchronised in order to make that learning partnership work. In the Cameron model, reducing the number of sites does not give total autonomy to each school by any stretch of the imagination, but it does certainly make things less complicated and less costly.

2935

The teachers are not being awkward or self-interested; they are just trying to alert us to the fact that the train is about to crash, because they have the clearest view of it. They are not blinded by the marketing speak – as, I think, Deputy Burford referred to it – they can see this inevitable consequence coming. Unless we make a conscious effort to wilfully ignore them, then so can we. We can see these coming. If we vote the Committee's model in, we cannot say we were not warned.

2940

Happily, there is a better alternative. This model being proposed in this amendment is cost-effective and it is an equitable alternative that is demonstrably more capital- and revenue-efficient and would therefore require fewer educational compromises. That has got to be a good thing. The model in this amendment is so much more practical; it is less capital-intensive, more revenue-efficient, and as a result, it can deliver better educational outcomes – crucially, without the need to –

2945

2950 **Deputy Dudley-Owen:** Sir, point of correction.

The Bailiff: Point of correction, Deputy Dudley-Owen.

Deputy Dudley-Owen: Deputy de Sausmarez has got no evidence whatsoever to back up her claims in this respect in regard to the revenue or capital costs. It really is important that we make that very clear and we stop misleading the Assembly on that basis (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) – 'This will be cheaper, it will be better' – when there is no evidence to back that up.

2955

The Bailiff: I am going to repeat what I said – I cannot remember whether it was earlier today or yesterday, now – people are entitled to opinions. If somebody expresses an opinion and expresses it as an opinion, then it is something that does not require a point of correction to try to undo it. People are entitled to their opinions, and if it is described in that way, then it is not an inaccurate or a misleading statement; it is simply an opinion with which somebody might disagree.

2960

Deputy de Sausmarez to continue.

2965 **Deputy de Sausmarez:** I am nonetheless happy to address the point, in that we actually do not get any kind of detail around how the Committee's model is going to be more revenue-efficient,

and certainly no substantiation to the recent claim that Deputy Dudley-Owen made in her opening speech yesterday that it is going to be less than anticipated.

2970 What I can say that this model has got going for it is common sense. It is just basic logic that if you are using your existing buildings, if you are simply adapting them to make them more efficient, if you are saving the expense of building an entirely new building to accommodate a steeply declining number of students, and if you are running education – your 11-18 learning partnership over three sites, as opposed to four – it is basic logic and basic common sense that that is going to be more capital-efficient and more revenue-efficient. We do not really need pages and pages of very detailed workings-out; it just makes sense. People do get this.

2975 I am sorry to see the change in rhetoric, certainly, towards teacher support. I found a letter, actually, the other day that Deputy Dudley-Owen had written to the *Press* in late 2019, and I would just like to quote from it, quickly. It says:

2980

With a mere 5% of teachers supporting the plans and 82% opposed, along with 88% of teachers thinking that States did not have the right approach to improving education surely something has to give?
Will the Unions be granted their request not only to be heard but to have aspects of the plans changed at this late stage?
Can the Committee really continue with the submission of the plans to go to tender knowing that the professional teaching body by majority are overwhelmingly opposed to these plans?
We have encouraged professionals to make their voices heard over the years and many of the debates around education since 2016 have seen senior politicians notably those at the helm of this transformation in terms of financing and policy Deputies St Pier & Fallaize, staunchly advocating that we listen to the professionals.
Why then we ask, have they suddenly stopped listening?

That was a year and a half ago or so, and I think it is fair to ask the same question today.
(A Member: Hear, hear.)

2985 As a parent of four children who will be directly affected by our decision this week – I hope it is this week – I can put my hand on my heart and say that I am confident that other parents would rather we made the best decision, rather than the quickest decision. **(A Member:** Hear, hear.) The words of Deputy Matthews before lunch really resonated with me:

Getting the system wrong is incredibly expensive to the economy and the Island.

2990 We have the chance to make the best decision today – the best decision financially, the best decision pragmatically, the best decision operationally, and the best decision educationally. We can make that decision by supporting this amendment. It is a decision that takes education in the Bailiwick forward and will deliver the best educational outcomes for the best value-for-money in what is undoubtedly a very challenging macroeconomic context. It is the best decision for this
2995 Assembly to take today, because it is the best decision for these Islands and for the children, and for future generations. I really urge my colleagues to support it.

Thank you.

The Bailiff: Deputy Taylor.

3000

Deputy Taylor: Thank you, sir.

I was not sure I was going to speak in debate or not. It seems to have just blended into one big general debate. I am not really sure if I am the best to comment on educational matters. I will keep it light-hearted to start anyway: I was not the good-est at English. I failed maths so many times, I
3005 cannot count. Probably for that reason, the RE department had little faith in me. *(Laughter)*

But my actual educational experience probably is quite relevant. I think I am correct in saying, of the entire Assembly, I am the only person who actually attended the Sixth Form Centre. I appreciate Deputy Cameron said he attended the *sixth form* at the Grammar School – and I am perfectly happy for him to stand up and correct me if he did attend the Sixth Form Centre, which was built 16 years
3010 ago, as indicated by Deputy Merrett.

My education started with La Houquette Primary School. I then went on to La Mare de Carteret. My mum would tell me I did not fail the 11-plus, but I have heard other people mention passing and failing, so perhaps I did fail the 11-plus. I went on to La Mare de Carteret, then I went on to the Grammar School the first year it was the sixth form within the Grammar School. Second year for full A-levels, it was the Sixth Form Centre. From there, I then went on to start my apprenticeship and I did vocational skills going through the College of FE. So I have got, I think, the most recent experience through our current education setting.

I thought I would give a quick review. Seeing as we are on this amendment, which seeks to work around the Sixth Form Centre, I thought I would give a little review of my experience of the Sixth Form Centre and how it differed from that of the original Grammar School sixth form. The comments I would make are: the reception area was a little quieter, because we did not have to mix with the rest of the school; the canteen, the menu choice was slightly more limited, but a smaller queue, because it was just for the two years, 12 and 13. What else would I say? There were quite nice settees to sit on, because we did not have to share them with the rest of the school.

Classrooms: I could not really tell you much about the classrooms. I think, in my year within the Sixth Form Centre, I had one lesson within the Sixth Form Centre; the rest was within the general Grammar School, bar psychology lessons. My psychology lessons, of all places, were at Footes Lane, in the stadium for the sports stuff; there was a classroom on the end and we went up there. So I do question the distance that we are moving the Sixth Form Centre, because actually, I think I was already quite some way down towards Les Ozouets, (*Laughter*) but that is splitting hairs!

There was a definite feeling of being a bit of the underdog when you went there. Coming from La Mare, I had every right to be in the Sixth Form Centre as the members who had gone through Grammar School, absolutely every right. But you cannot deny that you did not know all the teachers, you did not know your way around. I learned pretty quickly that it is a square; it just goes round. It is a circular square, in a way, if that can be done! (*Laughter*) But every lesson I went to, I seemed to go the wrong way around. How ridiculous is that? That is one of the negative sides of having to go into a new school: the people who were at the Grammar School, who had passed the 11-plus, did not have to deal with that.

That is my review of the Sixth Form Centre: I do not really think it was any different to the Grammar School itself, other than the nice little perks you have of smaller canteens and whatnot. I could give a review of the College of FE, but it is probably just easier to refer to Members' comments on La Mare de Carteret; it is pretty much the same as a very old, decrepit school, but the teaching staff were all great.

The next bit I want to touch on is my experience of the actual teachers themselves. I am kind of a bit nervous because some of them are probably still on the Island, so I could put my foot in it here; some of them are even customers of mine! They might not be! (*Laughter*) For me, the teachers really do make a difference. The best way I can explain that is to tell you about GCSE music. I love music, I love instruments. I refer to myself as a 'jack of all instruments, master of none'; I can pick them all up and I can kind of bust out a bit of a tune, I am a fair dab hand on a piano. But I am digressing and I realise we are late in the day.

I got an E in GCSE music. It was terrible. That is really embarrassing. I can read music, I had got very good grades independently in music, but I got an E. I put that down because I had a terrible teacher. I am critical, I am very self-critical and I will take blame when I do not do very well, but I 100% blame my music teacher for me not doing very well in my GCSEs. On the flipside, I did very well in my GCSE maths; I did really well in it. I was not particularly interested, but I had a phenomenal teacher. As it happens, I then went on to the Grammar School and I started AS-Level maths, where things flipped around and I had a terrible teacher. So now, on my CV, I always say that I *studied* AS maths, just negating the fact that I studied it but I did not get any qualifications. (*Laughter*) That is a marketing tip for anyone!

The teachers are the important part; everyone says that all the time. It really does depend on which teacher you get. I do not think it is safe to say that a teacher who works in the Sixth Form Centre is any better than a teacher who works in 11-16; I do not think that is a fair comment. It has

a lot more variables, and it can even come down to just how well you gel with that teacher. Where am I going with this? (*Laughter*)

3065 This amendment, all it is really doing is sticking with the *status quo*, what we have got at the moment, but – as Deputy Inder mentioned once or 10 ... he mentioned – it is just closing La Mare. How does this really, then, change educational outcomes? How does it really do anything better?

In reading this, I have underlined three parts. The first one I completely agree with:

3070 The current arrangements are expensive to run and are educationally inequitable ...

I agree with that, I get that, that is fine. Coming down the page, we have got:

Students in the 11-16 sector at any site could have equitable access to subject specialist teachers ...

The next paragraph down tells us that:

3075 Students in the 11-16 sector in every school will benefit from the breadth of curriculum afforded by the additional access to subject specialist teachers ...

3080 That is the part that really lost this amendment for me. I do understand that it is quite a simple thing to do, isn't it, just close a school? I can see why that is quite cost-effective, I can buy that. But I just do not see how we will get any improvement here. I do apologise to Deputy de Lisle agreeing with the closing remark. I just do not see how this really improves anything –

I am not going to give way; I know I am always bad for interrupting but ...

3085 How do these teachers then move around? Deputy Murray has indicated in the preferred option for Education that it can be timetabled; that is fine. I made a little note, and I was trying to get this over in my head: in the proposal, teachers from the three schools will go into the Sixth Form Centre and can assist, but under this one, the sixth form teachers will be spread amongst all the other schools somehow. If you have got access to them? How does it work? I just do not think it can work. In every 11-16 school, if we say Les Beaucamps and – what would the other one be? – St Sampson's, they need more than one teacher. I just do not see how you can split the teachers enough that you would have equitable share of the supposedly much better sixth form teachers going into the other schools. So it is that part that has kind of lost this for me, disappointingly; I do not think I could support it in that respect.

3095 Other parts that have come up in debate have talked about this skills versus academic side of things. I am definitely more of a skills-based learner: I am good with my hands, my vocational subjects are much better. But I definitely felt at age 16, going on to further my education, there was a feeling of, 'You could go the lovely Grammar School' – that everyone aspired to go to a few years ago – 'or you could fall back on the College of FE'; I am even sure that was the advice. I just think that is wrong because I think it would be really good – and this might pay to the point that Deputy Roffey made – if you were going on to do something vocational, more skills-based, that you did still have access to some other kind of studies, like philosophy. I do not believe that plumbers do not have any other interest; they are not just purely interested in plumbing. They can have interests in history, and why should they not be able to have that breadth of subject that they can mix and match? (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) (**A Member:** Agreed.) (*Interjection*) That is where my big part of support comes from ESC's proposal.

3100 There are a few remarks about the 11-18 being better, and I fully accept that. I mean Deputy Matthews is committed to the 11-18; fair play to him. But I am just not sure – I know he said he would support this amendment, the Cameron amendment, but it is still not getting what you want. (*Laughter*) (**Deputy Matthews:** It's nearer.) It is not nearer because if we are going to get high net worth – through you, sir – if we are going to get high net-worth individuals to decide to come to Guernsey because we have got the Cameron amendment and we have one 11-18 school – and that is what it is: it is an 11-18 school – how are they going to do it? They are going to be limited into the – I know I have stolen Deputy Roffey's words – the rougher areas where people may need better

3110

education – I have twisted his words completely and I apologise. I just do not see what that is going to get, so I would urge Deputy Matthews to vote against this. He may not support 100% the Education Committee’s proposals –

3115 I will give way to Deputy Matthews.

Deputy Matthews: Just to explain: part of my reasoning for supporting this is that it does give you the flexibility to evolve into a ‘three 11-18’ model over time; that is just part of the reason, just to clarify that.

3120

Deputy Taylor: No, I accept that, and thank you for the clarification, Deputy Matthews. But I would counter that by saying, look how long it has taken to get to this point and if you are going to hold your breath for a ‘three 11-18s’ under this route, it is not going to happen.

3125 So I would urge all Members to throw out this amendment, throw out all the other amendments, and let us get on and make – I was going to swear, there, sorry – let us make a decision. Let us vote through the proposals and get something done so my son, who is five weeks old, can actually have a proper educational system to go through.

Thank you.

3130 **Several Members:** Hear, hear.

Deputy Dyke: Can I suggest a Rule 26, sir?

The Bailiff: You certainly can, Deputy Dyke.

3135 Will those Members who still wish to speak in debate on this amendment, please stand in their places? Deputy Dyke, do you still wish me to put a Rule 26 closure motion to the States?

Deputy Dyke: Yes, please, sir.

3140 **The Bailiff:** Members of the States, the proposal, therefore, is that debate be closed on this amendment subject to hearing from Deputy Dudley-Owen, obviously, as the President of the Committee and Deputy Cameron in closing the debate. Those in favour; those against.

Members voted Contre.

3145

The Bailiff: I declare that lost.

A Member: Could we have a recorded vote, sir?

3150 **The Bailiff:** Yes. *(Interjections)* It is an entitlement, as everyone knows, of a Members after a division has happened to ask for a recorded vote; therefore, Greffier, we will have a recorded vote on the motion to close debate, pursuant to Rule 26(1).

There was a recorded vote.

Not carried – Pour 8, Contre 30, Ne vote pas 0, Absent 1

POUR	CONTRE	NE VOTE PAS	ABSENT
Deputy Meerveld	Deputy Moakes	None	Deputy Queripel
Deputy Parkinson	Deputy Murray		
Deputy Taylor	Deputy Oliver		
Deputy Vermeulen	Deputy Prow		
Deputy Blin	Alderney Rep. Roberts		
Deputy Dyke	Deputy Roffey		
Deputy Gollop	Alderney Rep. Snowden		
Deputy Helyar	Deputy Soulsby		
	Deputy St Pier		
	Deputy Trott		
	Deputy Aldwell		
	Deputy Brouard		
	Deputy Burford		
	Deputy Bury		
	Deputy Cameron		
	Deputy de Lisle		
	Deputy de Sausmarez		
	Deputy Dudley-Owen		
	Deputy Fairclough		
	Deputy Falla		
	Deputy Ferbrache		
	Deputy Gabriel		
	Deputy Haskins		
	Deputy Inder		
	Deputy Kazantseva-Miller		
	Deputy Le Tocq		
	Deputy Leadbeater		
	Deputy Mahoney		
	Deputy Matthews		
	Deputy McKenna		

3155 **The Bailiff:** Members of the States, I am satisfied that that motion was lost. I will announce the result in due course.

Who wishes to speak next? Deputy Ferbrache.

3160 **Deputy Ferbrache:** Sir, I person who I, although I do not know him particularly well, regard normally as an optimistic person concluded his speech to the States in this way – and it was Deputy Falla – he said he was going to support Deputy Cameron’s amendment because it was the least worst option – how sad. I am sure all 39 of us who will make this decision, hopefully, today in connection with this amendment will exercise our discretion honestly, with integrity, and in the best interests of what we regard for the children of the Bailiwick; I have no doubt about that.

3165 Deputy Matthews talked about reaching for the stars – he sang that – and there is a line in it: *Climb every mountain higher*. That is what you should do in your life. You start off with Deputy McKenna and his little boy or little girl swimming a width and getting a thing, and then you go and win 52 gold medals and 18 European titles at badminton, as Deputy McKenna tells us he did.

3170 In relation to all that, you must, whatever you do, always reach for the stars. It was only Perry Como who could catch a falling star, put it in his pocket, and save it for a rainy day; the rest of us just have to get on and do the best that we can. Whether you are my age, whether you are Deputy Taylor’s age, whether you are Deputy de Lisle’s age, you still have got to reach for the stars. That is what we have got to do in relation to this educational debate.

When I read page 27, paragraph 5.27 of the report, the policy letter, it says this:

The Post 16 Campus will act as a centre of ambition and aspiration for all learners progressing from the 11-16 schools including those from St Anne’s in Alderney.

3175

'Ambition and aspiration,' that is what we have got to have.

The proposal put forward by Deputy Cameron, and I appreciate fully – he made the point when Deputy Inder was speaking – it is his amendment, and I fully appreciate the point of Deputy de Sausmarez: she has got the skills to draft it, so she helped him draft it – perfectly understandable. I am going to ask Deputy Cameron – sir, through you – in due course, when he sums up, to answer some questions for me, because at the moment, I listened to Deputy Cameron and I listened to the seconder, Deputy de Sausmarez, and I want some information as to the financial aspects of their proposals; I did not hear a jot, I did not hear a sentence, I did not hear a figure. No doubt, Deputy Cameron is saving that for the finale and we will hear from him in due course in connection with that, and I will specifically ask the questions.

3185

Also – and I do not really like going to computers and things, because they always pack up when you do not expect them to, and if you are not used to speaking on your feet, then it can be a bit of a concern – I saw yesterday; we all got it, not from the usual keyboard warriors, not those that came – I have written them down so you will be able to check who they are in the election – those that came 64th, 65th, 79th, 85th, and 94th, the usual keyboard warriors that you see. Most of those were failed Deputies who did not get back but now have got opinions better than anybody else; one is a non-States' member on one of Deputy Roffey's Committees who also was a failed candidate; and others ... and Mr Miller always says things that ... if I say today is Friday, he says it is Saturday. I get these tweets sent to me from a very good friend of mine because I am not on Twitter.

3190

I got something yesterday which I thought was inspirational and, I think, says something which the majority of Guernsey people think. It is from a Mr Pete Torode. We all received it yesterday evening at 18:34. Mr Torode wrote this – I do not know Mr Torode:

3195

Ahead of the upcoming debate on the new secondary school systems, I would like to offer my thoughts. We have now been stuck in limbo for far more years than should be the case, former States Assemblies having rejected the plans of two former Committees. As a parent of two children, one of whom will enter the secondary system this year, I must say that I am utterly fed up of the indecision on this matter.

3200

Hear, hear, Mr Torode. I think there are probably about 40,000, 50,000 people in Guernsey saying that outside of this room.

The former two-school model did have its drawbacks, as will any model we choose. However, having given that model consideration, I was reasonably happy that it was workable and could have provided a good system. I believe that a number of the objections were for matters not connected with education, but rather with neighbours complaining about traffic, etc. I will concede that I was, and remain, concerned that even with the proposed expansion of the buildings and outside spaces, they were not large enough. However, I believe that this may have been something, together with traffic management, which could have been addressed ... We are, however, where we are, and a new model is now offered for consideration. I would ask that all consider the education of our children, rather than the other matters than can now be addressed. Having three 11-16 schools with a totally separate post-16 setting will mean that all pupils have total equality, rather than the current system, where the Grammar School pupils know their teachers and those wanting to enter the school at that point are, at least to some degree, on the back foot.

Deputy Taylor made that point very ably, and he is probably the most recent recipient of that system of anybody.

3205

The setting for post-16, which would combine all our post-16 provision, would, in the longer term, allow students to mix academic and vocational subjects, or potentially, to progress further on the same campus. With the increasing costs of travel and university education, the ability to potentially offer more provision on the Island must be a benefit. I have noted the staff objections; however, I have concern that everyone is now focused on the negative aspects, and they are being overblown. There are benefits to this system –

– something else popped up on the computer. I think these things are terrible; it was better when we had pen and paper, but there we are.

He says this – talking about teaching, he talks about:

3210

If needed, we can address the issues that arise; if we do not, we will eventually run out of money to do anything. If teaching staff are concerned that they want to challenge teaching post-16, then surely, with good timetabling and staff parking arrangements – noting that only one site will need student car parking – surely, giving teachers the ability to work in more than one setting could address concerns here and give students the best access to talented staff from the whole pool of educators based in Guernsey, rather than a narrow pool based in one location.

He talks about – and I do not know if this is true, but this is what this gentleman says:

Anyone who has had cause to visit the Grammar School will note that the building is crying out for maintenance, as the buckets everywhere indicate.

3215 Just pausing, interjecting there: the point that Deputy Inder made in his speech about – we do not maintain our properties in the States, we have not done that for a long time. When I was a Castel Deputy – I have mentioned this before – walking around the schools that were in the Castel Parish, the maintenance done was absolutely deplorable. That was 1994–97, I was a Castel Deputy. It has not improved much over the last 20-odd years. We have got a maintenance team; I am sure
3220 they do their best. I do not know where the fault lies.

He goes on:

The building is also completely unsuitable for the needs of any disabled students who need to attend, being on several levels with no lift access and a lack of ramp access. As this site is used for more than just 11-16 education, work here is needed anyway, but as a lack of decision is preventing this and allowing the fabric of the building to degrade, it will not be resolved and will cost even more in the future ... I must say that equal provision of support services is vital.

3225 He then goes onto a point which I am not going to read, because that is personal to him. He then carries on:

Please pass these proposals. Let us get on with providing the best system we can offer for all the children, not the select few. There will be shortcoming in all options. We can consider, however, like any venture, you need to start somewhere and deal with the issues calmly and carefully as they arise, rather than looking for issues that may not arise or are unavoidable.

Hear, hear, Mr Torode. I should be able to sit down now and have 39 votes in favour of that, but that is not the way it works in a democratic situation.

3230 Deputy Roffey said something that did not really surprise me, because he wanted to get rid of the Grammar School many years ago. What he was talking about when he was making his oration was that exam results are crucially important; 90% of Guernsey families agree. Which school has got the best academic record in the States' sector? The Grammar School. The others schools do their best. In relation to that, the Grammar School has, overwhelmingly, the best academic results. The
3235 other schools do their best, they have raised their standards. But the States, of course, decided, as a mixture of ideologues and Marie Antoinettes, to get rid of selection, and I have got to accept that that is gone. I regret it; my good friend, I think, Deputy Trott, I know, regrets it, but he, like me, is pragmatic.

3240 Deputy Trott has not got his friend Juan here today. Sir, I do not know where Juan comes from, but he will have to tell me when we go for lunch shortly. Juan might either come from Madeira, Spain, or Portugal. Deputy Trott often in his orations talks about 'Juan says this' and 'Juan considers that.' I would like to meet Juan, because sometimes, Juan speaks sense; often he does not. We will meet in due course. *(Laughter)*

3245 Instead, we have had 'Hear, hear' today, and we have had many 'Hear, hears'. One of the 'Hear, hears' was when Deputy de Sausmarez interposed, in a speech being made by Deputy Murray, about 'We need to carefully consider the figures.' 'Hear, hear,' he said.

That takes me to the actual amendment itself and some of the questions I am going to pose now, if I may, Deputy Cameron. He is not obliged to respond to them, but if he does not, it will speak volumes for the lack of information in relation to this matter.

3250 Before we do that, education is so important. It should not be tribal. Deputy Soulsby and I, and
others – Deputy Le Tocq, Deputy Kazantseva-Miller, various others, Deputy St Pier, various other
people, Deputy Dudley-Owen; I cannot remember if Deputy Prow was there – we went to
3255 Beaucamps School earlier this week. The teachers spoke to us with sincerity – Deputy Gollop was
there; he was eating the biscuits, I had forgotten that! – and I believe them totally. This thing about
whether it is this percentage of teachers or that percentage of teachers gets it – as I stand here, I
believe that a considerable majority of teachers are against the Education, Sport & Culture
provisions. I do not care whether is 72%, 86%, 63%; I believe it is a ... and I do not mean any
disrespect to them, but I put it in a courtroom analogy. I have spent most of my life in courtrooms,
3260 and you hear expert evidence on all kinds of disciplines. You hear that expert evidence, you receive
it. You then have to make a judgement on it. We have heard from the educationalists, we have to
make a judgement.

We are not educationalists by and large – I do not mean any disrespect to Deputy de Lisle, who,
of course, had considerable educational experience and background – but generally, we are not
educationalists. So I was a bit disappointed when I saw that, on 4th June 2021, instead of sending
3265 it to all of us so we could all consider it, so we could all be a party to the discussions that Deputy
Cameron has got, he sent an email:

[Blank blank blank] gave me permission to share this email with you. I have also included a copy of the staff engagement
notes created by ... Any feedback is welcome.

3270 He sent it to – these are all Deputies, so I am just reading it as he described it, as he sent it – de
Sausmarez, Lindsay; Fairclough, Simon; Peter Roffey; Gollop, John; Le Tocq, Jonathan; Matthews,
Aidan –

Deputy Cameron: Point of order, sir.

3275 **The Bailiff:** Point of order, Deputy Cameron.

Deputy Cameron: This is a Code of Conduct against me at the moment. I do not see that it is
an appropriate place to start discussing this.

3280 **Deputy Ferbrache:** I have not made a Code of Conduct plea; I know somebody has.

The Bailiff: I do not think it is a breach of any Rule of Procedure, which is what a point of order
can be raised on, to refer to something that has been circulated and has the names of Deputies on
it. If it trespasses into what might be happening in another forum, then that can be dealt with in
3285 that forum.

Deputy Ferbrache to continue.

Deputy Ferbrache: Thank you, sir.

3290 I had better start again with reading those names, then: de Sausmarez, Lindsay; Fairclough,
Simon; Peter Roffey; Gollop, John; Le Tocq, Jonathan; Matthews, Aidan; Gabriel, Adrian; St Pier,
Gavin; Kazantseva-Miller, Sasha; Leadbeater, Mark; Bury, Tina; Burford, Yvonne; Falla, Steve; St Pier,
Gavin – perhaps Deputy St Pier got it twice, I do not know. In relation to that, that was only sent to,
if my arithmetic is right – and I am a bit like Deputy Trott: 6 fifteens are 197 – in relation to that, I
may have got my arithmetic wrong.

3295 What would have been helpful – I do not actually think it is a matter of courage; courage is when
people jump up over the battleground and charge at the Germans who are firing bullets at them –
but it is a matter of principle; that is what I regard as courage, not to just make a decision, which I
think Deputy Cameron was fully principled and right to do. But why did he not speak to other 25 or
26 of us and say, 'What are your views? Can we sit down and talk?' –

3300 I am not going to give way; Deputy Cameron will have a chance to make a speech when he comes back. He has already made one; I am sure he will make a second.

In relation to that, why were we not given the opportunity because this is a topic that should, as I said just before, not be tribal; it should be something that we should discuss. We may end up not agreeing it and having a debate, but at least we would have had a debate where we were all informed, we can all put an input into it, we can all say what we like, and we can all have a considered view.

3310 As I say, some of the points that were made a few days ago at Beaucamps School I thought were well made and I said, 'Why have we not heard this before?' And to be fair, the teachers said, 'Well, we have not had time before. This has only just come about.' It would have been great to hear from the teachers at the Grammar School, at St Sampson's, at La Mare, and also Beaucamps over a period of time. It would have been great to hear from Deputy Cameron and others over a period of time because Education, Sport & Culture put on a number of presentations, including one just a few weeks ago, where hardly any States' Members, less than a third of States' Members, attended. I thought that was not acceptable – I do not want to use words that will get me in trouble. I thought that was not acceptable that the States' Members, they all must have already formed their mind, closed their mind, without hearing from the officers and hearing from Deputy Dudley-Owen and her colleagues. It was poor in the extreme.

3315 I would be grateful if Deputy Cameron – in relation to Proposition 2 of the amendment, which says:

3320

To note that:

- a) The capital cost of reorganising secondary and post 16 education is anticipated to be substantially lower than those set out in the Policy Letter in table 8 in paragraph 9.4 ...

– which is the £43.5 million. 'To note that'. Well, 'note that' is when you have got evidence. I did not see any evidence in the Propositions; that is fair enough, because Propositions do not give evidence. I did not see evidence in the explanatory notes. I have heard no evidence from Deputy Cameron or Deputy de Sausmarez today. I would like to know the evidence. I would like Deputy Cameron, when he sums up, to tell me what the cost of reorganising secondary and post-16 education, in accordance with his proposals, will be. What will the capital costs be? What evidence has he got of that? What does he intend to do with the repair of the schools that he has talked about that he will do if they do not create a new sixth form centre. Has he got it costed? Over what period of time would it be? What evidence has he got? Which builders has he spoken to? Which architects has he spoken to? What optimism bias has he written into it? I would be grateful to hear that because I am disappointed at – what are we now? Quarter past four, the afternoon of this debate – not hearing it.

3325 That takes me to 2(b):

3335

The ongoing revenue cost is anticipated ...

What on Earth does that mean? How can we do something on the basis of what is anticipated? He will tell me what he means – I would be grateful – in due course.

3340 The ongoing revenue cost is anticipated to be lower, in the medium term, than both the current revenue costs associated with these phases of education and the cost of the option set out in this Policy Letter.

On what basis is this anticipation? When will this anticipation become realisation? What will the costs be? What information has got that he can provide to us in his summing up that we can rely upon so that we can make a decision which will affect the future interests, education of the children of this Bailiwick? – not something that is just fanciful words drafted by a skilled draftsman.

3. To direct the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture, having consulted with school staff, to return to the States with the propositions necessary to put the model described in the preceding propositions into effect and to include

in its proposals measures to upgrade facilities at each of the school sites to make better and more efficient use of the existing estate, including mitigation for existing constrictions due to the design or layout, plus any other measures considered practicable to improve the student and staff experience and support improved educational outcomes ...

3345

How long is that going to take? What guarantee can he give us that any period that he plucks out of the air will be achievable? What does he expect? What has he in his mind that will be the likely result, albeit you cannot predict with certainty, but before you start on a journey, you hope that you have a good idea of where you are going to end up; you do not start off from Clapham and think, 'Where am I going to go? Am I going to go to Skegness? Am I going to go to Edinburgh? Am I going to go to meet Deputy Trott's friend, Juan, whatever his name is, in Madeira? Where am I going to go?' This does not tell us where we are going to go; it is just a 'throw the confetti in the air and see where it will land.' It is disappointing in the extreme.

3350

4: I do not understand this. I appreciate it may be me, because I am one of the oldest people in this room. I would be grateful if, when he stands up and he replies, he says in syllables that I can understand, words that I can understand, what this paragraph means:

3355

To note the interdependencies between the 11-18 learning partnership and Le Murier, Les Voies and St. Anne's in Alderney, and to agree in principle that the reorganisation of secondary and post 16 education within that learning partnership does not negatively impact – and wherever possible aligns or indeed positively impacts – the provision of education in these other settings.

I do not understand that, so I would be grateful, when he replies, if he would be so kind as to deal with that.

3360

Rule 4(3), I do not think Rule 4(3) ... it does not matter, it is not a technical thing; we are beyond that, anyway. As I have said many times, I am a lawyer and I never particularly liked rules.

Rule 4(3) Information

The model described in this amendment is anticipated –

3365

Again, that word comes up. Obviously, the draftsman who drafted this liked that word, it was in that person's vocabulary.

The model described in this amendment is anticipated to be less costly in terms of capital expenditure (inclusive of any additional staff costs associated with working up the proposal in greater detail) and more revenue efficient than the model described in the original Propositions.

3370

Deputy de Sausmarez tried to cover that bit, I think, when she said, 'It is bound to be because you are not going to build a new building, it is bound to be more cost-effective.' Deputy Cameron is nodding affirmatively. I would like facts and figures, rather than speculation. Also, sometimes, you have got to pay a bit more in raising the capital costs to enhance your product.

3375

In relation to that, I took the 11-plus in 1962. Another good friend of mine took it in 1962, so we are the same age, other than he is about a month older than me. I passed – I accept Deputy Taylor's thing – the 11-plus and went to Elizabeth College. He did not go to Elizabeth College; he went to a secondary school. In those days, although the secondary school teachers did their best, you were cannon fodder if you went to a secondary school in those days. There were lots of good teachers there, and I am not going to denigrate them, their memories, etc. They devoted themselves to their pupils and did a good job. But the system expected you to be at school, if you were at a secondary school, for as short a time as possible, get out, and get a job as a labourer or whatever it may be – or if you were a female, I do not know, you would go and work in a shop. That was the level of aspiration that people had.

3380

Two good friends of mine – I mentioned one, and I will come back to him in a minute – another good friend of mine who is a year or two older – and he does not mind me mentioning his name, because I have mentioned it in this Assembly before – a chap by the name of Ron Le Cras. Ron Le Cras, he was a very significant union representative for years in Guernsey. The bosses were terrified

3385

of him! I can remember my secretary, Jeannette, saying to him once, 'Mr Le Cras, I am going on holiday next week. You are not going to get the firemen to go on strike, are you?' He did not that week; he did it the week after. (*Laughter*)

3390 In respect of it, he said somebody asked him once – because he is an articulate, bright chap who has done well in life. He is at Deputy de Lisle's field at the end of the month with very successful tractors – I have not got any technical expertise, but Deputy de Lisle knows what I mean. This lady, a very posh lady, said to him, 'Mr Le Cras, how many qualifications have you got?' He said, 'I have got 15 O-Levels and seven A-levels.' He did not have any! (*Laughter*) Because nobody from the school got ... He said only one girl from our school got one O-Level, and she was thought to be a genius! (*Laughter*) They did not have that aspiration at that time. Our secondary schools, or 'high schools,' are much better now in that sense.

3400 I go back to my first friend. He became a tradesman. He set up his own business and he has done very well in life – not as rich, probably, as Deputy Trott wants to be, but he has done very well in life. So the fact that he was deemed not to be a success really was, as a human being, a success, at 11 years of age, is irrelevant.

3405 We have got to create a situation whereby we value vocational and academic studies and people together. How many people do we hear say – generally from more affluent backgrounds – 'Johnny was not very good, he had a bad day with his exams, a bad day, he is very bright,' when he got 16 E's? We have got to accept the fact that not everybody is academic. Everybody has got an ability, everybody can do what they can do, but they have got different skills.

3410 Deputy Queripel, in his speech, talked about the man from Pink Floyd who has made £300 million, I think it was – a lot of money – without any education, without any great education. Indeed, he wrote the song that Deputy Queripel read to us with great interest – I am not quite sure what it had to do with this debate, but nevertheless it extended our knowledge, and as Deputy Roffey said, we should always be seeking to extend our knowledge. But in relation to all of that, we are all different. You do not have to make money, you do not have to pass lots of exams. You all contribute. I think it is great for social interaction, which the 11-plus, getting rid of selection – it needed to be improved and all that – got rid of.

3415 Social mobility: we have now created social barriers to people going to school. I remember when I went to Elizabeth College, my mates had been Amherst – I was at Vauvert Infants' and Amherst Junior School – my mates from Amherst, I still go out with one of them every couple of weeks; Ray Bullock, we go out and have a meal together and tell each other – he used to protect me from other boys that used to try and beat me up, because he was two years older. He calls me Pete, my friends from Elizabeth College call me Peter. They are *all* my friends, and they always will be my friends, until the day that I or they die.

3425 In relation to all of that, we are all equal. We have got different abilities and we will achieve different things in life. Our life should not be whether we have got an Aston Martin in our garage and a big house; it should be whether we have lived a life as a human being, whether we have made the most of our talents. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.)

3430 I am not going to digress in relation to the Education, Sport & Culture proposals, which I will support fully because they are aspirational, but what I am going to say is that I am disappointed with the mediocre, 'stay as you are, create one grammar school, create inequality, create' – as you will – 'postcode ... people pay more to live near the Varendes' – people think it does not exist; it will exist because we already get people saying, 'I would like to go to this school, I am not quite in the catchment area: how can I do that?' If we do not think that is going to exist, we are naive in the extreme. I may be many things; I am not naive.

Reject this amendment, reject it conclusively.

3435 **The Bailiff:** Members of the States, the voting on Deputy Dyke's motion pursuant to Rule 26, paragraph 1, was as follows: there voted Pour 8, Contre 30 – and that is why it was lost – with 1 Member being absent.

Deputy Le Tocq.

3440 **Deputy Le Tocq:** Thank you, sir.

Sir, I will start with a correction. I could have got up several times and given this correction to people who spoke on both sides of this particular debate. I am going to try and keep my comments focused on the amendment. But, sir, it is *Oh-z-way* – Les *Ozouets* – not *Oz-way*! (*Laughter*) It is like 'Ozanne,' 'Ozouf'; they are Guernsey names, Channel Island names, which came over after the Reformation. Okay, I have got that off my chest; now I feel a lot better! (*Laughter*)

3445 But, seriously, this amendment – before I get into that: the difficulty for all us here today, I think, is that we have got to keep our eye focused on the stakeholders involved in the decisions that we are going to make. First of all, there are the pupils and the students, those who are currently going through the secondary and post-16 system, because they are liable to disruption, they will not see the benefits or dis-benefits, or any of those sorts of things, of anything that we decide to change.
3450 Then there are younger pupils who are likely to come into the system, that are already around, but they are at primary school.

Then there are also future generations. I say that because I started off – I think I have said it before, but I will say it again – debating secondary school and post-16 modernisation and reform
3455 20 years ago. At that time, my eldest daughter was going through the system, and I promised her, 'You could be in a perfectly different system by the time we finish and a brand new school.' I am now hoping to say that to my grandchildren; that is how long it has taken. So I feel the frustration of those who are saying we must not have any more delay.

But if I am honest about the way I have voted over the years, I have not really changed my mind,
3460 and I have tried to compromise wherever possible so that we can make some steps forward. The trouble is, we have had a number of ideologies around. Sometimes, they have been strange ideologies, where you see a uniting of people who were once opposed – such as Deputy Ferbrache and former Deputy Graham in the previous Assembly, opposed to selection going; they wanted to keep selection – uniting around the idea of a model of one school on two sites, 11-18 schools. I was
3465 happy to go with that if it meant that we could, at last, make some movement forward, because we had been going round in circles.

Even after the Torode amendment in 2001 that changed the model that the old Education Council I was on proposed – which is remarkably similar to the model; not exactly, and I will come
3470 onto that when we get into other amendments, if we ever do. It changed it so that we then built a sixth form centre, and we promised new schools for La Mare de Carteret and Les Beaucamps and St Sampson's. We did not deliver on those and we certainly did not deliver them in the right order.

I was not in the States in 2008-12 – it was the term I did not stand – but there were some big mistakes made at that time. I really think that that is partly why we find ourselves going round in
3475 circles and coming back, the lack of corporate courage to swallow hard and say, 'Can we find a consensus? Can we compromise on certain areas so that we at least make a step forward?'

On that basis, there are, sir, some things in this amendment that I like. The amendment that Deputy Brouard and I may well lay in due course is for 11-18 schools of different types; there are
3480 options within that amendment. This would retain one 11-18 school, so it could be seen as a step towards that if there was some intention of moving towards the two 11-16 schools that would remain under this option, eventually teaching A-levels and post-16 studies.

However, there is a big danger here: if that does not happen, we end up, in my mind, with almost
the worst of all possibilities – that is, inequity built into the system with – some have called it – a
postcode lottery. I do not know if it would be as bad – I listened to those who said, 'I do not think
it necessarily will be as bad as that – but certainly, the perception is there. Perceptions, sir, do matter.
3485 I will mention it in relation to this amendment, but it applies to others as well: I am not sure, personally, whether, despite the fact that league tables demonstrate that 11-18 schools are in the top 100 in terms of the results that they produce, I am not sure whether in my mind that gives us the whole picture, but it is certainly true that parents – and indeed, teachers – tend to, in the UK, favour those sorts of schools. That has been the experience, certainly, in the last few years.

3490 I was one that favoured, 20 years ago, a tertiary college. The reason that that failed, primarily, was that people wanted to keep selection and keep a grammar school at the time. But it was true that tertiary colleges seemed to be on the increase and produced well-rounded and well-skilled people and there was the opportunity to be able to mix and match between vocational studies and academic studies.

3495 I am certainly, sir, not one that thinks – like, I think, the Labour government in the UK – that 50% of our students should all go to university. I went to university, I was the first in my family to do so, and I was very glad to do so, but I came to a point where I was thinking, ‘All I have learned is to learn. That is important, but I need to actually get a grip on my life and do some real stuff in the world.’ I realised a lot of my friends – I had a choice of continuing – just got into that sort of
3500 behaviour; in fact, some came back and said, ‘I could have actually done the job that I am doing without going to university.’ There is all of those sorts of things. The university aspect – which, for many years, has been the point of sixth form education – I do not think is as strong any more.

But it is still a perception, and it is still there. I am concerned that, if we do not keep that sort of offer in the States’ sector, then we are, if not discouraging people from using the States’ sector in
3505 Guernsey – or even, possibly, those that might use Guernsey as a base to move here and to set up a business here to not come here, because we have got a limited capacity anyway in our private schools, and they will be, otherwise, the only ones that give that offer.

So I am in a dilemma here. In a sense, if I could predict the future – because that is important as well, when we are looking at the stakeholders involved ... I focus particularly on the students, but
3510 let us remember there are parents – I have referred to them just now, as well – not just now, but in the future as well. Depending on what we do, we need to think very carefully about the future. Do we want to make just one step because we are frightened of the ambitious vision that ESC are putting forward and we think that could be damaging in the future?’ Or do we want to say, ‘No, we need to take note of what the future is going to look like and make sure that what we are putting
3515 in place has the greatest opportunity for flex?’ There is population size as well; that has not been mentioned very much today, but that could have an effect, very much, on the type of education we can sustain here in Guernsey.

On top of that, there is the funding, not just of capital costs – which I am not so worried about, personally; they are certainly a consideration, but they are more like one-off costs – it is the
3520 sustainability ongoing of being able to manage the model that we have decided upon.

What can we be certain of in this uncertain world? I know we can be certain of death and taxes, and I have spent most of my life preparing people and myself for those two things. Nevertheless, we cannot be certain of what the future holds for future generations here in Guernsey, our children’s children, and the like. That is why, sometimes, we have very strong views here, and I think they have
3525 been expressed; to be honest, they have always been expressed, every time I have debated this issue in this Chamber.

It would have been helpful, sir, I think, if we could have met in Committee, because some of the questions that we have had relating to detail of figures, numbers, percentages, surveys, costings and that, could have been answered by Education staff and officers, because when the States meets
3530 in Committee, you can have others – staff members and officials – join and answer the questions there. A lot of this is very complicated, and in a sense we are debating as a Committee now, although in very constrained ways compared to how you would deal with it if we were all on the Committee *for* Education, Sport & Culture. We are not there – and I am not going to suggest it again, but it does not stop anybody else from suggesting it – but you would not have so much of the slanging
3535 match of ‘He said, she said’ if we were meeting in that sort of fashion, and I was trying to avoid that.

We have got a policy letter that gives a great vision, but there are a lot of unknowns in it. We do not know what the extra costs might be if the population changes on that model. This well-intentioned and well-presented amendment has its question marks, as Deputy Ferbrache has alluded to, just as the one that I want to lay will have as well. We just do not know. I have been
3540 around long enough to know that even when we have been very certain of figures, we just did not know, in the end. So I do not think we can be too critical of those sorts of things. We are entering

3545 into a season where the costs of construction, and who knows, in terms of teaching costs and population, as I mentioned before – all of those things can change, they could have a dramatic effect on these figures. So I do not think that we should be too concerned about small variances in projections – and that is all they are, really, when we are looking at these things.

3550 So I am in a dilemma here. In some way, I am in the place of those who said this is the least worst option – I think it was Deputy Falla who said that. Bearing in my mind I am going to lay amendments, this could be seen as a step towards that, but I have got no guarantee it will not just get stuck there, because that seems to be the history of the Assembly in the past: it has made a step forward and then got no further for two decades. Or to go with the fact that I want to lay an amendment for something that I think would be far better, far more flexible, and provide even those teachers who are not keen on any model, particularly, at the moment, to say, 'We have got flexibility in the system and we can see how the world transpires in the new season ahead and we are able to adapt more easily and more swiftly than we might otherwise have done.'

3555 So I am still uncertain of what I am going to do.

The Bailiff: Deputy Mahoney.

3560 **Deputy Mahoney:** Thank you, sir. Just for Deputy Trott – I know he is desperately keen for me to speak. (*Laughter*)

Sir, as I rose, I realised I have stood up and I am following Deputies Taylor, Ferbrache, and Le Tocq – probably never a good thing to do for the speeches that they give.

3570 But, sir, listening to everyone over the last day and half or so, who knew we had so many education experts in the room, such a small room? How lucky, how incredibly lucky, for the schoolkids of this Island, that there are 39 randomly elected and diverse individuals – seemingly, a good proportion of this Assembly – who know what is best when it comes to education. Sir, my Land Rover, which I love, was making a few horrible noises a couple of weeks back, and I foolishly took it to a garage. Of course, what I realised I should have done is just parked it by the steps and got the Assembly to have a look at it for me, (*Laughter*) because someone would have known how to fix it, I am sure.

3575 I do not know how to run the Hospital, I do not know how to run the Fire Service, and I do not know to run education. But there are people that do, and those are the people we should be looking to. The group of people that this Assembly put in charge of that is Deputy Dudley-Owen and her team (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) and the educationalists that support them, underpin them – that is who we should be leaning on.

3580 With the Hospital transformation programme ongoing at the moment – and this Assembly is well aware that the cost of that runs into many tens of millions of pounds – for the next phase, will Members be bringing multiple brilliant ideas on how that should be done? (**A Member:** I hope not.) Will Members be sharing their wisdom as to where the operating theatre should be? Perhaps, how the wards should be organised and how many nurses will be required? I suspect some will even know best what should be on the menu. Will we be seeing demands for information on how surgeons plan to carry out their operations, or how the Hospital administrators plan to ensure A&E is properly staffed? Will the Assembly be querying ward sizes and maybe bed occupancy rates? I wonder if the Assembly should draw up four different versions and demand officers' time to draw up all the different scenarios with full costings. Would the Committee *for* Health & Social Care be happy about this? Of course, they would not, and nor should they be, for very good reason. It would be stupidity and, possibly, arrogance of the highest order to assume we know best.

3590 And yet, here we are, deep down in the detail *again*. 'I can design a better school than you and I demand more information on everything.' I agree the challenge of Committees is good and it is right; the redesign of everything they output is not right. Sir, I have stood and I have said it before: we cannot, as a Government, micromanage by a Committee of 39, and here we are again, doing just that. It cannot work, sir. If Carlsberg did Assemblies, it would not look like this! (*Laughter*)

3595 Sir, the ESC proposals are not perfect and they are not claiming to be. But along with Deputy Soulsby, I was involved in the early meetings, during which some 40-odd themes and variations were kicked around. They were whittled down to half a dozen, and if there is any doubt about the veracity of the challenge that went in and the thought that went into each model, then there should not be; there was. It is not possible for something of this size and complexity to be perfect; there are compromises, but go figure. Welcome to the cheap seats and welcome to the real world.

3600 The time for talking, I hope, is nearly at an end, and the time for wasting time is definitely over. This Assembly should get behind the majority of the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture and work with them to deliver the model that they have put forward.

Thank you.

The Bailiff: Deputy Meerveld.

3605

Deputy Meerveld: Thank you, sir.

This is an issue that has been close to my heart but I must admit I am starting to lose the will to live, so I am going to keep this relatively short, which I am sure everybody will be grateful of at this stage. What I am going to just do is pick up on a few points that a few people have said and then just give a general statement at the end.

3610

In Deputy Cameron's opening, he tried describing this as 'another four-school model,' obviously alluding to the fact that there would be four sites. But that is doing a massive discredit to the Education, Sport & Culture Committee. We operate, currently, secondary and post-16 education across eight sites: you have got La Mare, St Sampson's, Beaucamps, Les Varendes, Les Ozouets, Delancey, and Coutanchez, and the GTA. The proposals put forward by Education, Sport & Culture will bring that down to four sites, so if you are looking for economies of scale, if you are looking for consolidation, if you are looking for efficiencies, that proposal does that. It brings everything down into a much smaller number of sites and makes it far more efficient.

3615

Other comments that Deputy Cameron made that pricked my ears: he raised the issue of protecting children on-site, wellbeing, because we have been putting the Sixth Form on the same site as the Guernsey Institute, which is currently the College of FE. I am not sure about why academic students are so much more sensitive and require more parental care or guardianship at 16 than other students. Because of course, the vocational students currently go into the current College of FE, are spread across three different campuses – depending on where they go; and yes, there are adult courses that go on there at the same time. So nothing is actually changing; you are just putting the sixth form building in one location. It also does not quite tally in the fact that Deputy Cameron also bemoaned the fact that the Sixth Form had little or no synergies; they only share a canteen. So apparently, the safeguarding issue would only be in one room.

3620

3625

Deputy Roffey – great speech about the balance between academic, practical, and soft skills. But again, Deputy Roffey was one of the key people jumping up and down in the last term, saying that Deputies should not get into managing the schools and deciding the curriculum. There is a balance between academic, practical, and soft skills; it is something that gets worked out by the teaching professionals and they determine how they deliver the balance that is required. We should stay out of their way and let them get on with it.

3630

Separate sixth form is another thing that Deputy Roffey went on about and the fact that the sixth form would be on a separate site. It is 500 metres away. You could walk it in three minutes. You think about university campuses in the UK, spread over 100 acres with buses going between one campus building to another. Heck, if the teachers are that worried about walking 500 metres, let us give them a golf cart or something and let them trundle backwards and forwards. It is ridiculous; you are only moving it literally around the corner. I do not see an issue in moving the building.

3635

3640

Deputy Oliver raised a very good point about the people that were jumping up and down, supporting two schools in the last term – 'Everything has got to be equal, the provision has got to be exactly the same' – but now seem to be rallying behind a system that provides two 11-16s and one 11-18 school, which is obviously not, on any basis.

3645 Deputy Soulsby and several other people raised – let me see who else, Deputy de Sausmarez – about new buildings, whether new buildings were required, whether we need to build that new sixth form building. Deputy de Sausmarez made a big play of ‘It is basic logic and common sense: why are we building a new building?’

3650 Let us try some of that basic logic and common sense. I think we have all come to the conclusion we cannot maintain four 11+ schools, so one of them has to go. So you knock down La Mare de Carteret – I think that seems to be where we are at now, which I do regret, but if that is the one that has to go, that is it – that is displacing nearly 400 students. The Building Bulletins – whether you are on Building Bulletin 98 for St Sampson’s or Building Bulletin 106, now, or 104 that Beaucamps was built on, whatever one you use – they designate a certain amount and size of classrooms and other facilities that are needed per head of student.

3655 When you knock down La Mare de Carteret, where are the students going to? If you build the new sixth form at the Ozouets site, then of course, you have that sixth form building available to take those new students in. If you do not build a new sixth form site at another location, then you are left with ‘We have knocked down a school for four hundred children there, we have three sites, 3660 we now have to build facilities for 133 – roughly – at each of the other sites.’ So you have to do an extension at Beaucamps, Les Varendes, and St Sampson’s.

3665 As somebody who has a bit of knowledge about the construction industry because of my family’s background, I can tell you right now: it is going to be far more expensive in capital to build extensions onto three sites, where are you are having to go into an existing building and look at ways to extend it. It is much more difficult, it is much more expensive than if you build one building on a greenfield site and then do limited expansions or adjustments to the other buildings to accommodate. Common sense and logic tells me that it would actually be more expensive not to build that new sixth form and move that block of students off to one site and reutilise that Sixth Form Centre at the Grammar School than it would be to actually go and do fairly major extensions to three existing schools.

3670 Deputy Le Tocq mentioned stakeholders. Interestingly enough, the one group of stakeholders, a very large group of stakeholders, the ones that we did hear a lot of previously – especially in the two-school debate – the ones we have not heard from this time, are the students and the parents. They seem to have gone very quiet. I wonder why. I am not saying we have not heard from some of them, but we have not received the hundreds of emails we did, certainly when the two-school proposals were put forward. Why is that? I cannot guarantee, but I would postulate that it is probably because they find these proposals quite benign and they are probably expecting it to just go through, which I would hope it does.

3675 But the people we have heard from, ever more stridently, are the teaching professionals. This has been the case with every single model that has been presented at every single stage. It always comes to the last minute, these strident cries of ‘Where is my job going to be? Do I have a parking space?’, etc. They raise concerns, and they can be legitimate concerns about the delivery and how it is going to work in these facilities. But at the same time, when we meet the unions – we met seven unions, and I have done that several times already with other models – they all say, ‘We have issues with this, we have issues with that. What about our pay packages? What about terms and conditions, management bonuses, etc.? We do not like this model for this reason or that reason.’ But when you actually propose to them, ‘Right, okay, what model would you suggest?’: ‘Oh no, that is not our job. Do not ask me! You cannot ask us what model of education we want to deliver!’

3680 Then you go talk to each one of them differently and you find out that each one individually – because I used to sit on the Committee that actually co-ordinated all the unions when I was one on the Education Committee at the beginning of the last term – you sit there and you talk to them individually, talk to them in a group, and you find out that each one of them wants something different depending on the group that they are representing. The Grammar School union, they are looking for 11-18 schools. The head teachers’ union wants something different. The College of FE union wants something different. They cannot agree amongst themselves.

Although, they do always say one thing – and they have said this when we did the presentation on the Paul Le Pelley three-school model, with the two-school model, and now, again, with the Education, Sport & Culture Committee’s current model – ‘It does not matter: we can deliver education in any building.’ That seems to be a common theme. ‘We can deliver in this. But then again, where is my parking space?’

3700

We are going to have to get past this. If this Assembly cannot finally say, ‘Let us do this, that is going to be the basic direction of travel, then let us sit down and work out the details of where the parking space is, where the management bonuses or points will be sorted out, and everything else,’ we can never get to that. What the unions would like to have – and, I suppose, every teacher would like to have – is the whole thing mapped out from end to end, knowing exactly where my job will be, in which room I will work, how big my desk will be, exactly where I will park, everything, and the whole thing planned out – the whole curriculum laid out, everything in advance. It is great, you can work it all up: you are never going to get agreement from them. They will turn around to the States: it is going to be too expensive or times will have changed or something will have moved on, and it will not happen.

3705

3710

This Assembly needs to grasp the nettle, make a decision, and move on. This amendment, unfortunately, is another ‘Throw it all out, begin again in a new direction’ and I cannot remember who said it but, it will not go the full length either! This amendment is not a solution in itself – I think it was Deputy Inder – it is going to end up coming back to the States, ‘We have worked up the detail. Oh, now the unions do not like that one either, and all the teachers are kicking off, or the pupils or whoever.’ It is just going to end up going round and round. We are doing ourselves, our students, our parents, and our community a disservice by not doing what we are paid to do, what we were elected to do: make a decision.

3715

ESC is a Committee who have been put in place to work up these proposals. Nothing I am seeing in any of the amendments has any amount of significant detail behind them; it is back to the drawing board with another concept to be worked up. Let us endorse what is proposed, let us move on, please, and get on with it. It has just been a painful process, both the original Paul Le Pelley process, the Matt Fallaize process, the one now under Deputy Dudley-Owen. I am just exasperated.

3720

Thank you, sir.

3725

The Bailiff: Deputy Bury.

Deputy Bury: Thank you, sir.

Deputy Mahoney referred to education experts in the room; I am definitely not. I am confused, very confused. There has been a lot of fog and mixed messages leading up to this debate: different information, non-answers, sometimes no answers.

3730

The things that I am confused about are buildings. ‘It is not about the buildings.’ ‘It is about the buildings.’ ‘No, it is not about the buildings, but the policy letter does seem to be about the buildings.’ It is about the strategy, but we have not really seen the strategy, so we just have to have confidence that that will work. Actually, it will work in any of the buildings, but when we talk about the Sixth Form Centre, it *is* about the building.

3735

That is my confusion. It seems to be the jewel in the crown when we talk about the whole ESC proposals. There is a lot of talk about the parity of esteem, but there does not seem to be any evidence to support how that perception of parity of esteem is negatively impacting our community, and there does not seem to be any evidence presented that – if, indeed, that issue exists – how the co-location will fix it.

3740

The paper that we were directed to in the ESC proposals from the National Foundation for Educational Research that talked about how this perceived inequity is a bit of an issue – obviously, not localised to Guernsey; it was not specific about that – when it presented its solutions and conclusions, it did not talk about co-location at all as a solution; it focused on raising awareness among teachers and employers and parents as to the value of the vocational qualifications. I have not seen any evidence to explain what we are going to do about that, how we are going to educate

3745

3750 parents and teachers and employers that those vocational qualifications are of equal value. So I do not quite understand how the co-location – I really have not got my head around that yet – how the co-location solves that perception, that problem – if, indeed, it does, exist.

Deputy Taylor referenced in his speech – and I think a few others have as well – that people can study mixed things. Again, this is something I am confused about. I do not think we are doing that, are we? We are not having a blended academic and vocational pathway, because we were told that they are going to be two distinct organisations and they will share some recreational spaces. Most importantly, I have not seen any evidence of an outstanding, standalone sixth form with 400 or fewer students anywhere in the country's state sector. That is my confusion about the jewel in the crown.

3760 I am also confused about teachers. 'Listen to teachers.' 'Do not listen to teachers.' In Deputy Dudley-Owen's opening speech, I was quite surprised to hear what could be described as an about-turn, I think, in terms of listening to teachers or not listening to teachers. I think we have had a letter that she had written previously referenced.

3765 Although – just going off on a tangent – I would say that at least Deputy Dudley-Owen's comments were kept at a relative level of respect. I was calling for respect yesterday; actually, it turns out, I should have been calling for it today. Deputy Inder seems to think our hard-working teaching staff are quite self-obsessed – all about their benefits – which is interesting, because with the roaring finance trade dominating most of our employment market, I think if they were in it for the benefits, they probably would have looked elsewhere. Also, are these the same teachers that were absolutely applauded during our lockdown for the work that they provided? It does not seem like we are showing them the same respect today.

3770 Again, when it comes to teachers, we have been told very clearly that the operational detail is not for us, and I totally agree with that – although, what I do not agree with is what is being classed as 'operational detail.' We have been told it is for teachers, until Les Beaucamps staff are telling us that there is not enough space now, so there is definitely not enough space for 200 extra students. They are there – particularly on a rainy day, they tell us – and there is not enough space. We are being told that is wrong, but that sounds pretty operational, to me. That is the staff telling us that something operational will not work, but we should not listen to that.

3780 Eleven to 18: it is not better. Yesterday, Deputy Dudley-Owen said there is no evidence to show this; Deputy Trott corrected her and said there is. But one of the reasons for moving the sixth form away from Les Varendes is so that the 11-16 students on that site do not benefit from the advantage having 11-18 on that site will bring. So I am confused about that as well. So it is better having 11-18 on that site. I do believe in equality – I think, probably, everyone knows that, or they definitely will over the course of this term – through and through, but I do not believe in the levelling-down approach; we should be levelling up. I do not think we should be bringing it down to a poor educational experience across the board. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.)

3785 Costs: 'It is not about costs but it is about costs.' I agree that the model that we choose should not be dictated purely by costs because we should be investing in our students; however, we are closing down what is possibly one of our best performing schools because it would cost too much to rebuild. In terms of costs, the investment, or how the budget is going to be redistributed, it very much feels like the secondary sector is going to become the poor cousin of our education sector. 3790 The theory behind this we have been given is that the primary sector needs that pumped into it to build those foundations, which really makes sense. But then what does not make sense to me is that we would not keep doing that for the secondary sector to build on that foundation for the post-16. So I am confused about that as well; there is a theme.

3795 The revenue and running costs seem to be – there is a lot of 'anticipated' and 'it will be about the same,' but we know that that is not efficient. One of my main concerns with the revenue costs is that staffing is the largest cost, surely. We do not know what the staffing structure looks like, so how can we know what the revenue costs will be?

Something that I do not think has been brought up very much but I think needs to be: we have to be exceptionally careful about delegating all of the cost decisions out of this Chamber and into

3800 ESC and P&R's hands, as proposed in the ESC policy letter. It really amazes me that Deputy Dudley-Owen believes this is appropriate when last term, she was so vociferous in her questioning of the previous Committee around all matters of the fiscal elements of their proposals – rightfully so.

Engagement: I am confused about engagement as well. We have been told that there has been a huge amount of engagement. I think, actually, when you look at what has happened – the appointments and the sessions – yes, there is a lot that has happened, but the teachers tell us it has not been meaningful. None of their concerns have been reflected in the policy, changes have not been made, and they are telling us that, in fact, only Deputy Cameron appears to have been listening, as his suggested model is tweaked according to their concerns.

3810 We have also been reminded of our own engagement sessions, and Deputy Ferbrache referenced that earlier. I have attended, I think, almost all of them – I did miss one recently, and that was due to a diary clash. They have been plentiful and lengthy and I appreciated the time and the effort of the officers and the organisers of those. But I think we need to be absolutely clear that these were not about the new model, and we were told that, very specifically, at the first session. I think it is important for people listening not to think that we have had hours and hours of webinars about the model; they have been about the broader 'ecosystem,' as it has been called.

3815 Performance: I am confused about that too. I totally agree that exam results should not be the be-all-and-end-all. I would love to see more life skills, focus on wellbeing, independent and creative thinking. I often think that I would have been much rather taught how to navigate getting a loan, managing a household budget, getting a mortgage – not that I will be getting one of those any time soon – rather than the periodic table, because it has not really come in that handy.

3820 But are the two mutually exclusive? Is it correct that to be rounded individuals, we cannot maintain the academic success? It feels like they are being played off against each other in this conversation. The fact is that we do still have exams. It is not being proposed to get rid of them altogether, as far as I am aware, so parents and students will expect that we help the students to get their best possible grades, and they will use this as a measurement of success. There is no point us having exams if we then say that the grades achieved are not really very important.

Traffic: the policy letter states that

Detailed traffic impact assessments will be undertaken ...

3830 They *will* be; I really do not understand why these have not been done already. If we approve this today and then we do the traffic impact assessment later and it is not viable, what happens? Traffic was almost one of the toppling factors of the previous model; why that would not have been done beforehand, I really do not know. I cannot support the ESC proposals with that missing information.

3835 The review: in answers to recent questions from colleagues regarding the review, the answer given –
Go on, then.

Deputy Oliver: Thank you, you are kind.

3840 I will just defend them on the traffic assessment reports because traffic assessment reports tend to be quite expensive, so I can see why they would not do one unless the plans actually got approved.

3845 **Deputy Bury:** Okay, thank you for that input, totally understood. However, I think that, considering the roads that we are looking at around one of the major developments, it should have been done to help us inform our decision, not after we have made the decision.

3850 The review: in answers to recent questions from colleagues, the answer was that a democratic decision was made around the review. Indeed, it was; I remember very well being on the losing end of that democratic decision. Although, just a bit before that, an undemocratic decision was made when the Committee chose not to complete the review while they were under resolution to do so.

When Deputy Gabriel and I laid that amendment, we were told by ESC that they did not complete the review because the parameters and the baselines were all wrong. But what we have not been told is why the Committee did not see fit at that time to amend those baselines and parameters, when they arrived in post, in order to give us a clear, not confusing, way forward and honour a commitment that was made to the public, teachers, protesters, and voters.

3855

I am minded to think around the review in a similar way as we have been told about ESC's model that the landscape has changed and this is where we are now. The landscape has changed very much since the vote on mine and Deputy Gabriel's amendment was taken, because teachers have now come out in 'very high numbers' – shall we go with? – against ESC's model. But obviously, that depends on if it is one of the times that we are listening to them or we are not listening to them. Deputy Inder tells us that a review will not coalesce the teachers anyway, it just will not happen. Perhaps it might not. But it would help us, and we are the ones that have to make the decision.

3860

Onto to the way forward: I am going to reference Deputy Vermeulen also, but in a different context this time. Yesterday, he mentioned that everyone he speaks to or most people he speaks to say, 'Let's just get on with it.' I do think that lots of us, we are in danger of living in a bubble – maybe not a bubble, because that has got different connotations, I do not live in the same bubble as Deputy Vermeulen; maybe an echo Chamber (*Laughter*) – because most people that I have spoken to have said, 'We cannot just make a decision for the sake of it. I am really worried that the States just want to look decisive and they want to make a decision and they are going to make the wrong decision.' (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) I am worried about that too, because the ramifications of that are so extensive, will last way beyond our legacy here, and I do not want to look back and know that I was part of the wrong decision.

3865

3870

I think I am minded to support this amendment because it gives us a way forward, but it also gives flexibility in the future to react to the future pupil numbers, which it seems quite clear that we do not know really know that accurately, whereas the ESC proposals commit us to tens of millions of capital and they set in stone a sixth form experimental model that there are no examples of anywhere else in the country working.

3875

Thank you, sir.

3880

The Bailiff: Deputy Dyke.

Deputy Dyke: Thank you, sir. I am going to speak very briefly, as I am not an education expert.

I first thank the Education Committee for their fantastic work that they have done on preparing their policy, and Deputy Cameron for his amendment. I know they have put their heart and soul in this. There seems to have been suggestions that it has been sloppy work and even that there have been deliberate inaccuracies in it, which, clearly, cannot be the case.

3885

We have elected our Education Committee to deal with matters concerning education. We have delegated that job to them. They have produced the paper which is a workable solution which we must have now; we cannot go on and on. Our people here are expecting progress, our children need progress. If we just fudge this now and do not support the Committee, it is tantamount to sabotage – I think, is how the population will see it; they will think of us as the worst States since the last Ice Age. (**Two Members:** Hear, hear.) We must get on and we must understand what our job is here. We have elected this Committee to produce proposals, which they have done. It is their job – it is not the teachers' job – to determine this. Our Committee must work with the teachers once we have the general policy agreed, and there are many operational issues that they will have to discuss with them. But I do not understand and I am incredulous that so many Deputies here seem to think that it is up to us to discuss operational issues with teachers; it is madness. It will just lead to chaos if we carry on in that way.

3890

3895

Turning briefly to the proposal from Deputy Cameron, just to go through the various parts: much was made of his proposal being less costly than the proposals from the Committee, but Deputy Murray has answered that. From his answer, it would appear that Deputy Cameron's proposal would be approximately, in capital terms, over £30 million *more*, because working up the Varendes site to

3900

take more people and working excessively on the other schools will have much higher costs than a clean, new building on a green site; Deputy Meerveld has spoken to that as well.

3905 I will not defer because I am not going to take very long.

We have spoken a lot about equality. The current proposals from the Committee achieve that; Deputy Cameron's proposal does not achieve that. We have talked about parity of esteem; that is an issue whether you agree with it or not. The Committee's proposal achieves that; Deputy Cameron's does not.

3910 To conclude, I think we must make a decision now. The Committee has made us a proposal and we would be totally letting down the country if we do not allow it to proceed without any amendments. So I would reject this amendment.

Thank you.

3915 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Trott.

Deputy Trott: Thank you, sir. I should be brief because it seems to me as if evidence-based decision-making seems to no longer be a concern of this Assembly, and that, I think, is a very bad move, a very bad development.

3920 First of all, others have recounted stories of the education system here in Guernsey; I would like to give one or two of my own. The first is my daughter, sir. She went through the States' system, went to an 11-18 school, went to the Grammar School, and she has just graduated from university with a first. I am absolutely delighted for her – thank you. In fact, I am so thrilled, sir, I am going to take the Chief Minister's advice and I am going to go and buy an Aston Martin to celebrate.
3925 *(Laughter)* I think that is a very good thing.

Sir, one of my teachers was of the view that no good would come of me. *(Interjection and laughter)* That same teacher, sir, rang me the other day and said, 'You know you are smart when your IQ is greater than Deputy Ferbrache's hourly rate.' *(Laughter)*

3930 One of the concerns I have is – I was delighted to hear Deputy Mahoney speak because he does not speak very often. But of course, he is a custodian of the public purse. He seemed to have absolutely no interest in anyone proving value for money to him. He seemed to have a nonchalant regard for value for money in a way that I was genuinely surprised ... Fortunately, Deputies Soulsby and Le Tocq are members of P&R and I am sure that they will do their best to educate him in that important regard.

3935 Deputy Meerveld, sir ... I mean I do wish I was summing up in this debate because there was so much material! *(Laughter)* I mean it was just ...! I am not summing up, so I shall not; I have had to discard – but there was so much. Deputy Meerveld answered a question I have mused over for the last four and three-quarter years, and that is why his declarations of interest declare no relationship with his family's building company. Now I understand, sir, because his understanding and
3940 knowledge of building economics is, clearly, woefully inadequate. Although in fairness, sir, Deputy Meerveld does appear to have solved the teachers' parking problems, because he would have them all using golf carts. *(Laughter)* I think was a meaningful contribution and, I have to say, one of his better words of wisdom over the last few years, so I thank him for that.

3945 Let us call this person 'Juan Le Page'. One of the questions that I have been asked is, 'Are ESC's proposals the most expensive model ESC could have come up with?', to which I have answered honestly, 'Yes, probably.' But of course, I do not know. As I said in an earlier contribution, what I voted for last year – which was led by Deputy Dudley-Owen and supported, also, by Deputy Meerveld, in his wisdom – was to have a compare-and-contrast, a pause-and-review that enabled me to have the evidence in front of me to make an objective decision: just how much did these
3950 things cost? The same person has asked me, 'Is the absence of that pause-and-review because their proposals are the most expensive model they could have come up with? Or is it' – as a previous speaker said – 'because the ESC's proposals are astonishingly inefficient in revenue terms and educationally inefficient?'

3955 Interestingly, Deputy Murray gave us an interesting insight, because he seemed to know the answers to that. He came up with a figure, I think, of £30 million. This is no trifling sum of money, sir; even to Deputy Ferbrache, this is a material sum. Clearly, the Vice President of ESC is well aware of the cost differentials, but they have not been provided to us. Or were they made up on the back of a fag packet? There is the potential that there is an inconvenient truth here.

3960 I do not know Deputy Murray very well. In fact, when I first met him – or rather, corresponded with him – he went under the name Bob. Bob, I replied to a letter that he wrote, said that what he was very keen to do was keep the States out of people's pockets. I thought that was a laudable position to take, particularly bearing in mind that it had been something that I had worked quite hard at over the last 20 years. Interestingly, sir, when I came into the States in 2000, we took about 21% of our GDP in tax, and 20 years later, we took about 21% of our GDP in tax. So I was rather pleased with that, although many would have had you believe that we were being taxed into oblivion. Of course, that was not the case then; it is not the case now. But it is easy to make a silk purse out of a pig's ear if you have those sorts of skills.

3970 But I do not want those sorts of skills, sir; I want to make evidence-based decisions. Because of the absence of pause-and-review, I am not able to do so. That is why I have no hesitation whatsoever in supporting this amendment. I agree wholeheartedly with Deputy Falla: it is a better option than the option that our friends at the ESC have presented to us today.

Thank you, sir.

3975 **The Bailiff:** Are you likely to be more than five minutes, Deputy St Pier?

Deputy St Pier: I am not, sir.

The Bailiff: You are not likely to be more than five minutes?

3980 **Deputy St Pier:** I am not likely to be more than five minutes. *(Laughter)*

The Bailiff: Deputy St Pier.

3985 **Deputy St Pier:** Sir, yesterday, I said that we had slipped through the looking-glass, and I could not identify then a candidate who could fill the role of the Mad Hatter. But after Deputy Inder's high-energy speech this morning – or was it this afternoon? – I think we might have found somebody who could play that part. Deputy Inder, of course, proudly sported a green ribbon on his lapel during the pause-and-review requête on 20th February 2020 'in solidarity' – his words, not mine – with the teachers. During the debate on the Bury/Gabriel amendment, he said, of course, he wanted the teachers to be alongside Deputy Dudley-Owen's proposals. Today, of course, he implicitly threw all those words back at us, and considerably more, and jettisoned his support for the teachers – freeing himself up, of course, to vote in favour of the proposals he knows they do not support.

3995 Deputy Dyke said that we must make a decision now; of course, we can do that with this amendment.

Deputy Dudley-Owen raised a point of correction with Deputy de Sausmarez saying that Deputy Dudley-Owen had described the policy letter as a 'sales pitch'. It was a valid point of correction as she did not use that term; what she actually described it as in an interview with Oscar Pearson on the BBC was 'a sales document' for Deputies – on 11th June, I believe.

4000 Deputy Inder also spoke about the importance to business of education and skills, and rightly so. He circulated a statement today from the Institute of Directors (IoD). All that says is, 'We want a decision'; what it does not say, despite his best endeavours to get the business sector to row in behind the Committee's proposals, is that the IoD or business support these proposals.

4005 **Deputy Inder:** Point of, possibly, order, sir. *(Laughter)*

The Bailiff: Okay. Which particular Rule of Procedure are you are saying that Deputy St Pier is breaking?

4010 **Deputy Inder:** Misleading the Assembly.

The Bailiff: Well –

4015 **Deputy Inder:** Hold on, sir. With the greatest respect, sir, if I can have my place. I do not mind what Deputy St Pier says but when he misconstrues ... I was extremely careful, as I said in my speech and I explained, that I did in no way lead the business community, I sent them a letter ... for him to come back later towards the end of the debate to suggest in any way that I have tried to twist someone's words, that is misleading the Assembly, and I ask him to withdraw that.

4020 **The Bailiff:** Deputy St Pier – I am not satisfied that is a valid point of order, because there is no such thing as a Rule saying you cannot mislead. (*Interjection*) You can have a point of correction in respect of a misleading statement made by another Member, but that is not what is happening here.

Deputy St Pier to continue, please.

4025

Deputy St Pier: Thank you.

They just want a decision.

Much has been made of the stats around the survey and I will not extend that debate further, other than to say, only 12 teachers supported the Propositions out of 141 responses, out of a
4030 potential total of 194 secondary teachers; that is 9% of respondents or 6% of all teachers.

It is also common knowledge that none of the school leaders support these plans, and furthermore, that they do all see the Cameron amendment as a workable solution that is both educationally and economically preferable to the Committee's proposals. The elephant in the Chamber is that Deputy Dudley-Owen knows her Committee's proposals are unsupported by the school's leadership, and also, I would suggest, has the documentary evidence in terms of meeting
4035 notes, or at least draft meeting notes, that would support that.

It is further worth pointing out the bleeding obvious: that the support of teachers and, crucially, school leaders, who would be responsible for implementing the plan, is essential if it is to work effectively. So I do urge Members to think carefully. With such lack of support for the Committee's
4040 proposals, they will come off the rails further down the line, even if it passes today. Can we really afford – picking up on Deputy Dyke's comments and Deputy Vermeulen's – to waste more time making the wrong decision now?

Deputy Aldwell made much of there been 1,100 on the Varendes site; so what? It had that number on it back in 2009. Effectively, our own Committee's proposals envisage 1,200 at the Ozouets – (*Laughter*) So let's be clear – (**A Member:** He tried!) Uh-z-way, Oz-way, (**Deputy Le Tocq:** Oh-z-way.) Oh-z-way. We all know where we are! What is important is that it will
4045 have 1,200 on it, or thereabouts.

Let us be clear, the do-minimum option is to reject everything. The Cameron model is not to do minimum; it is to do a lot. Like the Committee's proposals, it moves us from the current four-school
4050 model – three 11-16s and one 11-18 – to three 11-16s and a sixth form. Neither is it the *least worst* option, but I do concede that the current model is 'do minimum' in the sense of doing least harm.

Deputy Taylor, who is not in the Assembly at the moment, identified flaws in the Cameron model with regard to the use of teachers across the schools. Whatever flaws he identified apply, of course, equally to the Committee's own proposals.

4055 Deputy Mahoney said that we should be listening to the experts, and he is right, which is why we should not ignore the unanimous views of the schools' leaders and, overwhelmingly, the majority of the secondary school teachers.

4060 Finally, I want to address Deputy Oliver's concern that this does not solve the equity issue. The Cameron model, like the Committee's own, suggests a single 11-18 partnership delivered on three 11-16 sites and one sixth form site. The Cameron model, like the Committee's own, separates the Sixth Form Centre from the current Grammar School. The only difference is that we are not spending £35 million or so to move one building 500 metres up the road.

I, sir, will be supporting this amendment.

4065 **The Bailiff:** Members of the States, it is time to defer business to September and deal with the Schedule for Future States' Business. However, I will see what appetite you have for continuing debate on this amendment with a view to concluding this amendment and taking a vote and then taking stock.

4070 To enable me to put that to you, I would invite those Members who have not yet spoken on this amendment who want to speak to stand in their places, just to give an indication.

With the greatest of respect, there is potentially no need for a member of the Committee to speak if the President is going to reply to the debate – we are talking about Deputy Gollop.

I am going to put the motion to you that we continue to conclude this amendment. Those in favour; those against.

4075 *Members voted Pour.*

The Bailiff: Therefore, we will continue.

Deputy Gollop.

4080 **Deputy Gollop:** Sir, I am not going to speak for long.

I am in a situation, in a way, of not only not really knowing which way to go on this, but I am like a guy who goes into a fish and chip shop and wants fish, and all I get offered are chips and savoury sausages, because I am not particularly in love with either model for lots of reasons.

4085 There is a lot more fundamental change that needs to go on in education. We need to be more aware of the financial resources that the sector needs. We need to look at things like self-management of schools and, perhaps, moving away from a one-size-fits-all model.

4090 I find this whole debate very ironical, actually because during the last election, I was campaigning on a 'two 11-16, one 11-18' message, and people said, 'Yes, your three schools, but that is a totally unacceptable model because it is inequitable.' That comment came back from senior educationalists. So I moved more to the direction, to a degree, of where Education, Sport & Culture are, with a separate sixth form centre. I have still got an interest, I think, in rebuilding La Mare de Carteret. The irony, for me, is that, curiously enough, if the Cameron amendment wins, it actually takes me nearer the position I think we should have been going in all along, which is away from a one-size-fits-all model, because the schools would not be quite the same, and maybe down the line, there would be a greater degree of flexibility within the schools to have a different ethos and a different culture. That could be more expensive for the Island.

4095 Yet the other paradox, though, is that the ... although I do accept the visionary element of the new building and I do accept Education, Sport & Culture's commitment to an outstanding new building and strengthening the 16+, which is an area we need to work on, I wonder if they are not a bit like generals in wars, solving problems of a previous era, because, rightly or wrongly, a larger proportion of today's students appear to want to do 16-18 academic education. They want to consider going to university or the equivalent. They want to study all kinds of things, from fashion to drama to arts to liberal arts. Maybe, that is the real reason why we are seeing shortages at what is often the excellent Guernsey College of Further Education: because we do not have so many indigenous younger people wanting to be plumbers or electricians, catering providers, and so on. For whatever reason, they want a different kind of society than they had grown up in. I have a question mark over that. I think perhaps we might need a little bit more private sector injection into the way we do tertiary education as well.

4110 So I have not fully made up my mind, but I am tempted, on this occasion, to give the benefit of the doubt to the Cameron amendment, and if the Cameron amendment fails, to commit myself to, if it is the only one left standing, the Education, Sport & Culture model, because where I do agree with Deputy Vermeulen is that it is better to get something done than nothing.

4115 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Haskins.

Deputy Haskins: Thank you, sir.

4120 I said this to one of our teachers and I would like to tell Members this today: our children are our future. They are the future of our economic success; the better they do, the better the Island does. They are our future in one way or another. Members – through you, sir – we owe it to them to do what we think is best for them in a swiftly changing job market and world. The longer we procrastinate, the worse it is for them and the worse it is for us all.

4125 I am happy with that statement, I completely agree with it, and I hope Members see and agree with that. But it seems to me that some Members do not ... well, we do not see eye to eye, do we? So I am just going to go through some of the items I have heard in this debate and respond to them and try and put my sway on them. I had a much longer, more drawn-out speech, but actually, from all the points, my speech would be completely superfluous, really. But I think there are some pertinent points.

4130 Les Beaucamps School was designed for 660 students; that is the most conservative number there is. Deputy Bury has said that there is not enough space *now*. Well, there are only 528 students right now, so I could understand why Deputy Bury is confused.

Deputy Bury: Point of correction.

4135 **The Bailiff:** Point of correction, Deputy Bury.

Deputy Bury: I said that the teachers at the Beaucamps told me there is not enough space now.

The Bailiff: Deputy Haskins to continue.

4140 **Deputy Haskins:** Thank you for that, Deputy Bury. It might be a technicality that the words were said, but I get the correction, thank you.

4145 I understand why Deputy Bury is confused, because the minimum design is 660; indeed, that is what the Island paid for when they bought it, but apparently, they only built us a school for 528. Do we go back and demand a refund, or is there some confusion on what that number is?

I have understood that Deputy Bury is confused; perhaps, it has been information overload. If Deputy Bury is not clear on the information, I am sure it would prevent her from voting. I am absolutely confused now how Deputy Bury could vote for this amendment without having all that information on this amendment. As I say, I am just confused myself now.

4150 I am also confused as to how Deputy Trott, how – sir, through you – does he reconcile wanting to make evidence-based decisions but supporting this amendment, saying it is the least worst option, when he has no evidence to make that claim?

4155 Like Deputy Ferbrache – and probably, the entire Assembly – I am interested to hear what the revenue costs for this amendment are. My most pertinent questions are, what happens if there are no revenue savings? Or even if there were any savings, do Members understand that the Committee would have to go back with a very solid business case to reinvest in education over other pressing issues, like NICE drugs, justice reform? We have seen a very long list, from reading the Government Work Plan debate that is forthcoming; that list is long.

4160 You have heard from Deputy Soulsby that she would not support Proposition 3 even if this amendment does pass. So I am sure you will understand that many of us will also not support that Proposition. Where would that lead us? One would not be able to reinvest that money into that

educational suite, which is the premise of this amendment. How would you like ESC, the Education, Sport & Culture Committee, to address the inequity with no revenue savings – if, indeed, they do exist? I do not think this model can, however much money you spend.

4165 Not that this debate is about the secondary teachers; they are an important stakeholder. They are, of course, as Deputy Le Tocq said, not the only one. Do Members believe that the secondary teachers would accept this amendment if there were no revenue savings? That is a very real possibility.

4170 I would like to touch on parity. Deputy Kazantseva-Miller, Deputy Bury, and Deputy Falla wondered where the evidence of this is, Deputy Kazantseva-Miller focusing on empirical evidence. Now, I am sure they can all understand –

Deputy Kazantseva-Miller: Point of correction.

4175 **The Bailiff:** Point of correction, Deputy Kazantseva-Miller.

Deputy Kazantseva-Miller: I did not mention ‘empirical’; I looked for evidence. Thank you.

The Bailiff: Deputy Haskins to continue.

4180 **Deputy Haskins:** If you did not say – sorry, sir – if *Deputy Kazantseva-Miller* did not say ‘empirical’, then I stand corrected.

4185 I am sure that all these Deputies can understand that measuring the effects and tangible benefits or dis-benefits of parity of esteem are extremely difficult all over the world, much more so in a small island with limited access to data capture. But I will give a couple of quotes to allay their fears that it does not exist. Jan Hodges OBE is the CEO of the Edge Foundation, an independent education charity. The quote is:

As long as technical, practical and vocational learning routes are deemed inferior to academic ones, Edge will continue to champion them.

4190 Would an education charity bent on championing parity exist if the discrepancy of parity did not exist?

I have one more: Dr Susan James Relly is the Co-director of the Skills, Knowledge, and Organisational Performance research centre (SKOPE) and an associate professor in the Department of Education, University of Oxford. The quote extract that I have:

4195 ... Parity between the two routes has not been achieved.

I hope that goes some way to allay the assertion that the parity of esteem is not something that is there.

4200 Deputy Roffey says that a 400-pupil sixth form is not big enough. I am afraid, without some serious population management changes, we cannot magic up any more students, but we can keep it on one site and mitigate against the ever-decreasing population projections. We can make sure that we futureproof that building, and with the evidence that says more and more vocational skills are needed, locating with the TGI is absolutely sensible and, I believe, financially prudent. May I remind Members that the projection is that 30% of jobs will be lost to automation by 2030? This world and this job market is changing.

4205 Slightly digressing: the footprint of the sixth form in the policy letter is approximately double the size of the current sixth form. When Deputy Roffey says that the larger one is ‘dinky’, what would he call the smaller current one? What I do not think is financially prudent is to spend circa £50 million – and I must confess, I do not really know what the figures are on this amendment ... I do not think it is financially prudent to spend what I believe is £50 million, and as we have heard
4210 from Deputy Roffey, that then in 10, 15 years’ time, we can revisit. In fact, some of the Deputies who

met with Les Beaucamps staff recently heard them say a similar think. Deputy Ferbrache and Deputy Soulsby were there with me. They just included 20: so 10, 15, or 20 years' time. Then we can go back and make a decision on the future of our education. I think it needs to be done now.

4215 In this amendment, we are just going to close La Mare, and that is, to me, pretty much it. There are other things that will happen and they are all within the bounds of cost. But we do not know what they are, we do not know what exactly will be paid for. I cannot see how anyone can really support this.

4220 Deputy Roffey said, 'Almost all private colleges choose to offer the entire range of 11-18,' almost implying that it would be better. But when receiving money for each term, they would naturally seek to maximise profit by offering as many terms as possible to as many students as possible. Perhaps, proof: Elizabeth College moving their educational offering, becoming fully co-ed. Private colleges are exactly that: private. They are essentially commercial bodies. They operate in the interests of their shareholders, primarily. Secondary priorities, such as educational outcomes, only seek to improve their primary objective: profitability.

4225 As I said, in my speech I had a lot more information. I could come back with many arguments to all of you. It sounds, to me, from hearing all of you, you have all made your mind up – through you, sir; I apologise. So I am actually going to cut short there and I am going to say that I absolutely believe the Committee's proposals are the best, they are the fairest, and they are most cost-effective way forward.

4230 I plead for you to vote against this amendment.

The Bailiff: Deputy Blin.

4235 **Deputy Blin:** Thank you, sir. I will keep mine short; I am aware of the end of the day.

A lot has been discussed today and I have listened with great interest. As Deputy Murray said at the beginning, there are 20 of us with a new set of eyes. I, for one, am not at all fed up of the process this is going through. I will tell you why: because it is my children, our children, the Island's children so I will sit through this for days or whatever.

4240 That is the first part. The second part is this: again – and I am sorry to use this UB term, etc. – I remember in October last year, when we had the elections, after the elections of the Deputies, for the Presidencies. I remember actually talking to the various Presidents to see who will be good for this, who will be good for that, etc. So I had to make this choice, as a very novice Deputy and the conversations I had with Deputy Dudley-Owen were outstanding, in the sense that she was willing for the fight, she was ready for the fight, she would have the knowledge of the subject, and she was prepared to take this all on. I do not know how anyone else could vote differently, but it was outstanding. I will say the same for other Deputies, like Deputy de Sausmarez for E&I; it was the same thought process. I believe they were the right ones. Slightly different with Deputy Inder, (*Laughter*) but for understandable reasons. This is more of a point of just saying.

4250 What I am saying is that – as in business, when you agree with a leader or you choose – you put your faith in them, and I put my faith in her, but also in the Committee. This is not taken lightly. The Committee members, I know, have worked very hard. I have been to all of the presentations and the talks. I know I have been on the phone, and I apologise to Deputy Dudley-Owen, because even at night, I was calling up: 'I am concerned about this,' 'What can we do here?', 'I have heard this,' 'My sister, who has been a teacher for 45 years, has said this,' 'My mother, who has been a teacher ...', etc. That is the very first part, and I have supported that.

4260 I start my stance on the basis of supporting the ESC model, because that is all I have tried to focus on. From there, I have tried to work out the other ones. I have done that by trying to engage with different Deputies, with Deputy Kazantseva-Miller, talking to everybody in time, as well as talking to teachers, individuals – even right up to last night, having conversations with teachers from the colleges – it is constant. What has come from all of those conversations? We end up on the same loop – and this is the same loop which, I think, was referred to as 'We are not the experts.' We always talk about, 'We should be working with the experts.' So when you are planning a school

4265 system, you are not just talking to teachers – who are experts, I totally agree – but you are talking to educationalist professionals, and it is the team who, actually, ESC have been working with throughout this period.

4270 All of the other amendments today, the two amendments of today – I like the amendment that was proposed by Deputy Cameron. Why? Because, actually, it is quicker to put in place, it has got the effect of using what we have got. If I were a P&R member, I would possibly be considering on costs there. But we are not only looking at that; we are looking at that bigger picture, that aspirational picture. I would go back, then, to referring to that, to say, 'There is a great feeling, you are all in your independent 11-16-year-old schools,' and then you have this aspirational moment when you can suddenly go to this other centre. Yes, it is not far down the road; yes, it is being built next to some other areas. But I cannot remember who mentioned it – maybe, Deputy Taylor – talking about studying philosophy and plumbing, and I actually agree with that; I know from the Baccalaureate system, you can do some scientific subjects and then suddenly do something really practical because you do not know where your strengths lie in the future.

4275 The main thing that came up – I think it would be fair to say that it was Deputy Matthews – talking about the teachers, the quality of the teachers: 'If they are teachers from 11-16 or if they are teachers from 11-18, you get a better quality.' The argument is the same. If you say that to a teacher teaching 11-16, they will be very upset, they feel as if they are inferior or something, whereas actually they are specialised in the area they do.

4280 Let us forget all that: it is about what is going to happen with the children. I have never been into a common room or a teachers' room – and I did have a short stint of teaching A-levels at Blanchelande many years ago, as well as teaching 20 years in various schools, although in languages. Actually, it is all about looking after the pupils, the children. Actually, there is such a focus – you could almost work on any model, as long as you have the buildings. I have been to school in Peru, in places where there is barely walls. So it is not about the school and the size and everything; it has to be part of the plan, the business strategy plan. The key is what we are going to deliver. I will put aside the 11-16, the 11-18; we get the right teachers – who, by the way, wish to move to the beautiful Island of Guernsey and work and engage and get their 8 year licence straight away and make sure they are there – but then we will have continuity.

4285 When I start looking, now, at the amendment: I have mentioned there are parts about the amendment I like, but what I feel is really happening is what if – and this may be crystal ball and a little bit of naivety – what if this amendment gets accepted? That means that we would then have to start again or some more work will be done on it, or it then gets handed back over to ESC and then ESC has to try to engage to agree to take all of this on. What if ESC comes to the conclusion that, actually, it will not work? 'I cannot put my name to something I do not believe in.' What happens then? Does the Committee resign and step down or leave? If so, who else is going to take their place? I apologise if this is a bit naive, but it is just how I see this thing continuing.

4290 One of our Deputies – I believe Deputy Falla – used the term 'least worst' and I get that feeling when we are comparing. I just get the feeling that we are all in a situation where we are thinking – or there is a feel – that we do not like the ESC model, even though it has been professionally designed. Yes, it has got some fallouts with some teachers and areas, but they have not been given the time to complete and do this. There is more and more social media and calls and people. I am witnessing them, I am talking to people, I am saying, 'Hold on, there are other things, other parts to play in this.'

4300 I suppose, not to continue this further, I have got to then give you the reasons why I do like it, and it comes back to this aspirational element: it may cost more, but it is something that we are going to benefit from for a long time for our youngsters – and also bearing in mind Deputy Inder from Economic Development and, particularly, Deputy Kazantseva-Miller on lead for digital; that is where we are going. So we do have to be in a new place, a new aspirational place, where we can push that forward. I have got a very strong feeling towards this working in the long term, although I know there are other options where you can just make do with what you have got or go to 11-18, but this plan has been worked on really hard.

4315

I believe it was Deputy Ferbrache who mentioned that, at the presentations – and I was really saddened at the last ones, where there were so few people there, and yet, we still have to go out and talk to those other Deputies who were not there to find out what they are talking about in their model, when they did not even want to attend. It gives me this feeling that it is already a little bit kaput before we get through.

I do urge everyone to consider – reject the amendment and, please, continue to support the ESC proposal, because it gives a chance for us to all show we can work together and push through and develop this educationally, with a strategy, and then contribute and make it work, and we can all be in a better position sooner, rather than other delays coming through, which, basically, will happen if we do not come to a good solution. I am not saying it is a quick decision to get it done; let us really think conscientiously and, also, add all the elements of where we can add our knowledge, too. We may not be educationalists, but we have lots of strong ideas.

Thank you, sir.

The Bailiff: Deputy Dudley-Owen, the President of the Committee.

Deputy Dudley-Owen: Thank you, sir.

First of all, I would like to thank everyone for their contributions over the last couple of days. It has been a really, I think, pretty good debate. I would especially like to thank those who have supported the Committee and continue to trust us and have their confidence in us. I would also like to thank Deputy Queripel specifically for his kind offer and I will pledge to meet him soon and discuss this further very soon.

This debate has been long and, at times, complicated. It will continue, as well, because we are still at an early stage and we have strayed into many parts; we have still got more amendments to go. At times, we might find it hard to follow, but I urge Members to listen carefully to what I am about to say.

It is sometimes argued that we could have a sixth form centre completely separate from an 11-16 school even if it is one the same site, whether physically attached or not. Of course, this is nonsense. The 11-16 phase and the sixth form phase would inevitably have the same senior management and most of the same teachers and share facilities and there would be a good deal of integration between sixth-formers and 11-16 students. In all practical senses, it would operate as an 11-18 school.

Whether one favours 11-16 or 11-18 schools in a non-selective system, it is neither rational nor fair to have two-thirds of students of compulsory school age in 11-16 schools and one-third in an 11-18 school, based on nothing more than where in the Island the student lives.

We would have replaced selection by ability with selection by postcode.

– not my words, sir, but those of my predecessor in a media statement a little over a year ago, and they were very wise words indeed because, whilst I respect that view – I did admit, sorry, his comment about the Committee being fully committed to 11-18 schools – whilst I do respect that view fully, we obviously do not share it, and I will come back to that point later.

If some Members think that I am a million miles from all the views of my predecessor when it comes down to the crux of the matter, then I would say you were wrong. I would say we are pretty aligned on these two fundamental points.

Firstly, that having had the benefit of the same senior advisors and having immersed ourselves in the complexities of our education ecosystem and having spent considerable time talking to teachers at the coal face, just like my predecessor, I have come to appreciate and understand that there is a world of difference between having the skills necessary to teach in a skill, and even to have some whole-school responsibilities, and having the skills and competencies necessary to design, develop, and implement a school system. I say this not to do teachers down – far from it. I absolutely recognise that teachers are the most valuable asset we have got when it comes to the

educational outcomes for students, and they need to be invested in. But being an integral part of a system does not automatically qualify you to be a great designer of a system.

4370 The second thing I have in common with my predecessor, as the quote I have just read out proves, is a deep-seated belief that an 11-16 school with a co-located sixth form is an 11-18 school in all but name, no matter how much we might like to pretend that it is not. A system that introduces inequity on that scale from its very inception can never be a right system for our young people. Remember that this model on the model evolved; it was not strategically planned, and neither is it today with this amendment.

4375 There is no strategic purpose or aim. Deputy Cameron has not explained the 'Why?' of this model: what is its purpose? He has not done that, sir, because there is not one. This is because this is the least worst option – this is the path, in fact, of least resistance – and I cannot imagine why we would settle for such a lack of ambition and bravery for the future of Guernsey.

4380 Sir, some of my colleagues here today do not agree with my politics, and that is fine; differences of opinion make for a rich debate. Sir, some of my colleagues might not even like me, and that is fine too. But I cannot stand by and say nothing when people who, a year ago, were aligned with my predecessor's thinking appear now to be determined to introduce a model, any model, seemingly regardless of the inequity it might introduce – or should I say, correctly, 'the inequity it will maintain'?

4385 We have ended selection at 11. We have spent over £10 million since 2013 trying to right the wrong of putting that decision into effect before we had the structural system to deal with it. Please, can we not compound that mistake by losing sight of the bigger picture, the need to provide a comprehensive education system that once-and-for-all puts an end to the vestiges of any form of selection, whether it be by ability or by postcode.

4390 If we insist on co-locating the sixth form with one of our 11-16 schools, we will not have served our Island well, we will not have served our young people well. The amendment does just that. In all but name, it will have two 11-16 schools and an 11-18 school. I say that with some confidence because the explanatory note makes it clear that there will be fewer timetables than under the Committee's model, so Les Varendes is being timetabled as one school. It says all the students on that site will share facilities. As an aside, timetabling would need to be more tightly synchronised with this amendment, because there would be more staff travel between more sites. This is more expensive, which is unrealised and unqualified here in this amendment.

4395 Mark my words: if this amendment is successful, we will be back here rehashing this debate, throwing more good money after bad in doing so, when in the years to come, my successor or their
4400 successor has to try once more, perhaps in the face of stiff opposition like I am having to face, to level the playing field for the young people of our Island who deserve better.

Let us talk a little about levelling the playing field: it is not just about a postcode lottery, and therefore, why should people in some feeder schools get it? The 11-18 schools get more money. You can say they no longer do that, but everywhere in the UK and elsewhere they do through a formula, because to deliver A Levels, you need a certain amount of teachers, a certain amount of resources. Class sizes are smaller there and it is well-established that it is not just the 16-18 part of the school that benefits from that extra money; there is a trickle-down to the rest of the school which gives them a financial advantage over the 11-16 schools. It is a formula used everywhere. Teachers in Guernsey at the 11-16 schools have been complaining for years that they are disadvantaged compared to the 11-18 model in the one 11-18 school we had. Because the funding for the A Levels benefit –

Deputy Matthews: Point of correction, sir.

4405 **The Bailiff:** Point of correction, Deputy Matthews.

Deputy Matthews: Sir, I just want to say that in the UK system, the per-pupil funding formula actually provides less funding per pupil for the 16-18 than it does in the 11-16.

4410 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Dudley-Owen to continue.

Deputy Dudley-Owen: Thank you. I am smiling because I am going to come to the conclusion of this part in a second, and then we can determine whether that is a point of correction on me or someone else.

4415

We know it is not just because of that; you want a broad range of A Levels, so you have got the teachers there to deliver those A Levels, and that means at that school, you have got a broad range of GCSE options because there are specialist teachers there and they teach across all sections.

4420 That was Deputy Roffey. That is what he said during the pause-and-review debate, and it helpfully explains what we actually mean when we are talking about levelling the playing field: ensuring that all children have parity of investment in their education, *not just some*, not just those in a school which teaches A Levels. This is not about better schools based on their range – 11-16 versus 11-18 – this is about some schools being better funded because of the age range and the qualification that they necessarily have to provide. We want to level that playing field. We want all students to be invested in equally.

4425 I voted to retain selection not because I did not believe in the levelling of the playing field; I totally understand that. But I came down on the side of risk. What I never understood is why we would seek to perpetuate the unlevel playing field at 16 once selection had gone at 11; that makes no sense to me at all. It does not benefit all our children, so why would we do it?

4430 Sir, there are a number of further matters that Members need to consider really carefully when looking at this amendment. We have heard it said that whatever the system, the devil will be in the detail, and it is the detail, such as it is, in the note attached to this amendment that concerns me – equally so, some of the really necessary detail that was strangely omitted from the explanatory note. On the face of it, some here today clearly do feel that this is a good old compromise, that it is not too far away from what we do now – apart from the closure, of course, of La Mare de Carteret, but that does not seem to figure much in people's thinking – it causes the least disruption, that it incurs less capital expenditure than the Committee's model – and that is from the explanatory note.

4435 But serious consideration, sir, needs to be given to a lot of issues that arise from this model that are not apparent from a cursory first read of the explanatory note, which has no financial information contained within it. We are told in no uncertain terms by the community that they did not want schools of a large size. They were tested with 1,000-plus students on each site by the two-school model as a diffident policy of the States, and they said, 'No'. Staff were equally emphatic, and a majority of those surveyed last summer gave a more detailed picture, seeking student population sizes of between 600 and 800 in our schools. Even though I strongly feel that school staff are not best placed to design education systems, does that mean that their views should be ignored? Challenged, yes; but ignored, no.

4445 All the options before us today will see an increase in student numbers in the three 11-16 sections because students from La Mare de Carteret are going to have to go somewhere, and they will be split between the three schools. They will not travel as one cohort or one group ... sorry to Deputy Ferbrache, through you, sir – they will go in three different ways. We were all told via an email from Deputy Cameron on Tuesday evening – and I am grateful for his clarification – that his model will have three 11-16 schools of the same size as the Committee's proposals. We were told in the amendments that all these students can be accommodated in the 11-16 phase, '... without

4450

any alterations or modifications to the existing buildings beyond the renovations required at Les Varendes.'

4455 We were told by Deputy Cameron on Tuesday evening that numbers will be similarly sized across the 11-16 schools. We thought that this, then, surely meant six forms of entry in the 11-16 phase at Les Varendes. It is a fact that this number of 11-16 students cannot be accommodated, as we have heard previously in debate by Deputy Aldwell, and they cannot be appropriately timetabled on the site at Les Varendes without the building needing to be extended if it also has to accommodate the whole of the sixth form. It may be physically possible to fit over 1,100 or so students on the site, but
4460 if and only if the number of students in the 11-16 phase is smaller than the six forms of entry and the number in the 16-18 phase is larger than the student projections are predicting.

4465 But that is not the case. Based on the current student numbers and the distribution across the phase, the site just cannot work without an extension to the building. We know that today something like 60% of the current sixth form classes take place in the Grammar School part of the building and Deputy Cameron has confirmed that that was also his experience some 16 years ago. When we add more students to the site, there will simply not be the space to do that in the building as it stands today. That will mean building on the site, pretty much doubling the size of the sixth form – building on the site with the smallest overall footprint of all the senior school estates, taking away outdoor space that is well utilised by the school today, and that is at a time when more
4470 students are being brought onto the site. Does that sound like the right thing to do? It does not to me.

4475 Previously, when we have 1,000-plus students at Les Varendes, it was due to the approximate 500-plus in the sixth form, which has more in-built flexibility, and they needed three temporary classrooms to make that site work. However, we have heard today, during a point of correction from Deputy de Sausmarez, that Les Varendes will have a smaller 11-16 phase than the other two sites as a five-form entry. So when La Mare de Carteret closes, the site at Les Varendes, with its five forms of entry in the 11-16 part of the school and the sixth form on the site, will be accommodating, still, over 1,000 pupils: 650 in the 11-16 and 450 in the sixth form. The two other sites will have to have 780 students on each to cope with the peak in student numbers.

4480 The first we knew of this was today, a few hours ago, that Deputy Cameron, through Deputy de Sausmarez, intended to have a five-form entry at Les Varendes. On the average class size, as explained in the accompanying notes on page 4, we have calculated that this equates to 26 students on average in each class; in actual fact, this goes across the board for all schools. A lot has been made about this during the debate. The numbers might work on paper but they do not work in
4485 reality, and there is an inherent risk in introducing a model where there has been no work done to prove that it will really work, where there has been no proof-of-concept modelling.

4490 Is this what we are advocating – a deliberate policy decision to create a large school on the smallest secondary site, of the size our community has said it does not want, and what many of the Deputies in this room said they did not want when they rejected the two-school model? As sure as night follows day, when staff cotton on to the fact that this amendment will see 780 students at the peak at Les Beaucamps and St Sampson's – and I hope that those numbers do not drop off, to a great extent, as we will be in great trouble as an island. When staff understand that they will have 780 students on each site, how will they feel? Staff have already asked at Beaucamps for two extra science labs for the maximum of 726 students in 2027, during the peak. What will they want for the
4495 further 54 that they have to accommodate at that site just during the peak? We believe that the school can accommodate more students at the site because we have taken the independent professional advice of those who did the space survey.

4500 What is the cost of doing this? The team has modelled this not based on historical assumptions, but based on the same assumptions as the Committee's proposed model. Deputy Cameron and Deputy de Sausmarez have had that information. Sir, Members will have to ask them why they opted not to include it like others have done in their amendments. We know that there is work to do to bring the site at Les Varendes up to the right standard. I am not talking about building work as

such, but things like the repair or replacement of plant equipment, lighting, windows, finishing the roof replacement, and installing new data cabling.

4505 As the Committee's model uses this site too, these costs, on the face of it, are no different. On closer inspection, you will find that our model creates the space to do these works around the students. We move the sixth form students to Les Ozouets and that creates capacity on this site to complete these works, which are too extensive to be done in the school holidays, even the long summer break, before the students from La Mare de Carteret move in. Not so with this model on
4510 the table, not so in the amendment; those works will have to be sequenced differently because it will retain the current number of students on the site. The works will take longer and be more expensive as a consequence, and we will have to keep La Mare de Carteret going for longer because we will have to do the works before those students can move in.

Sir, we seem to be at odds with Deputies Cameron and de Sausmarez over whether there will be
4515 a greater or lesser need for staff to move between sites under their model. As I understand it, like in our model, 11-16 staff will be able to work across the partnership, teaching into the sixth form. Under this model, 16-18 specialist staff will be asked to teach the other way, into the 11-16 phase across all sites, which might very well result in more staff movements than under the Committee's proposals, despite the co-located sixth form. That comes with an expense associated with it. In fact,
4520 this looks a lot like the federated model, which was very unpopular and was all but abandoned because of the detrimental effect on continuity of teaching for students in the 11-16 phase.

The amendment suggests it might be possible to have smaller-than-average class sizes than under the Committee model, but I have just busted that myth. This will be possible, we are told, because its revenue costs will be less. Again, I quote:

4525

The ongoing revenue cost is anticipated to be lower, in the medium term, than both the current revenue costs associated with these phases of education and the cost of the option set out in this Policy Letter.

At this stage, I will pick up on a point of contention: my colleagues laying the amendment appear to be very confident of this, but they have shown us no evidence at all to back this up. We know from the amendment that the swimming pool on this site will be recommissioned. That alone is
4530 estimated to have annual running costs of between £60,000-90,000 for that. Remember that the States runs numerous swimming pools so we have got lots of very good reliable information on how much it costs to run them. We are told that the option will be cheaper to run despite reinstating a swimming pool with high revenue costs, despite having the same overall number of sites from which the 11-18 education is delivered, because our model will co-locate the sixth form with the
4535 Guernsey Institute and gain some efficiencies in that co-location.

We have seen the savings our model will unlock. It is not astonishingly inefficient in revenue terms. Working blind is what the Assembly has done before. Working blind is accepting this amendment you have before you. Members, please, open your eyes because this amendment is a wolf in sheep's clothing. It is definitely not what supporters are dressing it up to be. We are
4540 categorically told that Deputy Cameron's model is more revenue efficient despite broadly the same, if not more, staff movements. It cannot be cheaper than what we have put on the table.

Let us talk about the capital costs. When it comes to capital, we have to make sure we are investing wisely in long-term sustainability of delivering models that play their part in ensuring stability for the education system that underpins our Island's future prosperity. But this amendment
4545 comes with in-baked inequity. Members here today might be prepared to tolerate that, but you can be sure that it will be challenged in the years ahead. How wise is that a decision for us to make? I am puzzled because the amendment tells us that:

The capital cost of reorganising secondary ... is anticipated to be substantially lower than those [that we have] set out in [our] Policy Letter ...

4550 Let us unpick that a little. By the time we have worked out the type of extension that will be needed at Les Varendes – and our in-house experts who have been modelling different

4555 permutations for many years tell us that there will be one needed – and added in the proposed changes to the other sites or at least hinted at in the amendment, once we have reinstated the swimming pool at Les Varendes, once we have found and converted a space to accommodate the Music Centre, the Youth Commission, our Sexual Health and Relationship Education Service – all of which were planned to go to Les Varendes, but they will not fit on the site that the Cameron model suggests – once we have had a longer transition period for our students, kept La Mare de Carteret going for a bit longer, I really struggle to see – again, based on reasonable calculations by experts who know our system well – how this model will result in significantly less capital expenditure.

4560 Some of the capital expense will be lost to our education system; it will already be sunk into programme costs. It bears repeating that we have spent over £10 million and more already going around in this loop since 2013 with nothing concrete to show for it. It will be put into emergency repairs at La Mare de Carteret to eke out that building to use for another few years – wasted money at a time that we can least afford to waste it. What a shame.

4565 We will have made a conscious decision to develop a secondary education system that has in-built inequity. We are an inclusive community. We have values that we agreed in the ‘revive and thrive’ –

A Member: And pause-and-review.

4570

Deputy Dudley-Owen: – and pause-and-review. (*Interjection*) Shame on us if we cannot live up to those values of inclusivity.

4575 Sir, I also want to talk about the complexity and length of transition, specifically around the closure of La Mare de Carteret and the movement of the students from that school, and what is likely to happen to staff. Staff have asked to ensure that the entire group of students stay together in a new school and staff accompany them there to make that transition as smooth as possible. We will do this in our model because the students from the sixth form will have moved to their new building on Les Ozouets campus. This is really important, this next bit: we know that this was a failure in the St Peter Port transition, where students from that closing school were split between various schools, and the experience for them was very negative, resulting in absenteeism, behaviour issues, and disengagement – really poor outcomes for so many. We simply cannot risk repeating this. If we do, we will be letting those young people down. Again, yet another shame on us.

4580 Why would Members repeat this, knowing what happened last time? Are we not willing to learn from those mistakes? This amendment will not serve those students well. Our proposals will see this group move once in secondary all together to their new school, with the 11-16 students on the other sites not moving at all in that phase of their education. Under this amendment, because retaining the sixth form means there is less space available at Les Varendes, we will have to split up the students, or else, move other students and split them from their peers, so that we create enough room on one of the other two sites to take all of the La Mare de Carteret students. These students get one shot at their secondary education. If we do not do the very best for them when we close their school, that will be yet another shame on us.

4585 What about the long-term feeder school model? That is a really complex area. Deputy Meerveld, Deputy de Lisle and Deputy Inder will know this from sitting on the Committee. Because of our comparatively small size, it would be impractical to offer parental choice as to where within the States’ education system their child is educated. We have a catchment system for our primary schools and a feeder system from those into our secondary schools, where whole school groups transfer together from primary to secondary. This is the fairest way to allocate places and it means that our secondary system has to be fair and demonstrably has to be seen to be fair for everyone. This amendment seems to do a quick tot-up of the numbers of students that are coming in through the system and a quick tot-up of the capacity in the three remaining schools and concludes that the students can fit – and I quote:

4600 ... without any alterations or modifications to the existing buildings beyond the renovations required at Les Varendes.

I repeat again: this seems to be at odds with the email sent by Deputy Cameron.

4605 Simply totting up the numbers is a naive approach; it pays no regard to where students live, what primary schools they go to, the impact of having to split up primary school groups, and potentially, would have us having to vary the allocation of 11-16 school places from year to year, risk sending different siblings to different schools – and that cannot be good for any of our active travel plans, can it? It does not appear to consider socioeconomic factors. It does not have one eye on an uncertain future where we or our successors might need to make bold decisions to vary our population policy.

4610 There is a huge risk taking this approach to our decision-making. Education systems are operationally complex and, as has been acknowledged, we have spent several months road-testing and double-checking the whole model, including feeder schools and transitions that put the interests of the students where they fit, not where it is convenient. We have road-tested, we have kicked the tyres on this vehicle; the car is ready to roll. However, looking at this from all of these angles as presented with an amendment that has not benefited from rigorous testing and concept-modelling, that car's tyres have deflated.

4620 If I have got this wrong, I am pretty sure that Deputy Cameron will put me right when he sums up, because he has been involved in all of the very detailed work that has taken place as we worked up the Committee's model and explored all the various options we discounted, including this one.

4625 Sir, there is no flex in the post-16 phase in this amendment. When we look to the future, the area of our education system where we had the least certainty is in the post-16 and adult learning phase – not just how many students we might need to cater for when we also think about adults returning to education and undertaking professional development or up-skilling as a result of digitisation or automation, but what learning pathways, including mixing courses that have traditionally been badged as either academic or vocational. We have heard a lot about reports on up-skilling, we have heard a lot of evidence. I will not go over that again, but we know it is there, we know it is real, and we know we need to act.

4630 By co-locating the Sixth Form and the Guernsey Institute, we benefit from this parity of esteem. I really despair when, again and again, we are being challenged on this, when people are standing up in the Assembly and saying, 'It exists'. It does not just exist because we say it does, it does not just exist because we felt it ourselves or someone has told us that they felt us; there is actually evidence out there. There is evidence to show that it does exist between the perception of the value of technical and vocational qualifications and academic qualifications in relation to their value.

4635 The co-located campus will give greater learning experience for our post-16 learners, finding the synergies of how they can work together. It is not just limited to social space at all; we are looking to much more than that, and we look to have scope for enhancements to arts and sports facilities – for example, the shared performance space, the shared gallery space to display work. These will benefit all our Island's children, not just a select group, and they will all be welcome to this site.

4640 Just to speak to the points raised about population, as an aside, if we get to a stage where our student population drops to the extent that we fall below a 'three sixth-form-entry 11-16 schools,' we are in real trouble with regard to our economic prosperity. Positive population policies are not the preserve of this Committee; they are the preserve of others. But it is for this Committee to ensure that our student population is commensurate with the capacity of our schools and that we are using that capacity to the best of its efficiency, and that is what I commit to doing on this Committee.

4645 Deputy Inder is very impatient for me to finish, but I am conscious that this is a really important moment for this policy, so I am sorry, Deputy Inder – through you, sir – I am going to carry on and beg the patience of my colleagues.

4650 I want to talk about what improvements are happening to the other two sites. As I have experienced the States' approach to releasing funding via the business case process – many of us have – this is where we need to demonstrate the business case for change before the funding is released. This is the 'need' and not the 'want'. Sir, we have found there to be no need to alter the space at Beaucamps or St Sampson's. But do not just take our word for it. We have forwarded links of these to States' Members because two reports have been commissioned and produced before

4655 we took up office, and they have confirmed that the two schools can accommodate more students than we are proposing without any structural change.

However, we have heard the concerns that have been expressed. We do not share all of them, but we have heard them. For example, we have heard about the wet weather breaks at Beaucamps. We also know that if we can accommodate the students during the normal running of the school, 4660 we can certainly accommodate them when it is raining by making best use of the whole school campus. That is not for us to determine here on the floor of the Assembly.

You will also see, sir, and Members before them, in the Propositions that we have an in-built optimism bias when it comes to our capital costs, and this is what gives us the financial headroom that we need, because we recognise that as we get into further details, there might need to be 4665 changes based on what we find during the more granular work. If working with school leaders at Beaucamps or at St Sampson's or at Les Varendes, we find that there is a case to be made for some types of changes referred to in this amendment, we will certainly make that case. If there is clear evidence that the schools will require more space – because that is what Members would seek us to do – if there is evidence that there is a need to do it, we will certainly do it. But note, at this time, 4670 we do not have that evidence.

Sir, I ask Members, where is the vision in this amendment? We have heard lots about the need for vision because us, as strategic policymakers need to have vision. I have always said that I would not be able to bring a model to the States which had no ambition or aspiration for the future success of Guernsey. There is a lot of noise in this amendment about educational outcomes, but there is no 4675 vision for greater improvement. I do not know where this amendment is trying to take our education system. Where is the bigger picture? Where is the strategic thinking, the gaze across to the horizon? There must be something in a model which has much more than financial investment in our young people, that is in excess of the items listed in the explanatory note.

At this point, I did take exception to the glib comments that Deputy de Sausmarez made 4680 yesterday about our post-16 environment, likening the system we are seeking to create to a factory. I think that was poorly judged and sounded like it was made to discredit. Other comments made during the course of this debate regarding the 'sales pitch' –

I am sorry, I would rather not give way. But I will, no, Deputy de Sausmarez, please.

4685 **Deputy de Sausmarez:** I thank Deputy Dudley-Owen for giving way.

My comments were not in relation to the Sixth Form Centre; we were actually discussing the purpose of education. My comments in relation to the sausage factory were that I did not believe that education was simply about producing workers for the employment market. That was the context of the quote.

4690 **Deputy Dudley-Owen:** I am really pleased that Deputy de Sausmarez has clarified that point, thank you very much. However, I do not share the view that they are just for the workforce either, and that is made very clear, sir, in our policy letter and has been made clear all the way through the term of office that I have held so far.

4695 It cannot be justified, however – and this goes to other Members who may have made other comments that are slightly unfair – it cannot be possibly justified to ridicule our sincere and visionary efforts to ensure that our children and young people are as well-prepared for the future as possible. That is our job. That is what we are mandated to do, it is what Members of this Assembly asked us to do when we took our seats as the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture. Luckily, we are a 4700 Committee with vision, with purpose, and a burning desire to see our children succeed not only in the world of work, but also in the wider community as rounded and confident individuals. Work and community are intrinsically linked.

I just make a few sweep-up comments from Members ... made during the debate before I close. Please can any Members who want to immerse themselves, sir – and this may be of use to you, 4705 because I know that, sir, you are interested in education – maybe they can immerse themselves in the work of Professor John Hattie if they want to know more about class size tipping points. His

research of 800 academic studies of class size found no evidence that class sizes within the ranges that we have talked about today are detrimental to educational outcomes for students.

4710 To be clear, the model is *not* levelling down. No Members of this Education, Sport & Culture Committee would dare to bring a policy letter to the States that would be seeking to level down or dumb down our education system, and I think comments like that are really very poorly judged as well. The Education Strategy ensures we level up for everyone in the same way.

4715 There seems to be a complete misunderstanding – and I am not sure whether it is purposeful or not – that this Committee is only interested in skills; absolutely not the case. We are committed to making sure that every child reaches their full academic potential whilst also ensuring a well-rounded education.

4720 Another comment: we were criticised for not having done a traffic impact assessment. We have accounted for that in the capital costs and have included funds to deal with changes that might be made necessary as a result of what the traffic impact assessment tells us. Although, I can scarcely believe that we are being criticised for not counting cars, doing the numbers on that, when this amendment gives us no details on how we will manage the number of students on each site, how we will manage their transition, the feeder model, and what the capital costs and revenue costs are. I add to that as an aside: a little thing called COVID has happened in the last few months, and we have been prevented from getting many people over who might have been able to undertake certain specialist work for us.

4725 In closing, some teachers said in a recent meeting that they preferred to support this amendment, which could cost up to £54 million, and wait until we have more money, in 15 years' time, perhaps. But I wonder if that is in the best interests of our students, because unless we invest in our students now, we will not have any more money in 15 years' time. I wonder if that is in the best interests of our Islands, or if that is simply a reflection of a bruised and tired workforce, some of whom – and that is by no means 'all' – support whichever model appears to reflect the least change for them.

4730 This is understandable, but it is not the right starting point to futureproof our secondary and post-16 education system. Are we really content to settle on a solution for today but not for tomorrow? Where is the vision in that? How can we say that this is a comprehensive model of education that suits the non-selective era?

4740 I urge you, Members – through you, sir – to see this amendment for what it is: an ill-thought-out model with two 11-16 schools and an 11-18 school, a model that is not cheap in capital or revenue costs – as the explanatory note implies it might be – a model with in-built inequity, a model lacking in ambition, a proposal lacking in detail, a model that is not futureproofed, and a model that does not level the playing field for *all* our young people – a model that has no place in a truly comprehensive education system.

Sir, I urge Members to reject this amendment.

4745 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Cameron, if you are ready, you can reply to the debate on your amendment, please.

Deputy Cameron: Thank you, sir.

4750 I thank Deputy Falla for explaining the flaws and lack of benefits in the Sixth Form Centre being co-located on the site of the Guernsey Institute.

4755 I thank Deputy Roffey for doing the same; he described the ESC's model as 'astonishingly inefficient in revenue terms,' as well as 'educationally sub-optimal,' and reminded us how we are being asked to vote blind on important detail. He reiterated that we should be moving to a far more efficient model, not just sticking to the incredibly low bar of the current arrangements. Ultimately, he described the model in this amendment as 'an affordable and doable way forward with, crucially, a clear consensus of professional support.' He warned that if we pass the ESC's proposals today, we will be sent round the mulberry bush again. This amendment is an achievable compromise he thinks is the only practical way forward.

4760 Deputy Oliver likes the fact that it will cost less in reinvestment but was concerned about the equity issue. She need not worry on that account: the model ensures that students in every school have equal access to the curriculum.

Deputy Soulsby talked about the money we have put in over the years and I would say we do not want to throw good money after bad, she is right. This is the more pragmatic and flexible option to see us through the next few years and adapt to whatever the future holds.

4765 Deputy de Lisle, if he wants to do the best by La Mare de Carteret students, he would be well-advised to vote for this amendment to invest in those young students more.

4770 If Deputy Murray wants to save taxpayer money, he would be best-advised to get behind this amendment. His figures and timescales and implementation suggestions are just not correct. The assumptions in the figures provided are incorrect, as explained by Deputy de Sausmarez when she spoke. ESC's model's claims of revenue savings are not substantiated at all in the policy letter, but it does not take a rocket scientist to work out this model is inherently less expensive and more efficient. My model proposes at least as equitable a solution as the ESC model, as it uses the same staffing structure and the same algorithm.

4775 A few corrections, as Deputy Murray has fundamentally mistaken how this model would operate: facilities would be shared, staffing would be organised in a similar way to the ESC model. That is why it is not two 11-16s plus one 11-18.

4780 An extension to the Les Varendes site is not necessary; the site accommodated 1,130 students about 10 years ago, and this model will not require anything like that number. As this amendment's explanatory note explains, the Sixth Form will continue to share the facilities as now, but the staffing structure will be similar to ESC's, meaning equitable access to curriculum choice. No major construction would be required at Les Varendes at all – just exactly the same as ESC's model – so no impact on transition plans.

4785 None of the numbers cited by Deputy Murray add up, because they are based on entirely different assumptions. Deputy Murray claims a lack of detail in this amendment; the Committee is directed to come back to this Assembly with a policy letter which will have that detail – crucially, that will have been worked up with educationalists and teachers that will be tasked to deliver it. Sophisticated timetabling software will be used in this amendment's model, too.

4790 Some degree of teaching model is anticipated in this model, correct. But this model is more flexible than the ESC model because it is less complicated, with fewer sites to travel between, and therefore, more curriculum choice. As well, not less, as Deputy Murray has erroneously alleged, any criticisms of timetabling constraints are more relevant to ESC's model than they are to this model. He talks about primary teachers working in larger class sizes, but the norm is to have smaller class sizes in the secondary phase.

4795 Let us get back to fundamentals: does it really make sense that a model that makes better use of the existing estate and does not require a whole new build could really be more expensive than one that requires such a fundamental change as the ESC's model? I am sure Members will use their common sense to determine which one stacks up in the real world.

Deputy Prow will be reassured to know that the 11-18 learning partnership that he so admires is enshrined in this amendment – more effectively than in ESC's model, in fact.

4800 Deputy Fairclough – we need to move forward, I agree. He says it is short-sighted just to look at the bottom line, and I agree. This is why I prioritise educational outcomes and the student experience, putting them at the heart of this amendment. He reminds us that we simply cannot ignore the views of the teachers who will be responsible for implementing any model. This amendment has the broadest consensus of support among the teachers, so I urge him to support it.

4805 Deputy Inder seems to think there will be wider curriculum choice in the Sixth Form Centre as a result of it being co-located with the Guernsey Institute, but I am on the Committee that wrote this policy letter, and I do not know where this additional curriculum choice will come from. I agree upskilling and re-skilling and soft skills and the construction industry are important and that provision can be best improved by investing property in the Guernsey Institute, and we can do that

quicker and better by voting for this amendment, because it will not be held up by plans for the Sixth Form Centre. How is cannibalising the States-designated Guernsey Institute going to do them any favours? Let us invest in them for their own sake and let them get on with it as speedily as possible. My amendment will do that for the Guernsey Institute through Proposition 5.

4815 Deputy Inder is concerned about the construction industry; again, the best thing we can do for the GBTA is to prioritise the Guernsey Institute, as my amendment does. That is how to support the economy and how to support economic growth in the real world.

4820 Deputy Matthews described this as a 'lift and shift' operation that will be an expensive folly. He says ESC's proposals lack imagination, and I agree with that. He also busted some myths about parity of esteem between academic and vocational. He made the point that the way to improve vocational and technical education is to invest in it, not plonk a sixth form centre on the same site. He also made the following important point: getting the system wrong is incredibly expensive to the economy and to the Island.

4825 Deputy Kazantseva-Miller said if she were a CEO of a business where 87% of the staff who responded to my survey were opposed to the changes she was suggesting, she would not feel in any way confident of being able to push them through. She explained why the argument that there is not currently parity of esteem is unfounded, but went on to say that the ESC's proposals would do nothing to address it in any case. She said she has never had an explanation from the Committee as to how parity of esteem would be improved in the co-location of the Sixth Form Centre and the Guernsey Institute, and no answers have been given. She also commented that the ESC's model over-invests in the Sixth Form at the expense of 11-16 schools, whereas this amendment invests in those schools too. She reminded us that teachers are confident that a Sixth Form Centre co-located at Les Varendes can be arranged in a way that is equitable.

4835 Deputy Queripel is a fellow supporter of sport and culture and can confirm that this amendment, unlike the Committee's proposals, will invest in our school's facilities, so I hope he will support for that reason, as well as many others, remembering that there are no such plans in ESC's proposals. Deputy Queripel may be reassured to hear that the model in this amendment is more capital- and revenue-efficient, so gives us more budget than the ESC's model to reinvest in facilities and training to produce more great heroes and 10-metre swimmers – Deputy McKenna of the future.

4840 Deputy Aldwell describes this amendment as a 'sardine-tin model,' but it is quite the opposite. It is the Committee's proposals that plan to shoe-horn students in without making any adaptations to our existing high schools; they already have, in terms of pinch points.

I thank Deputy de Sausmarez for her support in seconding this amendment. She reminded us why this amendment delivers the best value for money, the best educational opportunities.

4845 Deputy Taylor talked about his Sixth Form Centre experience. He talked about how the teachers make a difference. He should ask the same question of the policy letter's proposals; there will be no more mixing and matching of academic and vocational courses under ESC's proposals than currently.

4850 Deputy Ferbrache wants to know the financial costings; I would not be so arrogant as to suggest specific costings, as they would depend on decisions relating to facilities, taking into account staff feedback. But anyway, we do not need detailed costings to understand that this is an inherently less expensive and more cost-efficient model, because there are fewer capital and fewer sites over which secondary education will be arranged. The detailed costings would be brought to the States via Proposition 3. Deputy Ferbrache said he was disappointed with the mediocrity in this amendment; that is exactly how many people feel about the Committee's proposals. They use the words 'bold' and 'ambitious', but the words are not properly substantiated.

4860 Deputy Trott touched on the theme of staffing. One of the most important differences between my model and ESC's model is that my model does not carve in stone a standalone Sixth Form Centre. And by adapting the current buildings to be more efficient, it is inherently more flexible and able to adapt to whatever the future holds.

Deputy Mahoney talks about who should design an education system; it was the Committee that designed this education system, and the educationalists have not stated that they think the proposal

4865 in this policy letter is the best model. They provide impartial advice; they were not asked for their opinion on what the best model was, and the model in this policy letter should not be interpreted as a reflection of that view.

4870 Deputy Dudley-Owen misunderstands or misinterprets this model, so I am afraid her arguments against it are misplaced. This model does level the playing field and is every bit as equitable as ESC's model. For example, six forms of entry would not be required at the Les Varendes High School. Deputy Dudley-Owen's assumptions are still not correct, and therefore, her projections on the amount of work required are also wrong. This model focuses on making the current buildings more efficient, and therefore, better able to flex, including to accommodate the peak of student numbers without being in redundancy like the ESC's model does. The scaremongering is just not necessary. Her own school capacity figures, themselves, confirm that there would be no problem at all in accommodating six forms of entry at Beaucamps and St Sampson's, and that is without modifications that the model intends.

4880 Let us go back to the fundamental facts: ESC's model is the most expensive model that was included in the review; that is just a fact. Common sense tells us that this model will be less capital-intensive and more cost-efficient, and this model invests in 11-16 schools, which the ESC model just does not. This amendment is a vote of confidence in our 11-16 schools, students, and teachers. She talks about using schools to the best of their capacity, so how does she justify the expansive Sixth Form Centre that will be increasingly empty?

4885 The ESC model is built on aspirational words, and we have heard lots about vision. But the ESC model is, I am afraid, all vision and no equivalent reality. My amendment focuses on investing in 11-16 and focuses on all the factors that support improving educational outcomes, with tangible things that we know make the difference, like class sizes and pupil-teacher ratios and buildings that are designed to accommodate their students. I am on the Committee, and I am not convinced the tyres have been kicked and the car is ready to roll. Like the teachers, I am not convinced the car is nearly as road-ready as it should be.

4890 I thank Members for the detailed and thoughtful debate. This amendment wins the argument on economic grounds. It is quite logically the less expensive and more efficient model. The amendment delivers better value for money, more flexibility, and much more opportunity to improve education in the Bailiwick.

4895 I am seeing a dangerous pattern within the Assembly over the last few meetings, with Deputies disregarding expert opinion. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) Despite Deputies stating previously that we must listen to teachers and unions, they have now decided to turn their backs and do their own thing. Please, listen to the experts and vote for this amendment; 87% of teaching staff are not in favour of the ESC's model. Moving the Sixth Form 500 metres down the road is a pointless waste of money. It will have a devastating effect on the TGI, the Sixth Form, and our 11-16 schools.

4900 Now, these words from one of our teachers:

It is surprising to hear Deputy Dudley-Owen dismiss the concerns of teaching staff when she has previously been so clear about the importance of teacher support.

4905 In her manifesto, Deputy Dudley-Owen states, 'I firmly believe the optimal outcome is a Guernsey-centred model supported by teachers and the community.' It has become unmistakably apparent over the past few weeks that the majority of teachers do not support this model; 88% of staff support the Cameron amendment. I ask, on behalf of the children of Guernsey, that you consider a vote for the Cameron amendment.

Finally, I ask for a recorded vote.

Thank you.

4910 **The Bailiff:** Members of the States, we come now to the vote on amendment number 1, proposed by Deputy Cameron, seconded by Deputy de Sausmarez. There has been a request for a recorded vote, please, Greffier.

A Member: I thought it was amendment 2.

Amendment 1

There was a recorded vote.

Not carried – Pour 17, Contre 22, Ne vote pas 0, Absent 0

POUR	CONTRE	NE VOTE PAS	ABSENT
Deputy Parkinson	Deputy Meerveld	None	None
Deputy Roffey	Deputy Moakes		
Deputy Soulsby	Deputy Murray		
Deputy St Pier	Deputy Oliver		
Deputy Trott	Deputy Prow		
Deputy Brouard	Deputy Queripel		
Deputy Burford	Alderney Rep. Roberts		
Deputy Bury	Alderney Rep. Snowdon		
Deputy Cameron	Deputy Taylor		
Deputy de Sausmarez	Deputy Vermeulen		
Deputy Fairclough	Deputy Aldwell		
Deputy Falla	Deputy Blin		
Deputy Gabriel	Deputy de Lisle		
Deputy Gollop	Deputy Dudley-Owen		
Deputy Kazantseva-Miller	Deputy Dyke		
Deputy Le Tocq	Deputy Ferbrache		
Deputy Matthews	Deputy Haskins		
	Deputy Helyar		
	Deputy Inder		
	Deputy Leadbeater		
	Deputy Mahoney		
	Deputy McKenna		

4915 **The Bailiff:** Members of the States, in respect of amendment number 1, proposed by Deputy Cameron and seconded by Deputy de Sausmarez, there voted Pour 17, Contre 22, and therefore, I declare amendment 1 lost.

Procedural –

Item 10 to be concluded at the Special Meeting next week

4920 **The Bailiff:** Members of the States, a series of decisions for you: the first decision is whether you want to close this Meeting and defer all the business that has not been covered to the Meeting convened for 8th September. If we do that, we will simply do the Schedule for Future States' Business, and that will be it. It is a straightforward choice: do we do that or do we adjourn to another date? We will find the other date if you want to adjourn to another date – in other words, to keep this Meeting going.

4925 The motion I am going to put to you is that we adjourn to another date, rather than close this Meeting, because I imagine it is desirable that at least this item of business, the education debate, is brought to a conclusion, rather than going beyond the summer to the start of next term on 8th September. But it is your choice, and therefore, I will put that motion to you, because if we are going to adjourn, we do not have to worry about the Schedule for Future States' Business today.

The motion is that we adjourn to a date to be identified. Those in favour; those against.

4930

Members voted Pour.

The Bailiff: I am going to declare that carried.

4935 The next question is, to what date do we now adjourn? Next week, we have a Meeting commencing on the Wednesday. As I indicated yesterday, there is an argument that the best solution would be to start that meeting on the Wednesday, conclude that meeting, and use whatever time is available at the end of those three days to pick this up.

I am not going to invite Deputy Inder to speak in relation to that first.

4940 **Deputy Inder:** Sir, I would like to –

The Bailiff: Deputy Inder, I am not going to invite you to speak! I am going to turn first to the President of the Policy & Resources, because it is the meeting convened for the Government Work Plan, to indicate whether or not there is any contrary Proposition to start with from the Policy & Resources Committee.

4945 **Deputy Ferbrache:** Sir, the Government Work Plan, at one time, I thought it might be finished in two days; there are now nine or 10 amendments and it is not 'Does P&R approve those amendments?' because this is a debate for the whole of the Assembly. I think we could take up most of the three days next week on the Government Work Plan. So, sir, if I am allowed to suggest it, if there is an earlier day – and I appreciate there might not be, because the Court has commitments, etc. – I think that would be greatly received.

4955 **The Bailiff:** If we were to simply adjourn to tomorrow, is the building capable of being open tomorrow, Greffier?

The States' Greffier: Yes.

4960 **The Bailiff:** So one option is simply to adjourn to tomorrow and resume tomorrow morning at 9.30. If that is the will of the States, fine. It is the World Aid Walk tomorrow; I do not know how many other people will be joining me on what I hope will be a gentle stroll tomorrow. But there is the possibility of convening the States on Monday, but not on Tuesday; we cannot do Tuesday. If you convene on Monday, you will not be able to continue into Tuesday because we do not have a courtroom for you, particularly, on Tuesday at the moment and people to deal with that.

4965 So we have got a choice between tomorrow or Monday, to start with; otherwise, it will be after the Government Work Plan, but we can review that at the end of that meeting by just taking stock as to where we are to.

4970 **Deputy Ferbrache:** May I suggest, again, sir – obviously, I put it to everyone. I know Deputy Leadbeater, who is proposing an amendment, has a difficulty tomorrow, and it is an important amendment. So on that basis, the preference would be for Monday, but that is a matter for the Deputies.

4975 **The Bailiff:** Is it going to place anyone in major difficulties on a Monday? Can you just rise in your places if you would not be able to come on the Monday?

Deputy Le Tocq also has amendments, do not forget. As we have got difficulties on Saturday, we have got difficulties on Monday, the real question is, do you want me to put a motion to you, Members of the States – Deputy Ferbrache in particular – that the States adjourn to Monday or Saturday?

4980 **Deputy Ferbrache:** Sir, Deputy Leadbeater is unavailable tomorrow, and I appreciate that. I cannot see the point, when there are – I do not think it matters if certain – I do not mean any disrespect – if certain Members cannot attend, but clearly, if you have got a major amendment – Deputy Leadbeater has got a major amendment, Deputy Le Tocq has got an amendment – I think he probably *[inaudible due to no microphone in use]*.

I think, reluctantly – but it must be a matter for the States, sir – we may have to leave it until after the Government Work Plan. (*Interjections*) There is no point bringing on an important topic like this where one of the proposers of the amendment could not proceed. Reluctant as I am, that is what I suggest.

4990

The Bailiff: Deputy Dudley-Owen, I could only hear what you are saying. Do you want to say that out loud now? (*Laughter*)

Deputy Dudley-Owen: Apologies, sorry.

4995

It does not make any sense to take this item after the Government Work Plan because this is listed as an item within the Government Work Plan that needs to have its approval. Now, in the very unfortunate event that we could not make any decision at all and we walk away, then there is an item in there, in the Government Work Plan, and it is amended. We do not know what other amendments might come along. It just seems to be that it needs to be taken before the Government Work Plan and, if possible, if Monday could be done, or Saturday, on one of those. But it is not logical afterwards.

5000

The Bailiff: Deputy Le Tocq, if the States were to convene tomorrow, would you be in a position to lay your amendment number 5 tomorrow?

5005

Deputy Le Tocq: I could possibly do tomorrow morning, sir.

The Bailiff: Deputy Meerveld, as the President of SACC, give us some guidance, please. (*Laughter*)

5010

Deputy Meerveld: I do not know about guidance, sir, (*Laughter*) but I will try and make another suggestion. I have got a feeling the Policy & Resources Government Work Plan is going to run over three days anyway, so we maybe convene the week after. May I suggest we postpone this item to the beginning of the Government Work Plan? Then it works with the sequence for Deputy Dudley-Owen and, of course, it means, from a scheduling perspective, we have already got those days blocked off.

5015

Several Members: Hear, hear.

5020

The Bailiff: Deputy Soulsby.

Deputy Inder, there is no need for you to contribute at this stage. (*Interjection and laughter*)

Deputy Soulsby.

Deputy Soulsby: Sir, if I am leading the Government Work Plan, I will not be able to lead it after next Friday. We have to finish it next Friday if it comes to the Government Work Plan.

5025

I do not see any problem, actually, with education being debated after the Government Work Plan because everything can change subsequent to the Government Work Plan – any policy letter that comes to the States. It is already factored in, what the Education policy letter says. If it needs amendment after that – well, it does but I do not think there is anything actually in the Work Plan that would mean that anything has to change, particularly, afterward.

5030

The Bailiff: Alright, Deputy Inder, I give you one opportunity.

Deputy Inder: Thank you, sir.

5035

As an active representative of the Assembly, I simply want to put a motion to this Assembly to sit on Monday, and I would like a recorded vote on it. I do not want to debate on it; I just want to vote. If it does not happen, it does not happen. Thank you.

I am requesting a motion to have a vote whether we sit on Monday and I would like a recorded vote. Thank you, sir.

5040

The Bailiff: I am not going to put that motion, Deputy Inder, (**Deputy Inder:** Why?) because it is *my* decision as to what motion gets put to the States.

5045 The first thing I am going to test with you, Members of the States, is whether you are minded for this matter to be resumed at the conclusion of the Special Meeting in respect of the Government Work Plan. If there is not majority support for that, then we will look to another one. On the basis that we have got Deputies who have got amendments in relation to this who are in difficulties in a mixture of Saturday and Monday, that is the primary position, as far as I am concerned, that I will put to you as Members to see whether or not you approve that. If you do not approve that, then we will think again.

5050 The motion is that we adjourn this Meeting to follow the Special Meeting that is convened to start on Wednesday of next week. Those Members in favour; those against.

Members voted Pour.

5055 **The Bailiff:** I am going to declare that carried. That will be the way that we manage this business.

On Friday – if it is Friday – we will find time at the end of the Special Meeting to work out when the rest of this business can be concluded as swiftly as possible.

5060 Before I ask the Greffier to close this Meeting, I am sure that all of you will want to join with me in wishing Deputy Trott a very happy birthday for tomorrow, and also Deputy Ferbrache a very happy *big* birthday on Monday! We wish both of you a very pleasant birthday weekend.

We will resume with the Special Meeting on Wednesday.
Greffier.

The Assembly adjourned at 7.10 p.m.