



OFFICIAL REPORT

OF THE

STATES OF DELIBERATION

OF THE

ISLAND OF GUERNSEY

HANSARD

Royal Court House, Guernsey, Wednesday, 8th September 2021

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

Volume 10, No. 20

ISSN 2049-8284

Present:

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

Law Officers

M. M. E. Pullum, Q.C. (H.M. Procureur)

People's Deputies

S. E. Aldwell	J. P. Le Tocq
C. P. A. Blin	M. P. Leadbeater
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	L. C. Queripel
P. T. R. Ferbrache	P. J. Roffey
A. Gabriel	H. J. R. Soulsby
J. A. B. Gollop	G. A. St Pier
S. P. Haskins	A. W. Taylor
M. A. J. Helyar	L. S. Trott
N. R. Inder	S. P. J. Vermeulen
A. Kazantseva-Miller	

Representatives of the Island of Alderney

Alderney Representative E. A. J. Snowdon

The Clerk to the States of Deliberation

S. Ross, Esq. (States' Greffier)

Absent at the Evocation

Alderney Representative Roberts (*absent*)

Business transacted

Evocation	1381
Convocation	1381
Procedural – Welcome to Ian Liddell Grainger MP, Acting International Chair of Commonwealth Parliamentary Association	1381
Lieutenant Governor of Guernsey – Announcement of the appointment of Lieutenant General Richard Crickwell	1382
Statements	1382
Policy & Resources Committee – General Update	1382
Committee for Economic Development – General Update	1392
Questions for Oral Answer	1399
Public Trustee Accounts – Submission of the 2020 report and accounts; recovery of grants and loans	1399
Civil Contingencies Law – Existence of ongoing COVID emergency	1401
Equal Pay for Work of Equal Value – Current financial circumstances; cost of introduction; Equalities Law	1404
Vaccination certificates – Reciprocal acceptance of vaccination codes with France	1406
COVID immunity – Immune system advice and supplements; adverse reactions to the vaccine	1408
Billet d’État XVII	1416
Appointments Laid Before the States	1416
Guernsey Competition and Regulatory Authority – Appointment of Mr Michael Byrne as an Ordinary Member	1416
Appointments and Elections	1416
1. Election of a Member of the Committee for Home Affairs – Deputy Aldwell elected	1416
2. Election of a Member of the Development & Planning Authority – Deputy Murray elected	1417
3. Election of a Member of the Transport Licensing Authority – Deputy McKenna elected	1417
Items Adjourned or Deferred from Previous Meetings of the States	1418
4. Secondary and Post-16 Education Reorganisation – Debate resumed	1418
<i>The Assembly adjourned at 12.32 p.m. and resumed at 2.30 p.m.</i>	1429
Secondary and Post-16 Education Reorganisation – Debate continued	1429
<i>The Assembly adjourned at 5.27 p.m.</i>	1464

PAGE LEFT DELIBERATELY BLANK

States of Deliberation

*The States met at 9.30 a.m. in the presence of
His Excellency Vice-Admiral Sir Ian Corder, K.B.E., C.B.
Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Bailiwick of Guernsey*

[THE DEPUTY BAILIFF *in the Chair*]

PRAYERS

The States' Greffier

EVOCATION

CONVOCATION

The States' Greffier: Billet d'État XVII of 2021. To the Members of the States of the Island of Guernsey, I hereby give notice that a Meeting of the States of Deliberation will be held at the Royal Courthouse on Wednesday, 8th September 2021, at 9.30 a.m. to consider the items listed in this Billet d'État, which have been submitted for debate.

5

Procedural –

Welcome to Ian Liddell Grainger MP, Acting International Chair of Commonwealth Parliamentary Association

The Bailiff: Good morning to you, Members of the States of Deliberation, and welcome back after your recess. I hope you all feel suitably refreshed from the break and ready for what we might call, in education terms, the new term. I hope that the gathering of the storm clouds is not a bad omen!

10

This morning I wish to extend a warm welcome to the acting International Chair of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, Ian Liddell Grainger, who is the Member of Parliament for Bridgewater and West Somerset. It is always a pleasure for us, Members of the States, when parliamentarians from elsewhere come here to observe our proceedings and, as you are aware, at the close of today's sitting, there will be a short talk about the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and an opportunity for Mr Liddell Grainger to answer your questions, if you have those to put to him, so I do encourage all of you to remain in the Chamber after we close later.

15

I now ask you to join me in welcoming him in our customary fashion. *[Applause]*

**Lieutenant Governor of Guernsey –
Announcement of the appointment of
Lieutenant General Richard Crickwell**

20 **The Bailiff:** It is also a real pleasure for me to inform Members that it is being announced from Government House this morning that Her Majesty the Queen has been pleased to appoint Lieutenant General Richard Crickwell, Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire, as our next Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of Guernsey and its Dependencies.

25 Lieutenant General Crickwell is currently Deputy Commander, Allied Land Command, the Standing Headquarters for NATO Land Forces, which is based in Izmir in Turkey. His long and distinguished career in the Army, during which time he also served as administrator of the sovereign base areas and Commander of British Forces in Cyprus, as well as being Britain's Defence Attaché and Head of the British Defence Staff in Washington DC, will draw to close during the first part of

30 next year.

It is envisaged that he will be installed in his new office as Lieutenant Governor towards the end of his Army career, thereby succeeding His Excellency, whose service as Her Majesty's personal representative in our Bailiwick will conclude in late November. More details of that event will follow in due course, once they have been finalised.

35 We do of course have some experience from 2016 of a serving officer assuming the office of Lieutenant Governor, whilst in the final throes of leaving the military. I am therefore pleased to be able to confirm that the General and his wife Louise will be fully settled into Government House and permanently resident here well before our Liberation Day commemorations and celebrations next year. Thank you very much.

Statements

POLICY & RESOURCES COMMITTEE

Policy & Resources Committee – General Update

40 **The Bailiff:** We now turn to the business of the day, which starts with the general update on behalf of the Policy & Resources Committee by its President, Deputy Ferbrache.

45 **Deputy Ferbrache:** Well, sir, as always I am grateful for the opportunity to make this Statement. Normally Statements of this type involve the President of a Committee listing the things his or her Committee have done in recent months and outlining what they are intending to do in the forthcoming months. This Statement will not disappoint in that regard, but in opening, I would like to say a little more.

50 We are now at a time in the history of this Bailiwick where we have had to deal with a very significant international change as a result of Brexit. There may well be significant advantages, but they have yet to manifest themselves. What we do know is that this has thrown up many challenges whether they relate to fishing, free trade or the absence of it, coupled with and linked to new immigration challenges which are impacting on the Bailiwick generally but are of particular concern to our hospitality sector.

55 We also, over the past 18 months or so, have had to deal with the pandemic known as COVID-19. That has eaten into our reserves. We have had two lockdowns. There has been a unique and

sad, but necessary, interference with civil liberties. The virus and its consequences will be with us for years. I pay tribute to the many who have dealt with these challenges. Many millions of pounds of public money have been spent supporting businesses and individuals. We are and will be recovering but that will take time, although our travel figures have improved, they are still a relatively small percentage of what they were two years ago.

We have other serious domestic problems. We are not unique in that regard but that matters not. We need to solve them, and we are only at the foothills of Everest at best in respect of most of them. Because this is a time-limited statement, I can mention only a few.

The first is the demographic challenge. We have an ageing population and a diminishing workforce. As an example, just recently, Policy & Resources was asked – and rightly so – by the Committee for Health & Social Care to approve additional recurring funding of £400,000 for the employment of additional domiciliary staff to assist with community care. Our care homes are full. We have people in hospital beds because there are no places for them elsewhere. We have invested pitifully in our infrastructure for far too long. Almost nothing has been spent. As an example, the Ports need millions spent on maintenance.

We have, to use my able colleague Deputy Helyar's comments, almost 'run out of runway' when it comes to public finances. We are running out of money. At the debate later this month on the tax review, there will be the opportunity for States' Members to guide future policy. The debate should, and must, be constructive. Members must not shirk from difficult decisions which, frankly, States' Assembly after States' Assembly have done for too long.

We must address and deal with problems. There have been too many reviews and too much navel gazing. It is too easy to say, 'I just need some more information.' Our procedures are too cumbersome, our processes too detailed. We are stultifying in our own verbiage. Some Members though still do not get it.

At one of our meetings with Committees, dealing with Budget requests, one experienced politician started the discussion by saying perhaps we could be giving more money to a particular third sector organisation. At a very recent meeting with the STSB, one of their Members rightly said, and with totally justified derision, that it was ridiculous that they had to go through four layers – and now my own words – of bureaucracy to get permission to employ one extra fire officer. I agree, my Committee agrees.

We have a massive housing problem. The Housing Action Group is ably led by Deputy Roffey. We must though, move on and not be too concerned, as we seem to be, about traffic issues and planning consents and focus on the bigger picture.

So, what we have, Policy & Resources, done to try to change attitudes? The first major piece of work, led ably by the Vice President Deputy Soulsby, was the approval of the Government Work Plan. The idea of that is to focus and be disciplined and have a policy for the lifetime of this States. The summer recess has seen officers working to the direction of the Assembly in organising the States of Guernsey to resource the top ten GWP actions and where possible to build resourcing and resilience into the other actions we set out in the GWP for the next 18 months.

At our monthly Presidents' Meetings, which I set up, I expect we will, amongst other matters, discuss how to ensure we keep the focus and pace on current actions whilst also ensuring the longer-term horizon scanning and currency of the GWP is maintained. We do not want to create a bureaucratic industry.

The Policy & Resources Committee is actively using the Work Plan to discuss with Committees their Budget requests for next year, as I mentioned again above, and again we can reflect on how the new approach through the GWP is working for each Committee to improve how this is done for the next year.

Throughout the debate on the Work Plan the Assembly said it was critical to maintain momentum. We have not actually got any yet. This would be achieved by completing work already in train; focusing energy on new work that delivers against agreed outcomes; and stopping work that we cannot do, we cannot afford and is not necessary.

Priority 1 continues our focus on moving to live with COVID-19 and reduce the emergency status of the Bailiwick. Arrangements are in hand to support Bailiwick children and education staff as they return safely to learning and working together in their schools. The Assembly will be considering an Ordinance made by the Committee under the Reform Law to start to remove the continued reliance on the use of Emergency Powers.

Priority 2 sees work unabated on matters further to Brexit with a policy letter setting out a new process for participating in Free Trade Agreements as a consequence of work led by the trade team at Economic Development. Our External Relations team, who are truly excellent, have been in active discussion with UK authorities in relation to the introduction of a Reciprocal Health Agreement. Positive progress has been made and it is believed that there is a real possibility that such an agreement can be put into place next year.

Much progress has also been made in relation to Priority 3 and our recovery actions. In the Budget of 2019, the predecessor Policy & Resources Committee was directed by the States to conclude the development of the Air Policy Framework by April 2020. This was delayed and not completed during that term.

The current P&R Committee, on its election in October 2020, resolved to bring this matter to conclusion. Since then, actions have been taken in order to support the development of the air policy framework including putting in place the much-delayed Alderney-Guernsey PSO this year. The Committee intends to submit a policy letter on the re-capitalisation of Aurigny for the States very soon. The Air Policy Framework will be appended to that policy letter. This gives us a real opportunity to work together cohesively as the States to secure the outcomes for air transport and that is the air transport that our economy and community need. The Committee is also working with Economic Development to conclude a new formal and long-term arrangement with Condor.

We also, following other matters – and I am skipping through this because I am conscious of the time – the Government Work Plan shows that we need a 21st Century infrastructure to meet our challenges from the global economy, on skills and education, on digitising public services to cut the cost and size of Government. This will help us ensure that infrastructure is put in place at pace.

If the Assembly agrees this investment, the accelerated roll-out will begin very soon, in fact by the end of the year, be finished in 2026, and nobody in our community will be left behind. Importantly, it will tell Guernsey and the world that Guernsey is a proactive place and is investing in its future. The proposals to the States are for a capped investment in the engineering programme that will be undertaken by a commercial partner in order to roll-out fibre to premises.

Workstreams within Priority 4 – Re-shaping Government – are also in progress. The P&R Committee has met its target by publishing the Tax Review Green Paper for debate later this month and we are clearly seeking the views of the Assembly in that debate and generally on key principles. It seems to me, from the evidence it is very clear, that we have to focus on how to raise tax rather than whether to raise tax. That clearly needs to be set aside and alongside the decision and the need to eliminate waste and examine all options for cutting the cost of the public service. There are no easy answers. There will be pain and there will be people bleating.

In addition, building on the initial work that has already been undertaken, this month we will start to begin the process to streamline how we currently commission and monitor services with the intention – and here we are in jargon – of improving how we partner with external providers, in particular the third sector.

The Committee will also shortly begin the process to undertake a review of the Machinery of Government with SACC, which also has the potential to be a source of managing the cost of Government.

This week we have reached the next important milestone in our Public Service Reform programme. Having made significant improvements in our technology and digital capabilities, we are now in a position to begin engaging with employees across the Civil Service on a restructuring that will create better, modern services that are more efficient and cost effective. For users of our services it will mean easier access and a more joined up approach.

Finally, cognisant of recent world events and a demonstration of why flexibility is required within our strategic policy planning, the Committee awaits confirmation from the UK government with regard to its full policy position on a resettlement scheme for the most vulnerable individuals, particularly women, girls and children, they will help to relocate from Afghanistan. Officers are exploring whether the same technical barriers remain today as those that existed five or six years ago in relation to Syria.

Sir, there is yet very much to do. It can only be done if this States is purposeful and not self-indulgent. I await questions on this Statement and on the general mandate of P&R.

The Bailiff: Members of the States, there is now a period not exceeding 20 minutes for questions to the President on any matter within the mandate of the Committee. What I will say, and there is no need to rise at the moment, Members, is that I will not be asking or inviting any Member to ask a second question if there are other Members who have not yet asked a question who are rising to ask a question. The reason being that I am not going to extend either of the periods of questions of statements at this Meeting because there is so much else to get through. That is just a bit of forewarning, so who wishes to ask a question? Deputy Queripel.

Deputy Queripel: Thank you, sir. The President said in his Statement we must not focus on things like traffic issues and planning applications but look at the bigger picture. Does he not agree with me that all aspects of Government need to be addressed because every piece of the jigsaw makes up the bigger picture? If he does not agree with me then it sounds as though he is advocating dispensing the traffic and highways and the DPA. Can he clarify that please?

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache, I am not entirely sure that is within the mandate of the Committee but have a go.

Deputy Ferbrache: I will, sir. I am quite happy to answer Deputy Queripel, who always asks purposeful and far-reaching questions and I am grateful for it. I think the DPA under its current leadership is doing an excellent job. It really is. It is an ocean better, an Atlantic Ocean better than its predecessor. *(Interjection)* I think that was Deputy Gollop, we will hear from him no doubt perhaps many times over the next three days.

In relation to the particular question, of course we have got to obey rules. But sometimes you have just got to get on and do things. You can always look for information. We are going to have a debate later on in relation to education where people want to delay and delay. Action this day, said Churchill. Let us follow that lot.

The Bailiff: Deputy de Lisle.

Deputy de Lisle: Thank you, sir. The President mentioned hiring the additional member of the Fire Service and much has been written in the media recently in respect to the rationalisation of the public service. Can the Chief Minister provide an update on what is intended with respect to rationalisation of the public service?

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: I do not actually think that is within the mandate of P&R. If it is, I can say not much has been done in relation to it so far and I am not aware of anything and if any of my able colleagues believe that there is they will no doubt stand up and put it in the form of the question, which will rescue me from the peril I might otherwise be in.

But in relation to all of that the position is, the fire person in question, was an Alderney fire officer and they had to have that person because of a change of regulations. It was a necessity. It was not, all of a sudden, there were more fires in Alderney because we know it is all calm in the waters and

210 tranquil in Alderney. But they had to have this person and they had to go through the procedures that I detailed because of the nonsense of our systems.

The Bailiff: Alderney Representative Snowdon.

215 **Alderney Representative Snowdon:** Thank you, sir. I think the President touched on Aurigny a little bit; can I just ask are there any findings, some initial findings from the extension of the runway report/feasibility study of looking at an option for ATRs to fly into Alderney, if that is actually an option so far, if the President can update and also on the runway rehabilitation, if there is any news on the timeline regarding the runway in Alderney? Thank you.

220

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: I am very grateful, Alderney Representative Snowdon gave me notice of that question and I thank him for that. The position is that really again largely because of our system of Government, it has been dealt with by my colleague Deputy Roffey in the STSB. The States approved some time ago the proposals for re-doing the runway, repairing the runway, which is in dire need at over £12 million, I think, the cost in relation to that.

225 I believe a business case is commencing to see whether or not there should be an extension at this stage or whenever of the Alderney runway but I think that is some time off. I see Deputy Roffey, I am grateful because I know he cannot speak, nodding, saying I have got it right.

230

The Bailiff: Deputy Gabriel.

Deputy Gabriel: Thank you, sir. I thank the President of P&R for his update. Much has been said about focusing on success and I would like to know what the Committee thinks success looks like within its mandate, of course, and the Government Work Plan, and what measures will be in place to ensure that there is a continued focus on success? Will we be sinking or swimming? Everyone says that they can swim but sometimes we are treading water or are we going to be Olympic medallists? Thank you very much.

240

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: Well, sir, there is a mixture of metaphors there and I enjoyed every syllable of that. In relation to that, the position is that we can only reach the shore, the promised land, if we all swim in the same direction and we swim purposefully and we do not have debate after debate on issues that are really not relevant.

245

Success, to me, I cannot speak for my fellow Members of the P&R Committee is if, at the end of this term, we have actually done something about our infrastructure, we have sorted our education system out, we have balanced our budget, we have given people the opportunity to live a better life, we have provided something in relation to housing, we have laid the grounds to help solve, it will never be completely solved, our demographic problem. If we achieve some of those, we will have done well.

250

The Bailiff: Deputy de Sausmarez.

255

Deputy de Sausmarez: Thank you, sir. I wonder if the President might be able to advise, given the recent reorganisation with the Chief Executive role and the interim, what is happening with the role of strategic lead for people policy, as its previous holder has obviously stepped in, and whether it is being backfilled? If he can please update those of us that are affected by that particular move.

260

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: A very good question, I am very grateful for the Deputy for asking it. The interim Chief Executive has made some recommendations already to us and will continue to make some in the coming weeks. It is likely that his 'vacated' role will remain vacated at least for the foreseeable future. We will have proposals put to us shortly, which we will consider at P&R – and I am not just talking about the individuals – I am talking about the make-up, how many people are in that role and what roles they precisely do of the leadership management team.

The Bailiff: Deputy Trott.

Deputy Trott: Thank you, sir. I enjoyed Deputy Ferbrache's Statement enormously, as I always do. He said we have previously invested pitifully in our ports. Sir, as a former President of STSB –

Deputy Ferbrache: I did not say that, sir –

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache –

Deputy Ferbrache: Point of correction.

The Bailiff: You are not allowed a point of correction. Continue the question please, Deputy Trott.

Deputy Trott: Yes, sir. Deputy Ferbrache said we had previously invested pitifully in our Ports. As a former President of STSB, with responsibility for such matters, does the President of P&R feel he is being a little too hard on himself?

Deputy Ferbrache: I am always grateful when people quote me. It would be helpful if they quoted me accurately. What I said was we have invested pitifully in our infrastructure and we do need, there is millions of pounds needed in relation to Ports maintenance. I was only President of the STSB for a little over two years and I think I addressed more problems than some of my predecessors did over the period of time. But we have a shortage of money.

We are in very good hands now, with the current President of the STSB but he, like everybody else, is subject to strict budget controls. If I had the money that others may have had in this Assembly, others may have, I would donate it to Guernsey so that it could do so many good things, like bring our current Ports up to date, like give us a first-rate education system, like improving our health system.

The Bailiff: Deputy St Pier.

Deputy St Pier: Can Deputy Ferbrache advise whether a mechanism has been put in place to manage the Review of Judicial and Crown Officer Pay for 2021 and beyond and whether any such mechanism's details, of the latest mechanism, will be made available to the public?

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: Sir, a meeting will be held in the near future to discuss the constitution, process and terms of reference of an independent pay review panel to review and make recommendations in relation to the pay of our judges and Crown Officers.

The Bailiff: Deputy Roffey.

Deputy Roffey: Thank you, sir. In his Statement, the President made reference to a reshaping of Government, which presumably includes the make-up of this Assembly and its Committees.

Obviously that has a process to go through before any decisions are taken but his Committee must have discussed it. What is the starting point on this? What is the direction of travel?

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: Again, a very fair question. I think my analogy was the foothills of Everest and I am not being coy. We have not got a view yet. We want to see how it goes, we want to have discussions with Members and discussions with others. We are not starting from the position of e.g. there should be executive government and you get rid of all these others. We have not got a fixed view and our discussions have been, I would not say brief, but they have not come to any conclusion.

The Bailiff: Deputy Kazantseva-Miller.

Deputy Kazantseva-Miller: Thank you, sir. The President spoke about the issue of bureaucracy and gave an example of hiring a firefighter with four layers of bureaucracy. I have numerous other examples of where actually very junior posts could only be filled with interference from either Presidents or one of the most senior officers. Wouldn't the President agree that, with the changes that P&R has introduced, creating more hierarchical structures that actually it is perpetrating the bureaucratic position in Government and preventing action this day?

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: Sir, what we introduced, because there were so many posts that were being created or filled over a certain level of salary, we created a review, which has largely been dealt with by my colleague, Deputy Mahoney, where each post was looked at, and I cannot remember the statistics, he would have those better than me, and it would be decided whether we believed that that post should be filled/not filled or whatever, and some new posts have been created.

I remember when Deputy Mahoney was having a very rare break, an example post came to me and I looked at it because, as I say, he was away from the Island, and I decided, initially I thought no, we are not going to have that post, I am not going to recommend it, but after further representations, I changed my mind. So, we do have that, but at the very low level – I do not mean low level in the sense of importance, because a fire officer is a very important person – in the pay structure, that should never come to P&R.

The Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

Deputy Inder: Sir, over the years, we have heard about channel shift, digital transformation and the like and I was just looking at my phone before and thinking there is very little in terms of Government services I can access on this phone. Is digitisation just one of those tropes that we roll out every now and then and what is really happening in terms of changing, moving away from analogue Guernsey to a real digital Guernsey?

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: Sir, it is probably somewhat ironic that the least digitally able person in this Assembly is answering the question but – well Deputy Roffey and I, I think we are joint, it is not much of a contest with anybody is. In relation to that, we are rolling something out this week. We fully accept the point that Deputy Inder has made. Our processes are outdated. It should be digitalised, it should be on the web, all the kinds of things that Deputy Inder knows far more about than me. That has started in earnest.

The Bailiff: Deputy Gollop.

Deputy Gollop: Thank you, sir. In his opening speech, the President of Policy & Resources alluded to a senior Member, I am not sure if I would count as a senior Member, wanting more money for a particular charity, a voluntary organisation. Yes, I did say that in one meeting. But also, the wider question is the whole question of partnership with the third sector has come up. Will the President confirm that his Committee will work very hard on what previous Chief Ministers, like Deputy Le Tocq and Deputy St Pier tried to do, and that is really build a good procurement model, where by some States' services and would-be States' services can be effectively done by the more nimble third sector?

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: That is already being done. It is in train, led by Deputy Soulsby. We very much appreciate that point. I do not think I need to say any more.

The Bailiff: Deputy Burford.

Deputy Burford: Thank you, sir. I thank the President for his update and he said that we should be stopping work we cannot do, cannot afford and is not necessary. Would the President agree with me that building a new £40 million sixth form down the road from a perfectly adequate one is something we cannot afford and is not necessary?

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: No, I would not. Because we need to have aspiration, we need to have inspiration, we need to have a change. We need to do something unique. Certain Members of the Assembly and the previous Assembly took down, destroyed an education system without an iota of an idea what they were going to put in its place. That was a disgrace. We want to do something positive.

The Bailiff: Deputy Matthews, were you minded to ask a question? If so I will call you.

Deputy Matthews: Yes, sir.

The Bailiff: Deputy Matthews.

Deputy Matthews: Thank you, sir. Given the extraordinary events in Afghanistan and the evacuation there, will P&R do everything that it can to help evacuate or to help resettle those that have been evacuated that helped our forces in that country?

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: Sir, I mentioned that in my Statement about where we are. I can say this. I know that our External Relations Minister, Deputy Le Tocq, has a particular interest in that. He will lead it. I am very pleased with the work he has already done and I personally support it.

The Bailiff: Deputy St Pier.

Deputy St Pier: Sir, on 15th June, in relation to the Ecclesiastical Court, the Committee advised that an agreement had been drafted, which is still subject to negotiation between the parties, with the expectation that it will be finalised before the end of the month. Will this now be published?

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: I do not think it has been. I will check because that is a fair question. We are now well beyond 15th June, so I will check and I will ask the officers to respond to him.

The Bailiff: Deputy St Pier.

Deputy St Pier: Keeping an eye on the clock that there is enough time. I would hate for Deputy Ferbrache not to be busy! What is the Committee's timeline or preferred route for resolving the matter of the convictions of police officers in the 1940s, during the Occupation?

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: Again, a good point. I will look into it. We do have a timeline, I do not have it instantly in my mind what it would be and again I will make that clear. The way that I look at it, frankly, and I think the Committee is the same, is that we have a general review, not just in relation to police officers and in relation to that.

I would say this as a personal comment. My maternal grandfather was a policeman immediately after the Second World War and he took a different view and he was the most gentle – he was not like his grandson – he was the most gentle and kind of men and in relation to that, he took a different view to the public view that these people were badly treated. I do not know if that is the case or not. Certainly any book I read that was written contemporaneously at the time of the Occupation takes a different view to the modern view. But nevertheless we are looking at that.

The Bailiff: Deputy Gollop.

Deputy Gollop: Thank you very much, sir. Will it be possible between now and the end of the month for Policy & Resources to hold additional meetings, public meetings or communications briefings on the merits of the Tax Strategy changes, particularly with options that might actually reduce certain taxation or increase allowances in certain areas to mitigate some of the more difficult decisions Deputy Ferbrache has alluded to.

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: Thank you, sir. I do not fully answer Deputy Gollop's question but we have got a drop-in on 18th September. At the moment it is at Beau Séjour but we are being told that may change, the venue may change. That will be well announced anyway. Post the debate, the policy letter will then be written in May and then it will come back before the States in July. Between now and the end of May or May, whenever the policy letter was written, there will be detailed discussion with members of the public, detailed discussion with all our relevant, I do not like the word stakeholders but people know what I mean by that, so that we can come up with something that will be able to be debated, amended and eventually approved by this Assembly.

The Bailiff: Deputy St Pier.

Deputy St Pier: Sir, as I am sure Deputy Ferbrache is aware, the Tax Review suggests that the Committee is in essence trying to make a hospital pass on the matter of taxation of motoring to the Committee for the Environment & Infrastructure. Can we take it from that passage of the Tax Review that the Committee has not made any progress in discharging that Resolution on the Committee to progress alternatives for the taxation of motoring, including of course a trial for distance driving?

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

470 **Deputy Ferbrache:** I think it is a matter of discussion really. Whether we have got progress, we certainly have not, to use a metaphor, we have not passed the finishing line. We are not even on the final lap. But we are beyond the first lap. We really are, I think, at mid-range in relation to our proposals, our considerations, we are a mid-range Formula One racing driver, rather than that Dutch chap that is leading the Formula One Grands Prix at the moment, or Mr Hamilton.

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

Deputy de Sausmarez: Would the President agree with me that both Committees were keen that one policy angle did not gazump the other and were keen to look at that particular area where of course there is a great deal of inter-dependency, to ensure that both fiscal policy and transport-
480 related policies were pulling in the same direction and it is very much a live issue, certainly in E&I?

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: Deputy de Sausmarez has just really answered Deputy St Pier's question
485 more eloquently than me and I agree.

The Bailiff: Deputy de Lisle.

Deputy de Lisle: Thank you, sir. With regard to Brexit, that the President mentioned, the fisheries
490 agreement, for example, seems to be extended month by month. I am just wondering when we can have something more permanent for that particular industry, so that they know exactly where and when they are going?

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.
495

Deputy Ferbrache: It is being extended month by month. Great progress has been made in relation to that. I cannot say that it will be by the end of October or whenever but it should be quite soon. The progress has been very good. The relationship with our French neighbours has been very good and the discussions that have gone, have gone well.
500

The Bailiff: Last question, Deputy Trott.

Deputy Trott: Thank you, sir. Hopefully we will finish on an amusing note. Deputy Ferbrache used a Formula One analogy before. I would like to know, as we approach the end of his first year
505 in office, does he consider his performance has been more of that of a Tottenham Hotspur or an Arsenal Football Club?

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

510 **Deputy Ferbrache:** I think anything would be better than Arsenal at the moment! Deputy Trott knows I am a very humble person and in relation to that I think I could always do better. I know I have put a lot of work in. I do not think I have achieved anywhere near as much as I wanted to achieve and there is a lot more progress to be made.

COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

**Committee *for* Economic Development –
General Update**

515 **The Bailiff:** Members of the States, the second general update Statement is to be made on behalf of the Committee *for* Economic Development so I invite the President, Deputy Inder, to deliver that Statement.

520 **Deputy Inder:** Thank you. Sir, Members of the States, it is nearly a year since the Island's first Island-wide election and our Committee has, over the last 10 months or so, bedded itself in well as a functioning Committee. And I am genuinely grateful for the commitment from all of my Members for their efforts to push through our individual manifesto commitments on digital, tourism, skills, and finance. And it is those areas that I will turn to today.

525 The Committee has worked closely with Guernsey Finance to provide additional funding and to ensure that every pound spent will be focused on clear and measurable priorities. The additional funding will ensure that Guernsey remains a jurisdiction of choice for the international finance sector, but it will also be monitored to ensure public money is spent wisely. I am confident that Deputy Falla, the Committee's nominated Board Member on Guernsey Finance, will keep his eye on that budget.

530 The Committee has marshalled a number of policy letters through the States, over the past 10 months, generally on the finance ones led by Deputy Moakes, on matters such as block exemptions, consumer credit and low value debt relief. Importantly for business and consumers, we are working on reforms to Guernsey's Personal Insolvency Law. By way of a policy letter, we will ask the States to agree to the first stage of these much needed reforms in quarter one of 2022.

535 The hospitality and tourism sector accounts for only around 3% of the economy, but its direct and indirect benefits to Guernsey and, importantly, the Island's carriers, cannot be underestimated. A Guernsey without a vibrant tourism economy would be a lesser Guernsey indeed.

540 When I updated the Assembly in April last year, we were coming out of the second lockdown. At that time the Committee had moved to an interim stage of tourism management and neither Deputy Vermeulen, as tourism lead, nor the Tourism Recovery Task Force, had any idea what kind of season the Island was likely to have.

545 Happily, I can tell you that both Guernsey and Alderney are having a season. I would genuinely like to thank members of the CCA and Public Health for their outstanding work in opening the borders and giving the industry what it so desperately needed. Occupancy levels for August are around 72% and there is every indication that September will be at similar levels and the industry is reporting strong levels of interest for 2022.

550 I can also report to the Assembly that there are currently over 120 cruise liners booked in to visit Guernsey in 2022 and not withstanding border controls, it is looking like a bumper year. The world economy is bouncing back, Guernsey is a destination port, and this is indeed very good news for the Island.

555 Now, I also want to thank the Committee *for* Home Affairs, the Population Management Office and the GBA for all the work that they are doing to support the hospitality sector and other sectors in terms of easing recruitment issues. The Committee is working with the Guernsey Hospitality Association to develop a marketing campaign to help recruit much-needed staff for the sector. For general staff, the campaign will launch in January to help recruit for the 2022 tourist season.

560 But as a conversation that we had within our Committee yesterday, we may need to move that forward but there are areas of the service sector of the hospitality sector that are under serious strain at the moment. For specialist roles within hospitality, the States will support efforts to expand into new markets.

 Guernsey's emerging cannabis sector provides us with the prospect of new businesses, new skills and new employment. Since my last update, the States of Guernsey has successfully negotiated the

Cannabis MoU with the UK Home Office, formed the Bailiwick of Guernsey Cannabis Agency and announced that business can now apply for licences to cultivate for cannabis-based products, medicinal as well as CBD products. We are pleased to note that the BGCA have already received seven licence applications. These are the encouraging first steps of an innovative Island opportunity.

Sir, Members, I never thought I would say this but I am actually grateful for the challenge laid down by Deputy St Pier. In my General Aviation update of November, he asked me if the Committee would review the 2-REG offering; and I committed to coming back to the States with a response. With the help again of Deputy Moakes, I can inform the Assembly that the review has been completed. The objective for 2-REG was to generate direct profits for the States of Guernsey and for 2-REG to enable indirect incremental growth for the wider economy. What that will mean – and what it will hang on – is our ability to renegotiate the contract with our service providers SGIG, who I must say are doing a great job in attracting new business.

I trust Members will accept that I cannot go into the detail publicly; but there is every indication that the firm wish to work hard to make 2-REG an even greater success in the future. The review however has indicated that there will be some tough decisions along the way and we may not be able to provide all the services we have done to date.

We are looking closely at the acceptance of new aircraft under 2,700kgs in weight and are considering our position on Air Operating Certificates which are generally loss making. 2-REG will be remodelling itself with a strong focus on the larger, more profitable aircraft because that, Members, is where the money is.

As 2-REG has moved away from its original business model – and that was the ability to sell private registrations to mainly local aircraft – it is now becoming one of the world's leading on/off lease registers, it is right that we now look seriously at how we can leverage this unique position. The Committee is of the view that the Registry is one of Guernsey's 'good will' generators and a jurisdictional differentiator; and I hope Deputy St Pier will be satisfied with that response.

The next step is now to conclude, with Jersey, the appointment of a new Director of Civil Aviation. I have directed officers to make this a priority. In the meantime, I thank the team who have stepped in for their effective and diligent approach.

Deputy Ferbrache made reference to the Air Policy Framework; I am as well. On 26th August the Committee agreed the draft terms of the new APF; it is a joint effort, as stated by Deputy Ferbrache. What it will do, and it needs to be reiterated, it will define the responsibilities for each of the Committees and give carriers – current and any others that may appear through quasi-open skies – an assurance that there is a framework in place.

At a tactical level it will cement our Committee's position as route developers and directs us to review the effectiveness of the current quasi-open skies policy. For Aurigny it will set out the long-awaited objectives for the airline and how it can support a future Tourism Strategy.

There is not a speech that can pass through this Assembly that does not mention the runway extension at Guernsey Airport. The work to update last year's Frontier Economics cost-benefit analysis in the light of the impact of COVID-19 on air travel is complete. There are some changes to the modelling from the initial report, but the conclusions remain unchanged – over a 40-year period there is a projected net economic benefit from extending the runway.

However, we are working to understand how an extended runway of at least 1,700 metres could be delivered in practice and that includes looking into the technical and regulatory feasibility of options that would utilise an Engineered Material Arresting System (EMAS). When we have the two reports the business case will be compiled and – as long as it stacks up – we will bring a Policy Letter to the States for your debate and final decision.

As the President of the Policy & Resources has referred to earlier, the Committee and the P&R Committee will jointly submit the policy letter to the States on fibre to the premises. This comes from the work and recommendations of the Broadband Working Group. The approach taken is a simple one. We have identified the most transparent and cost-effective way of accelerating the 100% roll-out of fibre. I hope that the States will take the opportunity to support this investment in

our digital infrastructure. It builds on the work undertaken in the previous term and is, I am sure, a proposal that all of this Assembly can support.

On matters of localisation, Deputy Falla has led the localisation brief of the Committee. And the ship has started to turn. All external tourism contracts have been cancelled and that means to the local economy around and an extra £500,000 being spent locally.

Has the ship turned as quickly as I would have liked? The answer is 'no.' But as we clear our decks in some areas of our mandate we will be taking a long harder look at the policies and procedures. This Committee and its members are putting the Island before politics and will continue to work extremely hard to deliver on its mandate. I look forward to questions from colleagues. Thank you, sir.

The Bailiff: Thank you very much. Once again, Members, 20 minutes of questions to the President of the Committee *for* Economic Development on any matter within the mandate of that Committee. Deputy Gollop.

Deputy Gollop: Deputy Inder talks about the upturn in the visitor economy, hospitality and everything and talks about the work his Committee are doing to relax difficulties in employment shortages in hospitality and other fields, but my question really is two-pronged. Firstly, will he work with other Committees, such as Employment & Social Security, Education and Home Affairs in moving this forward and will there be instant impact with Deputy Prow's Committee in relaxing, where possible, housing and population migration controls to facilitate Irish and UK staff to come to Guernsey?

The Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

Deputy Inder: The final part of the question is a question that has to be answered by Deputy Prow because I cannot answer on his behalf. But the first part of the question is about the efficiency of Government. Now, we are a Government of the willing. The two willing Presidents who are contacted the most are myself and Deputy Prow and the two people that can actually effect a marketing campaign or a destination marketing campaign, as referenced in my speech, are the two Presidents who seem to be the most willing. In terms of his reference to Employment & Social Security, they have been completely silent on the matter.

The Bailiff: Deputy Trott.

Deputy Trott: Thank you, sir. The President of Economic Development mentioned Guernsey Finance and I can assure him that all involved in the industry are grateful for the manner in which he and his Committee have treated that organisation. He may be aware, I am sure he is, that the promotion of our major industry is working. In fact, the GFSC advise that in their interpretation our major industry is at its busiest in a decade. However, staff shortages are fuelling wage inflation and, in turn, potentially our competitiveness. Does the President wish to express a view regarding this particular dynamic?

The Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

Deputy Inder: Thank you, sir, and thank you Deputy Trott for that response. The people who have beaten a path to our door, in the main, have been hospitality and service sector. Now that skills and employment and the ability to fill posts is affecting our primary business, we need to think very carefully.

The offer, for me and I cannot necessarily give one on Deputy Prow's behalf, as Chair of Guernsey Finance, I am more than happy to welcome him to any meeting on the matter to find a way that focus on the number of areas of the finance industry, ensuring we have got the right people in the

right jobs, hospitality and the service sector. Because, as he knows, without Guernsey Finance there will be no hospitality or service sector so the answer is you are invited to whatever tent we are about to put up in whatever field.

670 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Gabriel.

Deputy Gabriel: Thank you, sir. On 26th May the President ably answered all 11 questions around the Sea Fisheries and Bailiwick Law Enforcement Vessel the Leopardess and he confirmed that an independent survey had taken place and the results of that were being presented to his
675 Committee about whether the vessel was to be replaced or refitted. I just wondered if he had an update.

The Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

680 **Deputy Inder:** There has been no update, no movement on the matter since the last time I responded to the question.

The Bailiff: Deputy Leadbeater.

685 **Deputy Leadbeater:** Thank you, sir. During the election campaign, the blue economy was a very popular subject. I just want to know if the President has made any inroads in exploring the opportunities there so far.

The Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

690 **Deputy Inder:** Sorry, sir, I was a bit too quick to my feet as usual. Yes, there are two parts to this: Tourism Strategy and slightly about Guernsey as a destination port. What I have seen, if we really pull the carpet from under Economic Development, I do not think Guernsey has ever had what I would call a destination management programme or a Tourism Strategy. What we have effectively
695 had is marketing plans dressed up as tourism strategies.

I have not seen a document in Guernsey where a serious investor would come to Guernsey and say, look, I understand what Guernsey is and this gives me every confidence that I would invest in this Island. We need to do that piece of work once and we need to do it right. Now, within that, almost certainly one of our greatest assets is the sea, is working within the activities that are
700 available within the marine environment and also setting Guernsey as a destination port. That will almost certainly be fundamental to part of that greater tourism strategy. Guernsey as a destination port, which may include hopefully working with ESC, Castle Cornet, as a destination within a destination.

705 **The Bailiff:** Deputy St Pier.

Deputy St Pier: Sir, I am grateful to Deputy Inder for his comments in relation to the aircraft register and I am delighted if the question I asked in November helped catalyse his work in that area. Of course, he originally undertook to bring a cost-benefit analysis to Members within six
710 months and clearly we have moved on beyond that, but could he confirm that a cost-benefit analysis will be provided to Members in due course, following the work he is now undertaking in relation to the future direction of the aircraft register?

The Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

715 **Deputy Inder:** Sir, I will take sensible comment from anyone and I will have my mind focused in sensible areas of things that I am sometimes blind to and 2-REG is certainly one of them. What I

will not do is give a running commentary on our work. So, I am grateful for the direction that Deputy St Pier set us on a path with, almost certainly needed, but it is very much a review that is done within the Committee and that will stay within the Committee. But, importantly, in consultation with the pilots and aircraft owners of the Island.

The Bailiff: Deputy de Lisle.

Deputy de Lisle: Sir, given the buoyancy of the finance sector related by Deputy Trott, who is the finance sector lead, many will ponder whether, in fact, there is any necessity for further public money support in respect of that sector. Can the President give an indication of what public money support is being given currently to the finance industry, because my understanding is that every year more public money has been given in support to the industry?

The Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

Deputy Inder: Yes, I can actually and there is a reason that the finance sector works in Guernsey, because it is well-supported, well-promoted and well-loved and well-liked and we spend money recognising that. And to get this rather, correct me, we have had Guernsey Finance put a figure, the baseline is now at £1.5 million, that it is the uplift on the baseline figure which I believe includes the Green Finance work via amendment by Deputy de Sausmarez, and one other whose name escapes me.

In 2021, it is £500,000, 2022 and 2023, it will be £1 million in each of those years and in 2024 it is another £500,000 and that is all related to promotional activity. That is to ensure that Guernsey is selling itself in the international arena and identifies what it is doing well and where it is not doing so well and making amends. All power to its elbow. Without that and a robust finance industry, this Island would be having very different conversations indeed.

The Bailiff: Deputy Taylor.

Deputy Taylor: Thank you, sir. Deputy Inder referenced the cannabis industry in his speech. I wonder if he could give an update, if he has the numbers related to the actual size of the industry, be it by the number of people employed or the actual value of it today?

The Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

Deputy Inder: No, I cannot. That is the truth of it. It is split in two parts, there is the CBD industry and there is the pharmaceutical, which is medicinal cannabis. The CBD exists and there are people working with that industry and I just do not have the numbers at all. I am not entirely sure where I would get the data from, frankly, because Guernsey does suffer from a lack of data, as we are finding to our cost.

The other piece of work, which is in the medicinal cannabis, the promise is sustainable, low impact but high value product coming out of the end of it and a lot of it will be worked in things like what they call the APIs, which is the active pharmaceutical ingredient. So, to answer your question, I have not answered it at all, I have just given a bit of a roll around on what the CBD and medicinal industry is likely to look like. In terms of numbers, Deputy Taylor, through you sir, I cannot give you those figures.

The Bailiff: Alderney Representative Snowdon.

Alderney Representative Snowdon: Thank you, sir. Could I just ask the President how the Committee is working with Alderney positively to try and come up with a joint tourism brand and what our Bailiwick offering is? Thank you.

770 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Inder.

Deputy Inder: Okay, I said in a previous update, I think rushed too far, I was trying to do everything in a year like I do sometimes but I think, as I explained in the responses about Tourism Strategy, I want to do it once and I want to do it well. I am not going to come in November for something that will not be acceptable. If it takes us another year to get it right for all the Islands, that will happen, and it is important that Alderney is included.

775 As I said, through you sir, one of the problems that Alderney has always had is it has been 10 miles too far away. Now, I cannot do anything about that but there is a lot of love and people are recognising the value of the Island, the beauty of the place. As part of the Bailiwick of Guernsey in any future Tourism Strategy almost certainly, it will be part of that and it will be a serious part of it as well, thank you.

The Bailiff: Deputy Blin.

785 **Deputy Blin:** Thank you, sir. Could I ask the President of Economic Development, thank you for the Statement about the update, in particular the tourism side, I note that you have put a lot of effort in towards working with hospitality, with the task force and groups, hopefully the GHA, but the point I would like to ask now, I notice there are a number of let's say indirect businesses working for us who are having a struggle. I noted with interest that we hope that the end of the season is getting quite busy and we are hoping that next year it will be busy.

790 My concern is that those businesses in the indirect section may not be able to get through to there. I know that there has been talk about asking for support, which actually is coming to an end in certain sections, and I have seen that they are asking to support, for example, where there have been loans provided, they have asked for things like maybe holding back the interest payments they have to do, to allow them to get to next season. Could the President say if he supports that, encourages that, what he could do in respect of those indirect businesses? Thank you.

The Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

800 **Deputy Inder:** We have had a bit of an update. The easiest answer to that is that it has got nothing to do with us, it is all down to Policy & Resources. But I would not be so unkind, because ultimately it is Policy & Resources who are writing cheques. In communication with them, as I understand it, there are parts of the funding which are continuing to March and parts which are closing.

805 Now, every indication that I have got is that people on an individual basis could make an application to Treasury for support and make their argument. It does not necessarily mean they would get the money but what we cannot do is apply a blanket solution to all industry sectors because some are doing well and some are not doing so well.

810 But to assist Deputy Blin, I did mention that we would conduct a destination marketing campaign, which is based around the hospitality sector, but what he may have missed and it might be because I mumbled that, at the same time we are looking at the service sector as well. So, if we are doing a destination marketing campaign for elements of the hospitality sector it is absolutely possible that for other parts of the service sector, which are equally struggling, we can basically duplicate it and do something similar.

815 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Trott.

Deputy Trott: Thank you, sir. A 1% rise in our GDP has the equivalent positive impact on our public revenues as a 1% increase on the basic rates of personal Income Tax. With that in mind, does the Economic Development Committee have a target for annual, sustainable economic growth as a key performance indicator and as a material contributor positively towards our fiscal challenges?

The Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

825 **Deputy Inder:** I am glad Deputy Trott asked that question because what I have noticed with a
Committee like ours is that we do a lot of BAU and the paper sometimes is just dominated by bits
and pieces and we never get an ability to sit back and think strategically. He will be happy to know,
which may not answer his question directly, that what I have done is clear the decks for the next
meeting. We are a year into our mandates. Unless there is something that is time critical, I want to
look properly at our data, I want to look properly at the strategy, I want to look properly at the
830 Government Work Plan and give us real headspace to actually decide what we are going to do
within the next year.

If growth targets is one of them, and Deputy Trott will know that there is nothing that we can
particularly do ourselves, all we can do is set the framework and hope business turns up, actually,
and this is not a facetious comment by any way of imagination, the fact that, as referred by Deputy
835 de Lisle, before the fact that we are funding Guernsey Finance to such a greater and worthy degree,
I am hoping that possibly in some of his updates he could report back to us via his board how that
has worked and what that extra contribution is to our economy.

The Bailiff: Deputy de Sausmarez.

840 **Deputy de Sausmarez:** Thank you, sir. Following on, on the topic of Green Finance would the
President agree with me that, as we are, quite rightly in my view, investing in that area, it is also
important that heed the concerns or potential concerns of those who work in the industry to ensure
that we cannot be accused of greenwash and we make commensurate investment in our local
845 domestic and indeed international obligations in that respect?

The Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

Deputy Inder: Sorry, again, too fast on my feet. No argument from me. I think we went, I think
850 I was sitting with Deputy Falla, we went to a presentation where that was brought up. There was a
team of three people, names escape me, Deputy Moakes was there as well. They made absolutely
the argument you cannot say you are doing one thing on one side of the fence and do something
on the other side of the fence. But I do look forward, in that regard, as a fan of renewable energies,
that somewhere between the DPA and Deputy de Sausmarez's Committee it is getting to a point
855 where there will not be a roof in Guernsey which has not got a renewable on it.

The Bailiff: Deputy de Lisle.

Deputy de Lisle: Sir, the President of Economic Development made the comments with regard
860 to the development of the cannabis industry in Guernsey and hopes for it. Can the President actually
give assurance to the public that the Island has the resource and can provide the policing and public
security for the industry as it develops into the future?

The Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

865 **Deputy Inder:** Absolutely, I can give that assurance. Not that Deputy Neil Inder will be walking
around sites and poling holes in fences and trying to work out if there are security breaches. They
will be a consequence of the licence and if those who have applied for the licence have not created
the type of facility that ensures if there is a type of facility that has not got all of the safety
870 requirements inside and around it, it just will not get a licence.

The Bailiff: Deputy Gollop.

875 **Deputy Gollop:** Thank you, sir. I would like to ask Deputy Inder and his Committee would it not be possible, at least, for the States to see in the next six months a report setting out the pros and cons of investing or supporting a future university or university college for Guernsey, so that we can all come to a measured decision on whether Guernsey University could be a brand leader in the 2030's?

880 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Inder.

Deputy Inder: Ah, no, in short. That decision was ours and our decision alone. I have got no intention of bringing a green paper but Deputy Gollop is more than welcome to find seven people if he can to bring that to the States and 21 people to agree with him. But not on my watch.

Questions for Oral Answer

COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Public Trustee Accounts –

Submission of the 2020 report and accounts; recovery of grants and loans

885 **The Bailiff:** As nobody else is rising to ask questions of the President of the Committee *for* Economic Development, we will begin questions on notice, the Question Time proper, and the first set of questions are from Deputy St Pier to the President of the Committee *for* Economic Development. So Deputy St Pier, please, first question.

890 **Deputy St Pier:** Thank you, sir. On 27th May and 16th June 2021, the Committee *for* Economic Development submitted respectively the audited accounts and report of the Public Trustee for 2019 to the States of Deliberation. Section 6.1 of the Public Trustee Law states that the Public Trustee shall:

895 ... as soon as practicable in each calendar year submit to the Committee a report and audited accounts for the preceding year.

Given that both the report and accounts were relatively straight forward, can the Committee explain why the Public Trustee's submission for 2019 did not take place during the calendar year 2020, as provided for by Section 6 and whether the States can reasonably expect the 2020 report and accounts to be submitted during the calendar year 2021?

900 **The Bailiff:** The President Deputy Inder to reply, please.

905 **Deputy Inder:** Sir, as a result of the Lockdown, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, in March 2020, there was an unavoidable delay to the audit of the Office of the Public Trustee's 2019 accounts. As a result, the Public Trustee submitted the 2019 account for consideration by the Committee *for* Economic Development on 31st March 2021. The Committee considered and approved the OPT's 2019 report and accounts on 11th May 2021 and the audited accounts and report were submitted to the States of Deliberation on 27th May and 16th June respectively. The Committee considered the Office of the Public Trustee's 2020 accounts at its Committee meeting yesterday and will now submit the Office of the Public Trustee's report and accounts for 2020 to the States of Deliberation for consideration before the end of this calendar year.

The Bailiff: If there are no supplementary questions arising out of that answer, I will invite Deputy St Pier to pose his second question to the President.

915 **Deputy St Pier:** Thank you, sir. The 2019 audited accounts show £104,000 grant made during the year and £2.3 million owing to the States of Guernsey from the Public Trustee, at 31st December 2019, in respect of grants and loans, and the Committee *for* Economic Development made, in accordance with Section 8 of the Public Trustee Law. Having regard to the accounting policies this
920 effectively means £108,000 of taxpayer funding became irrecoverable during the year. The Public Trustee continued to believe, at 31st December 2019, that £2.3 million is recoverable and repayable to the taxpayer, the States, from the States, from the assets it manages.

Given the 2020 report and accounts are not yet available, can the Committee please advise whether the sum has changed materially and does the Committee have any reason to believe that
925 the States will not recover its grants or loans in full in due course?

The Bailiff: Deputy Inder to reply.

Deputy Inder: The Public Trustee had to take on a complex and difficult case in 2017 that is the
930 subject of ongoing legal proceedings and has not yet been resolved. This has meant that additional resources have been needed at the OPT to deal with the scheme, recovery work, on this complex case.

As the case is not yet concluded, I cannot make any further detailed comments on the case at the current time other than to say that, given the complexity of the scheme recovery's work, it was
935 always expected to span multiple years, which means the substantial cost outlaid to progress matters was expected to accumulate over that period. This work and the related costs incurred continues to be regularly reviewed and the continuing expectation, and it is an expectation, is that the vast majority of these costs will be recovered, which is consistent with the debt provisioning approach being adopted.

I also note that it was agreed during the previous term that political responsibility for the OPT would transfer from my Committee to P&R and I would like to see that transfer of political
940 responsibility happen as soon as possible but that will not, in any way, change the facts of where we are, it just moves it to someone else. In the meantime the Committee will also revisit a review undertaken in the previous term, on how to move the financial risk of the OPT away from the
945 taxpayer.

The Bailiff: Supplementary question, Deputy St Pier.

Deputy St Pier: Yes, sir, I have two supplementaries. The first one is will the Committee consider
950 publishing the review or at least a *precis* of it, conducted in the previous term, to which the President referred in his reply?

The Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

Deputy Inder: It is not the first time I have wanted to do something and ended up not doing it, so I am keen to please but I am not going to today to ... In short, it smells like an internal document to me. It is something between Policy & Resources and ourselves. We are having a meeting next
955 month generally on matters OPT, so in this instance I am probably going to say no, but if there is an ability to share it with interested parties of the Assembly, as the elected Members, again much like the offer to Deputy Trott, if people are interested, I am quite sure we will keep confidences
960 where possible.

The Bailiff: Second supplementary, Deputy St Pier.

965 **Deputy St Pier:** Yes, sir. What is the timeframe which the President has in mind to revisit the prior review to move the financial risk of the Office of Public Trustee away from the taxpayer?

The Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

970 **Deputy Inder:** I personally would do it tomorrow but what I personally think and what can actually happen is often two different things. Some of these things are embedded in law. As soon as practically possible I think we need to have a proper review, find out where we are at the moment and see, as I mentioned in the response, where the burden can be sent elsewhere, hopefully, possibly even to the industry itself.

975 The daft thing is that when the OPT is being silent, no one hears about it and it does not cost anything. But as soon as it got a very extreme version of a very complicated case, the figures become particularly scary. In reality, as Deputy St Pier will know, we will not be able to give an end date to it, at all. I do not know how long our exposure will be. We can only be told by the advice given to us that we think it will be X amount of years and right now we are right in the middle of it and hope
980 that the costs that are being expended by the taxpayer can be got back through the assets within the Trust. But I do not have an awful lot of confidence at the moment.

The Bailiff: Deputy Dudley-Owen.

985 **Deputy Dudley-Owen:** Yes, sir, I wonder if the President of the Committee *for* Economic Development would agree with me that, whilst it is really important to talk about in the public domain and Deputy St Pier must be thanked for that purpose, for bringing these questions to the attention of the Assembly and to the community, because it is a very complex and sensitive matter, Deputy St Pier personally knew about the issues with the Office of the Public Trustee in his capacity
990 as President of P&R last term and therefore may have been slightly more generous in his wording of the questions in terms of giving that information away?

The Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

995 **Deputy Inder:** That may well be the case but actually sir, oddly enough, that question was directed to Deputy St Pier and I cannot answer that one on his behalf. What we can do, as all politicians ... October 7th certainly was not ground zero. We all had votes before the Assembly and we all had votes after that date. But I think these questions are actually genuine from Deputy St Pier in this instance.

CIVIL CONTINGENCIES AUTHORITY

Civil Contingencies Law – Existence of ongoing COVID emergency

1000

The Bailiff: The next question is again from Deputy St Pier, but this time to the Chairman of the Civil Contingencies Authority, so your question, please, Deputy St Pier.

1005 **Deputy St Pier:** Thank you, sir. Section 2 of the Civil Contingencies Law defined an emergency as an event or situation which threatens serious damage to human welfare and only if it involves, causes or may cause loss of human life, human illness or injury, disruption to services relating to health.

Given, firstly, that 27th August, 89% of the Bailiwick's adult population are fully vaccinated; secondly, we now know from recent studies the risk of severe COVID is 0.135% and vaccination

1010 reduces this by 90%, therefore the risk to human life, human illness or the disruption of services
relating to health is significantly reduced; given too that the CCA have advised that in their views
COVID will be with us for some time and the Bailiwick needs to learn to live with COVID responsibly
as part of normal life, on what basis is the CCA satisfying itself that an ongoing emergency exists
within the meaning and definition of Section 2?

1015 **The Bailiff:** The Chairman, Deputy Ferbrache, to reply.

Deputy Ferbrache: Thank you very much, sir. The 2012 Civil Contingencies Law does not define
when a situation ceases to be an emergency, rather it recognises that the effects or impacts of an
1020 emergency may extend beyond an actual event. Section 13 sets out four conditions, which must be
satisfied before the Authority may make any emergency regulations and the first two of these refer
specifically to an emergency.

Now the first of those conditions is that an emergency has occurred, is occurring or is about to
occur. The second is that the regulations are necessary for the purpose of preventing, controlling
1025 or mitigating the emergency or aspects or effects of the emergency. The Authority is satisfied that
although the Bailiwick is moving towards living responsibly with COVID, the pandemic has and is
still occurring, the vaccine is not a sterilising vaccine, i.e. it does not stop the person contracting
COVID, despite the very high vaccination take up locally, it is relevant that some 22% of the
population are unvaccinated, mostly those aged under 16.

1030 The situation, together with the frequently changing factors, which are regularly presented to
and considered by the Authority, risks potential disruption to the Bailiwick's Health Service and all
the knock-on consequences in terms of either human illness or loss of life. Therefore the Authority
is satisfied that a situation which threatens serious damage to human welfare still exists, in
accordance with Section 2 of the Law.

1035 Further, the Authority is considering a number of options for alternate legislation under which
to make regulations, which may be required going forward, as the world moves from a pandemic
to a position where COVID-19 is endemic.

The Bailiff: Supplementary question, Deputy St Pier.

1040 **Deputy St Pier:** Yes, just one supplementary at the moment from me, sir. With regard to the last
sentence of the Chair's response, which refers to the options for alternative legislation, I am sure he
will recall the timetable on page 39 of the Government Work Plan, Policy & Resources' Work Plan,
Phase 2, placed in July, which indicates that the work to:

1045 ... prepare and implement legislation necessary to continue to manage COVID-19 will be concluded during 2021.

To prepare and implement in that timescale, given that we are now in September, seems to me
hopelessly optimistic and perhaps he can confirm whether or not that timetable remains achievable.

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

1050 **Deputy Ferbrache:** Sir, the world is changing. To use phrases thrown to the gallery of 'hopelessly
optimistic' I do not think is particularly helpful in this context. We receive regular advice and able
advice from the Law Officers' Chambers. We are receiving a paper, I believe, in the next week or the
week after, in relation to this matter. Can I say generally, because it gives me an opportunity to say
1055 this, that the Civil Contingencies Authority would love to be in the situation where it says we are
not making these regulations any more, our duties are over, we can move forward. We are not in
that position yet.

The Bailiff: Deputy Gollop, supplementary.

1060 **Deputy Gollop:** Yes, with the regulation, one Deputy, Deputy Matthews, put forward the idea that maybe some of the CCA powers could be now transferred, or transferred back to the Health & Social Care Committee. Is ongoing work being looked at as to whether that would be a halfway house, moving forward?

1065 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: I go back to the answer I just gave to Deputy St Pier's supplementary question in relation to that matter. Can I say I recollect a discourse with Deputy Matthews when he was effectively saying why do we not move forward to say why didn't he and six others bring a requête to the States of Guernsey to say we do not want the Civil Contingencies Authority to continue, we want it to end, and then the States could debate it.

1070

The Bailiff: Deputy Roffey.

1075 **Deputy Roffey:** I just wonder if the Chairman of the Civil Contingencies Authority could define for us the circumstances at which they feel that their laudable efforts in relation to COVID-19 will be at an end. Because if COVID is going to be here in some form for five years it worries me, when we have a committee system of Government, that we will continue to have emergency powers being exercised over that sort of timescale.

1080 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: Sir, unless something untoward happens, and I very much hope it does not, I agree with the essence of Deputy Roffey's question, which is of course it should not. I cannot say in three months. I cannot say in six months, but it should be for a limited period.

1085

The Bailiff: Deputy St Pier, second supplementary.

Deputy St Pier: Sir, I am going to rephrase my first supplementary. Does the Chair still expect to be able to prepare and implement legislation in accordance with Government Work Plan to put a permanent framework in place by the end of this year?

1090

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

1095 **Deputy Ferbrache:** Sir, I think some of the legislation will be completed by the end of this year but there are other points that may not be. So therefore, to go back to a question that Deputy Trott asked me, whether we were Arsenal or Tottenham, we are probably better than Arsenal but not quite Tottenham in relation to that. That is not through any lack of effort, that is just because the circumstances changed and developed.

1100

POLICY & RESOURCES COMMITTEE

**Equal Pay for Work of Equal Value –
Current financial circumstances; cost of introduction; Equalities Law**

The Bailiff: Thank you very much, Members. The next set of questions is to be posed by Deputy Burford to the President of the Policy & Resources Committee. So, Deputy Burford, your first question please.

1105 **Deputy Burford:** Thank you, sir. Do the Policy & Resources Committee consider that, whilst the moral case for treating all public sector groups equally in respect of equal pay for work of equal value is overwhelming, the current financial circumstances demand a cost-neutral and gradual approach to achieving this aim?

1110 **The Bailiff:** And the President, Deputy Ferbrache, to reply, please.

1115 **Deputy Ferbrache:** Sir, in the last term, as part of its work on developing the People Plan, the Policy & Resources Committee commissioned a review of the terms and conditions of the numerous groups of public sector workers. The projects sought to examine pay, benefits, working hours, leave and sickness entitlements, with a view to enabling harmonisation where practical and appropriate.

1120 In respect of pay, a desired outcome is that the States' remuneration of employees is based on the principles of fair and equal pay. The P&R Committee is committed to the principles of fair and equal pay. The application of job evaluation process is a critical tool in delivering this objective and is already applied across all public sector roles.

The Bailiff: Deputy Roffey, supplementary question.

1125 **Deputy Roffey:** Would the President agree that the premise on which the consultants carried out work in the last term, having seen one of their presentations, seemed very much on the presumption that the equalisation of pay for work of equal value was in an upward direction rather than holding back the pay of those relatively overpaid, while others caught up? I think, excuse me if I am wrong, the essence in Deputy Burford's question was should we be changing that look towards a more cost-neutral approach and will P&R agree with that?

1130 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Ferbrache.

1135 **Deputy Ferbrache:** I think we have always got to be fair. There are people that are underpaid in the Civil Service as there are in life in general. Those should continue to be addressed and I do not think anybody would say, if X or Y is underpaid, that should continue because we have got cost strictures. I think that is the essence, I agree, that was my understanding of Deputy Burford's question and the supplementary question I think I have answered.

1140 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Trott.

Deputy Trott: Thank you, sir. I believe I heard Deputy Ferbrache say harmonisation where appropriate and practical. My question to him would be: isn't equal pay for equal work always appropriate? Occasionally not practical but always appropriate, would he agree?

1145 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: Sir, I do not say this very often, I agree with Deputy Trott.

The Bailiff: Supplementary question, Deputy Burford.

1150

Deputy Burford: Thank you. I am sorry to labour the point and it was picked up by Deputy Roffey, but just for clarity, does the Policy & Resources intend to progress this work in a cost-neutral way?

1155

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: This is not meant as a flippant answer because that is a very fair question. We intend to address matters in a pragmatic way.

1160

The Bailiff: Deputy Dyke.

1165

Deputy Dyke: Thank you, sir. Deputy Ferbrache has been discussing terms of the civil servants and review, and that sort of thing. Am I correct in thinking that there is something else out there, as well, which is the proposal for legal rights to have equal pay for work of equal value for work across different sectors? That is a separate matter and that is the matter that in paragraph 3.2 of the Tax Review is costed at £35 million-£40 million and I think in the Kojima Report, was costed at £50 million. That is a separate matter from what he has been discussing, the general review of terms and conditions. Would he confirm that is right?

1170

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: Sir, Deputy Burford will, in due course, ask a second question, which I think covers the essence of what Deputy Dyke has asked. So, if I may, I am going to leave that until she lays her question, which I will then give a response to.

1175

Deputy Dyke: Okay, fine. Thank you.

The Bailiff: Deputy Taylor.

1180

Deputy Taylor: Thank you, sir. It always seems to be taken as read that salaries cannot come down. I wonder if Deputy Ferbrache may be able to give them an answer. Is it categorically, 100% certain that, aside from any arguments it may cause and shouting matches that may come out of it, we cannot lower salaries?

1185

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

1190

Deputy Ferbrache: Some people are overpaid, whatever they do, in relation to that, and salaries should come down. Deputy Mahoney has the enviable, unenviable, difficult task of dealing with various groups of unions, whether they are teachers' unions or whatever it may be. I welcome his efforts if he can cause some unions to recognise that some of their members should be paid less.

The Bailiff: Your second question to the President, please, Deputy Burford.

1195

Deputy Burford: Thank you. How much, if any, of any potential cost of introducing equal pay for work of equal value, is included in the projected £75 million funding gap, which is identified in the Tax Review policy letter?

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache to reply please.

1200 **Deputy Ferbrache:** Sir, I am grateful for that question. The £75 million referred to is the
headroom available within the States' Fiscal Policy Framework and therefore the maximum
additional revenues which could be raised were that necessary. The Tax Review policy letter sets out
that the pressures on public finance exceed this amount. Section 3.6 of the policy letter sets out the
latest estimates of pressures and does not include this workstream, since it is not an agreed
1205 Government priority.

The Bailiff: And straight into your third question to the President, please, Deputy Burford.

1210 **Deputy Burford:** Thank you. Can Policy & Resources confirm that the issue of equal pay for
work of equal value amongst groups the public sector employs is wider ranging and separate from
the introduction of the proposed Equalities Law, which only addresses equal pay for work of equal
value in respect of the sex ground?

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache to reply.

1215 **Deputy Ferbrache:** Sir, thank you. The Committee can confirm that the issue of fair and equal
pay is wide-ranging and complex, noting that equal pay for work of equal value only relates to the
sex ground. The States of Guernsey as an employer endeavours to ensure fair and equal pay for its
employees, regardless of any protective characteristic, by providing that pay rates relate to the job,
1220 not the person, and that systems and processes, such as, for example, job evaluation, provide the
necessary governance.

As mentioned earlier, the proposed equal pay for work of equal value element of the Equalities
Law only addresses the matter in relation to the sex ground. Discrimination at the workplace on the
grounds of sex has been prohibited since the enactment of the Sex Discrimination (Employment)
1225 (Guernsey) Ordinance 2005, which came into force on 1st March 2006.

POLICY & RESOURCES COMMITTEE

Vaccination certificates – Reciprocal acceptance of vaccination codes with France

The Bailiff: As no one is rising, we will move to the next set of questions, which are also to the
President of the Policy & Resources Committee, but this time posed by Deputy Gollop. So your first
question, please, Deputy Gollop.

1230 **Deputy Gollop:** Thank you very much, sir, and they relate to a degree to CCA issues. In response
to a constituent's question, I accessed the gov.gg information website and discovered a Scottish
double vaccination certificate is valid for travel to and access to French ports, public transport,
restaurant facilities, whether in electronic, digital or paper licence formats. Given our proximity,
1235 heritage and close relationship with France, why aren't our insular paper certificates valid at least in
Brittany and Normandy?

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache, the President, to reply.

1240 **Deputy Ferbrache:** Sir, the answer is the Guernsey issued proof of COVID-19 vaccination
certificate is already accepted by France, for the purpose of inbound travel and the *Pass Sanitaire*,
which is required domestically to access public spaces such as restaurants. While, for the inbound
travel, the certificate is accepted as is in its paper format at the border, for the purposes of *Pass*
Sanitaire, it is necessary that the holders of Guernsey issued certificates apply to the French

1245 Government for a QR code, which can then be used to access venues when required. The French COVID regulations are implemented by the central government, not regionally.

Information has been published on gov.gg to direct Bailiwick residents to the relevant French Government to apply for QR codes by email where needed. Work is being undertaken in collaboration with NHS England, to develop an enhanced digital solution for the Guernsey issued digital certificate, which will allow fully vaccinated Bailiwick residents to securely generate a QR code, which can then be scanned into the *Pass Sanitaire* app. This enhanced digital solution should be available by the end of this month.

The Bailiff: Supplementary question, Deputy Gollop.

1255

Deputy Gollop: I thank the President for his full answer but, nevertheless, is it still not the case that a potential traveller to France requires the ability to download a QR code, to access a QR code, rather than just going across in the normal way and showing their paper certificate, which would then be acceptable, which appears to be the case if you happen to be a subject of the Scottish Parliament.

1260

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: Sir, I cannot add anything sensible to my earlier answer.

1265

The Bailiff: In that case, we will move to your second question to the President, Deputy Gollop please.

Deputy Gollop: Thank you, sir. Given our finance offices in Brussels and Caen and our ambitious digital aspirations, can we not engage with the French authorities to ensure reciprocal acceptance of vaccination codes or codes and grades of transport for post pandemic connectivity, for mutually beneficial relationships, perhaps involving Jersey too, as a third party?

1270

The Bailiff: And the President, Deputy Ferbrache to reply, please.

1275

Deputy Ferbrache: Sir, thank you. Guernsey officials have been engaging with the UK on a frequent basis for some time on the development and implementation of a Guernsey issued COVID-19 vaccination certificate. This includes the representation of our interests by the UK government in international engagement on acceptance of vaccination certificates, alongside the certificates issued by the jurisdiction of the UK and other Crown Dependencies.

1280

Further work is being undertaken to develop a digital solution for the Guernsey issued certificate, which as I have already said, is anticipated to be available by the end of September. Officials are working with NHSX England, and NHS Digital, to ensure our digital solution will be inter-operable – that is a good word – with the UK's digital infrastructure and security. This means that, once launched, our digital solution will be recognised globally by all jurisdictions that have already accepted the NHS digital solution.

1285

Engagement has continued throughout the COVID pandemic with the essential support from both our able Brussels and Caen offices which are managed jointly with Jersey. This has been invaluable to develop and strengthen relations with the EU and regionally in Brittany and Normandy on a range of matters of mutual interest.

1290

The Bailiff: Supplementary question, Deputy Gollop.

Deputy Gollop: Yes, it was reported, or perhaps inaccurately reported, on certain TV channels in late July and August that in moving to this stage Jersey were a bit behind the curve and Guernsey were further behind still. Was that not an opportunity, which may of course already have been

1295

addressed, for Guernsey and Jersey digitally to work together with a common approach towards access to France and its facilities?

1300 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: Sir, I do not mean to end my sequence of questions and answers on a sour note but our officials could not be working more diligently, both our External Relations team and the people that have to deal with this pandemic on a daily basis. For there to be an inference that they could have done more in relation to Jersey is unfounded, unfair and unreasonable.

COMMITTEE FOR HEALTH & SOCIAL CARE

COVID immunity –

Immune system advice and supplements; adverse reactions to the vaccine

The Bailiff: Members, the final set of questions in this Question Time are being posed by Deputy Queripel, this time to the President of the Committee *for* Health & Social Care. Your first question please, Deputy Queripel.

1310 **Deputy Queripel:** Thank you, sir. Leading health professionals all over the world have been saying for several months now the most effective way to resist COVID is via a strong and resilient immune system, which as we all know is our natural first line of defence, specifically designed to defend against disease and infection.

My question is, will HSC be embarking on a programme any time soon to remind Islanders of the importance of building up their immune systems, along with advice on how to actually do that and also ensure that funds are made available to Islanders who are in need of financial assistance, to enable them to actually purchase essential vitamins and supplements, such as vitamins C and D and zinc and magnesium, all of which, as has been proven, contribute towards strengthening the immune system?

1320 **The Bailiff:** The President, Deputy Brouard, to reply, please.

Deputy Brouard: Thank you, sir. It became apparent very early in the pandemic that the risk of morbidity and mortality from COVID-19 disease increased with age. Around this time, a review of two large UK electronic patient record databases assessed clinical vulnerability and further identified that specific underlying health conditions increased the risk of poor outcomes from a COVID-19 infection. There is no correlation between the use of dietary supplementation and a reduced risk of morbidity or mortality from COVID-19.

Public Health England and the National Institute for Health and Care Excellence recently advised that there is insufficient evidence to prove that vitamin D supplementation reduces the risks associated with COVID-19 disease but acknowledges that this position may change in the future. If and until such a time it is recommended by these organisations that HM Government advice is followed and that is that people should acquire the vitamins and minerals they need by having a varied and balanced diet.

1335 **The Bailiff:** Supplementary question, is it, Deputy Queripel?

Deputy Queripel: Two, sir. Thank you, sir. The President said in his response there is no correlation between the use of dietary supplementation and a reduced risk of mortality from COVID-19, yet when doctors in Spain reviewed 300 cases of COVID, they found that 82% of them

were deficient in vitamin D and as a result of that study, the University of Cantabria in Spain recommended that people increase their intake of vitamin D. So, my question to the President is are HSC aware of such studies taking place in other parts of the world and are they taking note of them?

1345

The Bailiff: Deputy Brouard.

1350

Deputy Brouard: Thank you, sir. Our experts are looking at what is happening around the world all the time but one has to also distinguish between correlation and causation and I think, as one of my colleagues once said to me, many of the people who had COVID also had washing machine failures. We have to be careful what we link together in this particular situation so, although we are following the science, there is no evidence at the moment that we can, hand on heart, support for people to take extra supplementary dietary products to stop death from COVID.

1355

The Bailiff: Second supplementary question, Deputy Queripel.

1360

Deputy Queripel: Thank you, sir. In the President's response, it sounded to me as though he is not even aware that our immune systems are our first line of defence against infection. Is he not aware of a study carried out at Rockefeller University, which revealed that a healthy immune system protects a person against COVID for far longer than any vaccine?

The Bailiff: Deputy Brouard.

1365

Deputy Brouard: I think this particular point will be addressed in the next question, so I have nothing further to add at this time. Thank you.

The Bailiff: Deputy Roffey.

1370

Deputy Roffey: Thank you, sir. Deputy Queripel stresses the importance of building up our immune system. Would the President of HSC agree with me that by far the most effective way that members of our community can do that is by getting double vaccinated against COVID?

The Bailiff: Deputy Brouard.

1375

Deputy Brouard: Thank you, Deputy Roffey, and that is in fact the advice of our Health Committee and also of the States of Guernsey, to get double vaccinated where possible.

The Bailiff: Deputy Blin.

1380

Deputy Blin: Thank you, sir. I very much appreciate that HSC are doing what they feel is right and what is concerning is that they always go along with everything the UK says. Now, other countries like Israel and America are adopting far more proactive measures given the research and time we have had for dealing with COVID. Can the President please tell me why it is that we follow those lines so adamantly when there are sometimes alternatives, including for example there has been an acceptance for Ivermectin and other aspects and will our doctors and team start to consider these measures going forward?

1385

The Bailiff: Deputy Brouard.

1390

Deputy Brouard: Thank you, we are continuing to follow the science and the Public Health are very much aware of what is happening elsewhere. If Ivermectin does become of use then we will obviously bring it in but at the moment the last advice I had was that it was something to do with

de-worming of large mammals. The science has not been proven, I think it was a question from last time in the States from Deputy Queripel, that the WHO was not advising that it should be used.

The Bailiff: Deputy Soulsby.

Deputy Soulsby: Thank you, sir. Would the President of Health & Social Care agree with me that our experts and our clinical advisers do not blindly follow the UK and they did not blindly follow the UK throughout the whole of our response to the pandemic and as such we did far better than, probably, the UK? I think most people would agree with that.

The Bailiff: Deputy Brouard.

Deputy Brouard: Yes, thank you Deputy Soulsby, I totally agree. We will choose our own paths when we need to and we will follow others where we also need to but, at the moment, I think we have it about right. So thank you very much.

The Bailiff: Deputy Taylor.

Deputy Taylor: Thank you, sir. It is following on from Deputy Blin's question, just seeking clarification. It is referring a different line or train of thought in Israel. Could Deputy Brouard confirm if his Committee is aware of those developments and changes in tack?

The Bailiff: Deputy Brouard.

Deputy Brouard: Thank you. The Committee as such has a very large mandate. We are not able to go into each of the details of every single country for every single COVID aspect. What we do is we have professionals that are concentrating on this particular area and that is why we have the Public Health team led by Dr Brink and they advise, then, the Board, and then we advise the CCA as appropriate or we put measures in place. Personally I am not aware of what happens in every single country. I leave that to the experts, who can do so. But I appreciate the thought. Thank you.

The Bailiff: Deputy Bury.

Deputy Bury: Thank you, sir. Would the President agree with me that, in relation to naturally boosting immune systems, the Committee already embarked on a programme of such work via its partnership with the Health Improvement Commission, Be Active campaigns, EatWell, etc.?

The Bailiff: Deputy Brouard.

Deputy Brouard: Thank you very much, Deputy Bury, for that interjection. Yes and we also as a Government financially support the Health Improvement Commission in their endeavours to do so with healthy eating, weight reduction, etc., so this is already happening in our society and it is being active, eating vegetables, eating a coloured diet, is all part of keeping your immune system. But going back to the original premise from Deputy Lester Queripel is unfortunately there is no correlation between dietary supplements and surviving COVID.

The Bailiff: Deputy de Lisle.

Deputy de Lisle: Sir, we should at least know what is going on in Jersey and the fact is that in Jersey they are very concerned about this area, with regard to long COVID and, in fact, they have put in a lot of measures recently in order to support people with long COVID. I do not think, really,

1445 HSC is even measuring the number of people that have long COVID and I think it is about time that the jurisdiction does that.

The Bailiff: Deputy Brouard.

1450 **Deputy Brouard:** Thank you, Deputy de Lisle. We are following what is happening in Jersey and they have had a different response to the COVID pandemic than we have had. Just on long COVID, one of the best ways not to have long COVID is not to get COVID in the first place, which is why our particular emphasis is to get the vaccine. That would be my particular stress to you.

1455 We do have a clinic and Dr Raby has already set up a clinic for those suffering from long COVID. Luckily, it has not really been used much because, after six months, most of the people who have had COVID have made a reasonable recovery. But it is something we are definitely keeping under view. But the main thrust is, again, if we can avoid getting COVID in the first place that is probably the better position to be in.

1460 **The Bailiff:** Your second question to the President, please, Deputy Queripel.

1465 **Deputy Queripel:** Thank you, sir. Does the President agree with me that HSC embarking on a programme of promoting essential vitamins and supplements to strengthen the immune system, along with ensuring financial assistance is made available to Islanders who struggle to pay for them, would be far more effective and sustainable than a continuous programme of jabs, which do not help to strengthen the immune system and also introduces components into the body that cause adverse side effects in some cases, such as blood clots, inflammation of the brain and strokes?

The Bailiff: Deputy Brouard to reply, please.

1470 **Deputy Brouard:** Thank you, sir. There is no evidence to suggest that dietary supplementation is effective at preventing COVID-19 infections and therefore I would not support this promotion at HSC. Dietary supplementation will not prevent individuals developing symptoms to an infection and will not reduce morbidity or mortality from SARS-COV-2 virus.

1475 Immunisation against vaccine preventable disease is widely viewed as the second most important Public Health intervention after the provision of a safe source of water. As such, vaccination will continue to be a vital tool in response to COVID-19 as it is for many other diseases.

1480 The administration of any medicine carries an element of risk and I would highlight that the Bailiwick COVID-19 vaccination programme operates on a voluntary basis. The adverse side effects of the MHRA-approved vaccines being used locally are far lower than the risks associated with COVID-19 disease. Blood clots can be a risk factor for many things, for example the annual incidence of thrombosis for air travel is about one in 1,000, increasing two- to three-fold for flights of more than four hours. The risk is significantly higher than any blood clot associated with COVID-19 vaccines. Thank you, sir.

1485 **The Bailiff:** Supplementary question, Deputy Queripel?

1490 **Deputy Queripel:** Two, sir. The President said that the adverse side effects of any of the MHRA-approved vaccines being used locally are far lower than the risks associated with COVID. But bearing in mind that the vaccine has not been tested for long-term side effects, which could be extremely serious, would he not agree with me that that ratio could be significantly reduced in years to come.

The Bailiff: Deputy Brouard.

1495 **Deputy Brouard:** Thank you, Deputy Queripel. I am awfully sorry but I am not understanding the question at the end. Would it be possible we could repeat?

The Bailiff: Could you repeat the final bit of the question, please Deputy Queripel, not the whole of it? About the factors changing.

1500 **Deputy Queripel:** Bearing in mind the vaccine has not been tested for long-term side effects, which could be extremely serious, would he not agree with me the ratio could be significantly reduced in years to come?

The Bailiff: Deputy Brouard, does that help?

1505 **Deputy Brouard:** I think so, sir. I am a politician, not a prophet. We have to make the decisions today on the best advice that we can. The best advice that we have today is that we get vaccinated against catching COVID-19. It is a voluntary programme, people have to make their own informed choices but the recommendation from your Health Department and those that work for us is that you have the vaccine. The other risks, we believe are greater. But these are individual choices and those are ones that only you can make and I cannot make for you. I can only take you to the water trough, I cannot make you drink.

The Bailiff: Second supplementary, Deputy Queripel.

1515 **Deputy Queripel:** Thank you, sir. Is the President not aware that a BBC news page recently reported that aside from blood clots other side effects are emerging, such as inflammation of the brain and strokes and that these are one in 100,000 events, which is way below the usual benchmark for bad reactions to vaccines of one in a million?

1520 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Brouard.

Deputy Brouard: I think we all appreciate we have not been through a world pandemic before, for most of us. We will have to follow the science and things will change. More information will come out. Some scientists say we should not have a vaccine, some say you should. We will continue to weather this storm but the best advice that we have at the moment is that you should have the vaccine. It is better to have the vaccine than it is to get COVID and, if you do get COVID, even if you have the vaccine, the outcome is likely to be better for you.

1530 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Haskins.

Deputy Haskins: Thank you, sir. Does the President feel the same in his responses with regard to those aged 12 and under, or perhaps 15 and under as well?

1535 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Brouard.

Deputy Brouard: We are following the advice of the MHRA and also the JvCI and at the moment they are not recommending the vaccination of children between 12 and 15. The margins on whether it is worthwhile from the point of view of catching the disease because, as I said earlier in my answer to question one, it is age and underlying health conditions, which are the main determinants of the outcome of a COVID infection.

1540 Young people do exceptionally well if they catch COVID so we have to then strike a balance between the side effects of any of the vaccines versus if that young person catches COVID. That is the dilemma that the UK government is wrestling with and it is one that our Public Health service are looking at as we speak.

1545 **The Bailiff:** Deputy de Sausmarez.

1550 **Deputy de Sausmarez:** Thank you, sir. Would the President agree with me that Public Health
bodies, in many places, as far as I am aware, tend to prioritise balanced diets and healthy lifestyles
in the round as the most effective and indeed cost-effective means of equipping people with the
necessary nutrients including essential vitamins and minerals and that that is indeed why that is a
major focus of initiatives as run by organisations such as the Health Improvement Commission?
And that often has significant economic advantages as well, as it does not require either the state
or individuals purchasing supplements in order to equip themselves with the right nutrients. Thank
1555 you.

The Bailiff: Deputy Brouard.

1560 **Deputy Brouard:** Thank you very much, Deputy de Sausmarez. Absolutely agree with you. A
healthy lifestyle and a healthy diet, exercise, will all contribute to us maintaining our health, not only
for COVID but for any other issues that come along. Unfortunately some people in our society will
by various things have some conditions, which are not curable, and those are issues that we just
have to manage through. But absolutely agree with what Deputy de Sausmarez has said. Thank you.

1565 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Taylor.

Deputy Taylor: Thank you, sir. This question comes from someone who is double-jabbed and
probably put worse things in my body than the vaccine so I do not necessarily have concerns there
but Deputy Brouard did say that you can lead a horse to water but you cannot make it drink. You
1570 cannot force people to have the vaccine. But would he at least acknowledge that although we
cannot force people to have them they do have to factor in their decision some restrictions placed
upon their lives if they do not have it?

1575 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Brouard.

Deputy Brouard: I think that is probably a fair summary, Deputy Taylor. There are consequences
for all actions that we take. If I go faster than 35mph on the road, there is a consequence. I will be
more of a danger to traffic, I may well get a speeding fine. Whatever we do there are consequences,
you are absolutely right. Thank you.

1580 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Gollop.

1585 **Deputy Gollop:** Sir, Deputy Queripel has raised a number of questions, which are widely held
and considered in the community, regardless of the verification. My question, therefore, is how far
will Health & Social Care, in conjunction with P&R and communications, work to reassure people of
the level of risks and issues involved, so that people who are perhaps doubting the wisdom of the
vaccination programme will perhaps change their consciousness or reconsider their perspectives?

1590 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Brouard.

Deputy Brouard: Thank you, Deputy Gollop. I think the amount of effort and work that has been
put in by everyone to set up the vaccination centre and the rate that we have vaccinated our
community, I do not think there is anywhere in the world that comes anywhere close. I think we
have done a tremendous job. I am not going to stand here and vilify someone who does not want
1595 the vaccine. I had some people from the anti-vaccine campaign, they contact me regularly and
advise me of their thoughts, which is fine. They have a perfect right to that particular position.

But I think what we have done as a Government is a tremendous job in promoting the service.
There is in fact a drop-in session today for Moderna and for the Pfizer for people between 16 and
18 and we will continue to do so. I think we have done exceptionally well as an Island in this regard

1600 and you can see the results in other countries where, unfortunately, that has not happened and then we have had to do catch up.

The Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

1605 **Deputy Inder:** I think it arises, sir, and it is not really a trick question but it does come out of what Deputy Brouard said before. Given that there is a percentage in the community that do refuse to have a vaccine and he has accepted that is perfectly reasonable, I think it is worth asking how many health workers who have access to ill patients do not have the jab, could potentially be carrying COVID and what the policy is in that regard. Does his Committee have a policy on health
1610 workers that have not been double-jabbed working within and around vulnerable and ill people?

The Bailiff: Deputy Brouard, are you able to answer that one?

Deputy Brouard: I am, sir, but it is a guarded answer. Yes, we do have a policy. I cannot
1615 remember the full details of it but there are special provisions put in place so if someone is unvaccinated and there is a COVID outbreak or a COVID patient in the hospital, certain people are moved around to make sure that there is no contact. I will ask our staff to see if we can get a more definitive position for Deputy Inder and circulate that round to States' Members. I just cannot remember on the hoof exactly what it is. Thank you.

1620

The Bailiff: Your third and final question to the President, please, Deputy Queripel.

Deputy Queripel: Thank you, sir. In response to a question I asked in this Chamber on 16th June about the Yellow Card scheme, which reports on adverse reactions to vaccines, Deputy Brouard
1625 informed me that health professionals here in the Island are not obliged to inform HSC when they submit them. With that in mind, does he not agree with me that HSC should be collating and compiling specific local data for future reference and that they should be informed every time an Islander reports adverse reactions to the vaccine? If he does not agree with me can he please tell me why he does not?

1630

The Bailiff: Deputy Brouard to reply, please.

Deputy Brouard: Thank you, sir. The MHRA Yellow Card scheme is an independent reporting mechanism for drug side effects and adverse reactions, defective or counterfeit medicines and
1635 incidences with medical devices, among other things. Health professionals in the Bailiwick use this system as it is an established scheme that is used across Great Britain and reporting of adverse events is required as part of the vaccine protocol and patient group direction used to administer COVID-19 vaccines.

This enables Guernsey to benefit from any drug safety alerts or notifications relating to a COVID-
1640 19 vaccine or any other medicine, which would not be established as quickly on a smaller scale locally and for notification of any such effects being reported promptly to inform clinical practice. As at 18th August 2021, the MHRA database has recorded over 235,000 suspected side effects since the start of the vaccine programme in England, the devolved nations and Crown Dependencies.

I am satisfied that the Yellow Card recording scheme is more robust than any system that could
1645 be established and resourced from the Bailiwick alone, due to the number of health authorities that provide data into the system and there is therefore no plan to implement such a scheme locally. Thank you.

The Bailiff: Supplementary, Deputy Queripel.

1650

Deputy Queripel: Just one, sir. Is the President aware of the Vaccine Adverse Event reporting system, which in effect is the equivalent to the UK's Yellow Card scheme and is he aware that according to the Harvard University Healthcare Study, less than 1% of adverse events that should have been reported to the reporting system actually were reported and that figure was acknowledged by the FDA? With that in mind, is he still confident that the Yellow Card scheme is producing an accurate figure?

The Bailiff: Deputy Brouard.

Deputy Brouard: Thank you. I have not followed the details of the American system in answer to Deputy Queripel's question. All systems will be as vulnerable as the people who put in the information but we will have the benefit of 235,000 different incidences and that way the professionals in the UK and Guernsey can analyse where there are possible risks and what the mitigation factors can be and that is why some of the vaccines' implementation has changed. That is why certain groups are not able to have certain vaccines and that is all from the learning that we have had from the Yellow Card scheme.

So, I would stick to what we are using in this country, which is the Yellow Card scheme and I am sure our health professionals are well aware of other schemes around the world but this is the one that is used in our area and I think it is probably sensible to stick with that rather than trying to use an American system. Thank you.

The Bailiff: Deputy Soulsby.

Deputy Soulsby: Thank you, sir. Apologies if this is covered in Deputy Brouard's previous answer. I cannot remember now whether it was. Does he agree with me that our health services, our Public Health team do not live in an isolated bubble and neither do the complete health services. Information is fed back locally to Public Health and so they are aware of issues locally, serious issues that are worth bringing to their attention? We are only a little Island and that information can be transmitted very quickly.

The Bailiff: Deputy Brouard.

Deputy Brouard: Absolutely agree with Deputy Soulsby and of course, although doctors may not be obliged, necessarily, to report ... they will report on the Yellow Card scheme but in a small community such as this they will also pick up the telephone and advise Public Health if there is some incident of concern as well. There are all the informal routes that we benefit from, being in a very small community with one central hospital in Guernsey and one on Alderney. All those events are looked at by our professionals on a daily basis. So I thank Deputy Soulsby for her interjection and thank Deputy Queripel for the questions.

The Bailiff: Well, Members of the States, that will conclude questions of notice in Question Time for this Meeting. Greffier, the next Item of Business, please.

Billet d'État XVII

APPOINTMENTS LAID BEFORE THE STATES

COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Guernsey Competition and Regulatory Authority – Appointment of Mr Michael Byrne as an Ordinary Member

1695 **The States' Greffier:** The following appointment is laid before the States. The Committee *for* Economic Development, the appointment of an Ordinary Member of the Guernsey Competition and Regulatory Authority.

1700 **The Bailiff:** We simply note, Members of the States that there has been no motion to annul that appointment at this Meeting. Next Item, please.

APPOINTMENTS AND ELECTIONS

COMMITTEE FOR HOME AFFAIRS

1. Election of a Member of the Committee *for* Home Affairs – Deputy Aldwell elected

Article 1.

The States are asked:-

To elect a sitting Member of the States as a member of the Committee for Home Affairs to complete the unexpired term of office, that is to the 30th June 2025, of Deputy C. J. Le Tissier who has resigned from that office, and whose notice of resignation is appended hereto, in accordance with Rule 16 of The Rules of Procedure of the States of Deliberation and their Committees.

The States' Greffier: Article 1. Election of a Member of the Committee *for* Home Affairs.

The Bailiff: I invite the President of that Committee, Deputy Prow, to nominate anyone he wishes to.

1705 **Deputy Prow:** Thank you very much, sir. Please may I nominate Deputy Sue Aldwell? Thank you, sir.

1710 **The Bailiff:** Is that nomination seconded?

Deputy Vermeulen: Yes, sir.

1715 **The Bailiff:** Thank you, Deputy Vermeulen. Are there any other nominations for this vacant office? In that case, Members of the States, I will simply put to you whether you are minded to elect Deputy Aldwell, who has been proposed by Deputy Prow and seconded by Deputy Vermeulen to the Committee *for* Home Affairs. Those in favour; those against?

Members voted Pour.

The Bailiff: I declare Deputy Aldwell duly elected.

DEVELOPMENT & PLANNING AUTHORITY

2. Election of a Member of the Development & Planning Authority – Deputy Murray elected

Article 2.

The States are asked:

To elect a sitting Member of the States as a member of the Development & Planning Authority to complete the unexpired term of office, that is to the 30th June 2025, of Deputy C. J. Le Tissier who has resigned from that office, and whose notice of resignation is appended hereto, in accordance with Rule 16 of The Rules of Procedure of the States of Deliberation and their Committees.

1720 **The States' Greffier:** Article 2, Election of a Member of the Development & Planning Authority.

The Bailiff: And I invite the President of that Authority, Deputy Oliver, if she has a candidate to propose?

1725 **Deputy Oliver:** Yes, sir. Deputy Bob Murray.

The Bailiff: Thank you very much. Is that nomination seconded?

Deputy Dyke: Yes, I will second that.

1730 **The Bailiff:** Thank you very much, Deputy Dyke. Are there any other nominations to the Development & Planning Authority? No. In that case, similarly I will put to you Members the election of Deputy Murray to the vacancy on that Authority, proposed by Deputy Oliver and seconded by Deputy Dyke. Those in favour; those against.

1735 *Members voted Pour.*

The Bailiff: I therefore declare Deputy Murray duly elected to join the Authority.

TRANSPORT LICENSING AUTHORITY

3. Election of a Member of the Transport Licensing Authority – Deputy McKenna elected

Article 3.

The States are asked:

To elect a sitting Member of the States as a member of the Transport Licensing Authority to complete the unexpired term of office, that is to the 30th June 2025, of Deputy C. J. Le Tissier who has resigned from that office, and whose notice of resignation is appended hereto, in accordance with Rule 16 of The Rules of Procedure of the States of Deliberation and their Committees.

The States' Greffier: Article 3, Election of a Member of the Transport Licensing Authority.

1740

The Bailiff: And I invite the President of that Authority if he has a candidate to propose.

Deputy Gollop: Thank you, sir. The Transport Authority does not have enough to do maybe but we are very pleased to select and put as a candidate Deputy Liam McKenna as our choice.

The Bailiff: And is Deputy McKenna's nomination seconded?

Deputy Roffey: Yes, I am happy to second that, sir.

The Bailiff: Deputy Roffey. Are there any other nominations for what is an arduous job on the Transport Licensing Authority? *(Laughter)* In that case, Members, I will simply put to you in similar fashion that Deputy McKenna has been proposed by Deputy Gollop, seconded by Deputy Roffey. Those in favour of electing him to the Transport Licensing Authority; those against?

Members voted Pour.

The Bailiff: I declare Deputy McKenna duly elected and congratulate all three Members for filling those vacancies so swiftly.

ITEMS ADJOURNED OR DEFERRED FROM PREVIOUS MEETINGS OF THE STATES

COMMITTEE FOR EDUCATION, SPORT & CULTURE

4. Secondary and Post-16 Education Reorganisation – Debate resumed

Article 4.

The States are asked to decide:-

Whether, after consideration of the policy letter, dated 28th May 2021, they are of the opinion:-

1. To agree that from the earliest date practicable, States' maintained secondary education should be delivered through an 11-18 learning partnership across three 11-16 schools and a Sixth Form Centre located on a site separate to those schools, and Le Murier and Les Voies Schools and St Anne's School in Alderney.

2. To agree the three 11-16 schools will be located on the existing school sites at Les Beaucamps, Les Varendes and St Sampson's and the Sixth Form Centre in a new building at Les Ozouets Campus co-located with The Guernsey Institute, the development and implementation of which is estimated to have:

a) A capital cost of £43.5m as set out in table 8 in paragraph 9.4; and

b) An ongoing revenue cost which will not, in the medium term, exceed the current revenue costs associated with these phases of education.

3. 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.

4. To delegate authority to the Policy & Resources Committee, following approval of the necessary business cases, to open capital votes of up to £54m, (which includes an allowance for optimism bias as described in section 9.8) to fund the model for the reorganisation of the secondary and post 16 education infrastructure agreed by the Assembly, subject to ratification by the States as part of the Government Work Plan debate.

The States' Greffier: Article 4, Committee for Education, Sport & Culture – Secondary and Post-16 Education Reorganisation – the continuation of the debate.

1765 **The Bailiff:** Well, Members of the States, for those with long memories that can take us back to the middle of July, we are resuming debate on these Propositions. You will have seen that some extra amendments have been submitted but we are going to continue with where we broke off and I invite Deputy Le Tocq, if he is so minded, to put forward amendment 5, which is seconded by Deputy Brouard. So Deputy Le Tocq, is this an amendment that you wish to have read at all?

[Amendment 5.](#)

To delete the Propositions and substitute therefor:

1. To agree that sixth form education, in the States'-maintained secondary sector, should continue to be provided within an 11-18 setting, rather than in a stand-alone sixth form college, and to direct the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture to design the optimal model for providing secondary education in Guernsey which retains an 11-18 educational offer inside the States'-maintained secondary sector, based as equitably as possible, on the following:

- three 11-18 schools based at existing educational sites;*
- ensuring that the intake is such that the 11-16 section of the schools are of roughly the same size;*
- including at one school site the main sixth form centre;*
- facilitating sixth form 'satellites' at the other two schools sites working together in partnership with the main centre; and*
- maximising vocational and academic option mix between the sixth form centre and The Guernsey Institute.*

Or if Proposition 1 has not been approved:

2. To agree that sixth form education, in the States'-maintained secondary sector, should continue to be provided within an 11-18 setting, rather than in a stand-alone sixth form college, and to direct the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture to design the optimal model for providing secondary education in Guernsey which retains an 11-18 educational offer inside the States'-maintained secondary sector, based as equitably as possible, on the following:

- three 11-16 schools based at existing educational sites;*
- ensuring that the intake is such that these schools are of roughly the same size;*
- including at one of the 11-16 school sites a sixth form centre;*
- seeking to investigate, develop and facilitate opportunities to continue post-16 studies, including A levels, where practicable, at the other two school sites through partnership with the sixth form centre; and*
- maximising vocational and academic option mix between the sixth form centre and The Guernsey Institute.*

And, if Propositions 1 or 2 have been approved:

3. To approve 'Secondary & Post-16 Education Reorganisation' as a project in the capital portfolio, subject to the States approving the relevant Propositions in the Government Work Plan policy letter which is being considered by the States later in July 2021.

4. To direct the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture to work in conjunction with the Policy & Resources Committee to deliver the proposals outlined in Propositions 1 or 2 above within the delegated capital budget and ongoing revenue costs as proposed in the policy letter.

Or, if Proposition 4 has not been approved:

5. To direct the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture to work in conjunction with the Policy & Resources Committee to return to the States as soon as practicable with proposals to deliver the proposals outlined in Propositions 1 or 2 above within the delegated capital budget and ongoing revenue costs as proposed in the policy letter.

1770 **Deputy Le Tocq:** No, sir. I think Members will have had an opportunity to have read it and it is quite straight forward, although it is lengthy. I hope simply to convince Members as to why this is

in my mind the most important decision to make, perhaps once and for all, for this Assembly to decide whether 11-18 schools should remain an option within the state provision.

Sir, I was asked a few months ago, because obviously we began this debate a few months ago, during a media interview, and I cannot exactly remember which media outlet it was, but the question was something like, 'Deputy Le Tocq, why do you believe that three 11-18 schools is the best option for Guernsey?' I said I do not and I am not sure.

The reason I answered that way is because those with long memories will know that I have not always advocated 11-18 schools. I will come onto that in a moment. But the reason I am laying this amendment, and I thank Deputy Brouard for seconding it, is not because I particularly believe it is the best option for our Island community, I am pretty certain that if you asked teachers, head teachers, unions, various opinion groups around, they would say it is not the best option. They would all have different views and we, I think, know that for certain.

In terms of surveys that have been done amongst teachers, for example, this particular option is only scored marginally better than the proposals being nominated by the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture. No, sir, the reason that I believe that it needs to be debated by this Assembly is because I believe there is a substantial number of parents, and therefore probably their children as well, but certainly a substantial number of parents in our Island community who do believe in 11-18 schools.

Therefore, if this option is not available, they will vote with their feet and their pockets and they will choose to send their children to private 11-18 establishments. So, we have got past the stage where we know that the most efficient, probably the greatest breadth of curriculum, as far as secondary education and tertiary education could be provided on-Island would be two 11-18 schools. In terms of how they are run, how effectively, we are not going to go down that path because we know that many in our Island would not want that. But I mentioned, sir, back during the Pause and Review debate, which seems like a decade ago now, that we need to look at whether three 11-18 schools could be an option for our community.

This amendment is deliberately flexible and it needs to be, as such, because I think we need to flesh out in this debate exactly how that would work and provide the sort of flexibility that then the Committee and its advisers can put into practice.

I am not against the proposals being put by Education, Sport & Culture. I am on record as saying that when they published them they resembled, to a large degree, the proposals that the Committee I was part of some 20 years ago, put before this Assembly, to provide education in the form of three 11-16 schools and a tertiary college.

Except, of course, Education, Sport & Culture have gone to pains to say this is not a tertiary college that they are proposing. They are proposing a standalone Sixth Form Centre, co-located with effectively the Guernsey Institute, College of Further Education. That is why I have some difficulty in going in that direction. I think had they said the answer is a tertiary college, we know that there would have been opposition to that because tertiary colleges, or I think only two feature in the top 100 league tables, within England particularly.

But their Proposition therefore, for a sixth form that would be, as far as I can work out, 40% smaller than the smallest sixth form currently working with that sort of model in the UK and in difficulties by all accounts as far as I could discover, their proposals leave me feeling that they are not the end game. In other words, if we go with Education, Sport & Culture's model and proposals, there will have to be quite serious changes further down the line.

Either the curriculum that that particular model provides particularly for post-16 will be such that it is too expensive to run and it will have to be reduced or we will be being asked, or our successors will be being asked to pour loads of money into that system every year in order for it to continue as such. The only other alternative is that there is a move towards a tertiary college.

Now, I am not against tertiary colleges, because I do not really believe in league tables but, sir, I know many in our community who do and they are already choosing to do so by putting their children or at least planning to put their children into private education and we already have a

situation where our demographics, as far as education is concerned, is skewed by the number that choose private education.

1825 I am not against private education and I know that when I raised this issue with teachers they said, 'Ban private education.' I am not suggesting that at all. For me education is a right and it is an extension of parenting so, philosophically, I am not against it. But I can see the problems that may arise for one reason or other if someone believes that the best education is only provided in 11-18 schools.

1830 I believe that also ESC and those who support their plans have accepted explicitly this very point as a presupposition and, in fact, in their arguments to support their preferred model, it would be inequitable for example to keep Les Varendes or indeed have any one site as an 11-18 school, because most parents would want to choose that site and that school and send their children there, ultimately.

1835 There are two problems that arise out of that argument. Firstly there is implicit within that argument that the Island community would favour and parents would favour 11-18 schools. That is obviously the presupposition behind that, over an 11-16 school. That as a result it would become a postcode lottery, as some people have argued, to get into the school that was perceived to have better educational outcomes.

1840 ESC has therefore, as a result, chosen to make all schools 11-16, which while superficially equitable, is effectively depriving some parents, rightly or wrongly, of schooling, which they consider to be better.

1845 Secondly, this argument also supports the fear among some that unless 11-18 education can be maintained in the public sector those parents, who can, will choose to opt out and, as I say, pay extra. They will go to the bank of Granny and Granddad or they will do an extra job in order to educate their children in what they perceive will be the only other option for an 11-18 education and that is in the private sector. That is my fear and I lay it out here in the arguments, sir, because in my mind we need to take that responsibility in the decisions that we are making.

1850 I believe that ESC's option can work. But as I have said before it will require future changes, future investments, particularly with the demographic changes and I will touch on that a little bit in terms of this model. I think those things are issues, which this Assembly are blinded to at the moment and focussed in perhaps, particularly, and I am sure this will come out, perhaps ironically, by those who say just make a decision and get on with it. We have had too much delay.

1855 We are going to hear that from some people who voted for Pause and Review a few years ago. I did not vote for that and I am on record, probably with only a few in this Assembly, of having voted for several other versions and models here just to get on with the job. Yes, this amendment would cause some delay. But let us be serious and I am very grateful for the help that we have had from Education officers. Deputy Brouard and I particularly, with the meetings we have had with them.

1860 We have done plenty of work in the past on various models. Some people want to go down to the detail and talk about whether you will be able to do retail therapy studies at post-16 level or not, in this new model. I am suggesting we do not go into that. But there is plenty of work that has been done on 11-18 schools and we know we can make it work here. It will require some delay but it will not be anywhere like the delay with some other amendments that are coming forward.

1865 So I think this is the big decision time on this amendment. Because it is not only about potential delay. Some will say we need to provide aspiration and a new Sixth Form Centre co-located with a brand new Guernsey Institute will help build that aspiration. Maybe for a very short time. But, as I said before, to provide the flexibility, and the thing I was surprised at in terms of meeting with Education officials, they confirmed that we could configure 11-18 schools that would be run no more expensively than the model that is currently being put forward by ESC.

1870 Indeed, they hinted at the fact that it could be possibly run less expensively than that. But also of course there would not be the capital costs that are intrinsic in this and they could be spent in a more appropriate way where extensions are needed, depending on the offer.

I think that particular piece of information was very helpful to me indeed because the other issue that people have, perhaps in some cases wrongly, been complaining about – certainly I am not particularly an advocate of saying the class size situation determines everything – because in my mind and I have a background of having trained in education, it is the quality of the teacher that really makes the difference. Yes, if class sizes get to the stage where there are 30, nearing 40, then there is a big difference. But the fact is that the flexibility within the model that we are proposing, depending on the quality of the teaching, could mean that class sizes do not have to increase. That has also been confirmed.

So, I know that there will be those who just oppose this because it means, they will probably say going back to the drawing board. The drawing board is already full of information on these sorts of things. We have left it very open because it is up to educationalists, it is up to the Committee to decide how big the satellites might be at the two other schools, but obviously the sixth form would remain with a base in one school, the two other schools could have, say, 100 in each, and in all cases, of course, the current provision in the private sector is around about those sizes. If they can make it work in the private sector why can't we make it work in the public sector?

Sir, I am making an argument therefore, and I am here to listen to debate, but I promised back in January, I think, at a series of questions, that if ESC did not put this forward as an option before us that I would be laying such an amendment. I am making an argument, I think, that we need to decide once and for all whether it is to our advantage and whether our community is going to make matters worse, if you like, for all of us, if we do not offer 11-18 in some form and I believe this is as equitable as we possibly can get and as flexible bearing in mind the changing demographics of the future, this is a form that can work and can work for us even if populations increase as well as decrease.

I am making an argument this is the decision time. That we need to take on our shoulders the responsibility. Because if we do not choose to go in this direction and what we see is a move either on-Island, or indeed off-Island, in which case even the economy is affected by it, for parents to choose to send their children to schools that are only available outside of the state provision, then it would be too late to try and change things. I will be listening to debate and I will respond to any questions that people have. Thank you.

The Bailiff: Deputy Brouard, do you formally second this amendment?

Deputy Brouard: Yes, I formally second, thank you.

The Bailiff: Thank you very much. Deputy Oliver.

Deputy Oliver: Thank you, sir. I suppose I have just got one question because I originally voted for an 11-18 school because I do think there are some merits in an 11-18 school. I have got children within the public sector and I suppose that I am thinking back to when I was a child. I did not know if I wanted to do A-levels or not and call me, maybe, lazy but I did not do the research. But I actually kind of just followed my friends because that is what most 16-year-olds do. I did not choose the same subjects as them but I definitely stayed in school because that is what was going.

Now, I can see two arguments that if everybody is going to a sixth form then you are kind of following your friends like that but when you have got an 11-18 you do look up to the sixth formers to a certain extent. I understand, if you have only got 11-16, then you have got whatever year, to look up to those. But I do like 11-18.

However, we have been told by nearly every educationalist that this amendment just will not work. So that is where I come. If it is not going to work then why am I actually voting for it. Because it is just going to come back and say, well, actually what will work is two 11-18s and we know what the public think of that.

Although I really like 11-18 and there is part of me that does want to vote for this, the practicality of it is it is just not going to work. If we are going to go with 'listen to what the teachers say' I think

1925 this amendment has been one that they all agree is not going to work. So very reluctantly, on that basis, I just cannot vote for it. Thank you.

The Bailiff: Deputy Prow.

1930 **Deputy Prow:** Thank you, sir. I will be very brief and just start by saying that I think Deputy Le Tocq's opening was very brave and very honest because, really, what he is actually saying is, 'I am not going to make a case for the 11-18 schools, I just want to give the Assembly a choice.' I am being slightly unfair but that is the subtext that has come through.

1935 He says it is flexibly written and left very open. I think that is a very brave way to open the amendment, as I said. Because throughout the debate we have had much criticism and comment around the ESC model and about lack of information, wanting more information, have not got enough information to make the decision today and so on and so forth. Actually that is very unfair because there were many presentations. Since before the Pause and Review I think I have read mountains and mountains of things we have had – £10 million worth of consultants. There is plenty of information around the ESC model.

1940 But the theme of this Assembly was ESC, you are putting forward this model but we want a bit more information and to actually stand up and put forward an amendment on the basis it is flexibly written and left very open, that is my main objection. At this stage in the debate, there must be many questions that Deputies will want to put to Deputy Le Tocq but I think I would prefer to leave those to the Committee of ESC because I am sure they want to know how it will work.

1945 The one problem that I have teased out is around the length of transition. This is a debate that has rolled on and on and I do not want to repeat what I said, talking about the other amendments, we have to be brave and bold and make a decision, because this debate has gone on so long. I do not think this amendment, in that regard, helps us at all. Deputy Le Tocq predicted that might be some of the criticism and comment that came his way and I am not going to disappoint him on that.

1950 Also one of the things he has said in his opening is that parents believe in 11-18 schools. I think Deputy Oliver echoed that and I liked a lot of what she said in her speech. But will they vote with their feet? I think that is an affordability issue. The idea that everybody that might want to send their child to an 11-18 school will simply send them to private education is just unaffordable. They will not be able to do that. So, I thank Deputy Le Tocq for bringing out the choice and I understand where he is coming from but, for me, this is just too late in the day and there are just far too many questions in this amendment for me. Thank you, sir.

1960 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Murray.

Deputy Murray: Thank you, sir, and thank you, Deputy Le Tocq, for a very honest and open introduction to the subject. Sir, we all have our belief systems. Sometimes we are not even aware of that until we encounter something that really challenges us to consider what it is that we are being asked to believe, by someone else.

1965 Deputy Le Tocq is a religious man so I am sure he would not mind me saying he has a strong belief system. Religion, of course, is very much a matter of faith. So, at some point, you either accept something to be true or you do not; since there are insufficient scientific facts to prove or disprove something like a religious theory.

1970 I say this primarily to laud Deputy Le Tocq as a man of sincerity. When he says he believes something, I truly accept that he believes it. Now, as he alluded, Deputy Le Tocq believes perhaps in 11-18 schools but perhaps what he feels is that he needs to present an option for people that do believe in 11-18 schools as the best education model for the Island today.

1975 Unfortunately, as he alluded to again, he has also previously believed – and I am sure he will correct me if I am wrong – in selection, tertiary solution, rebuilding LMDC and two schools to some

extent. He is remarkably consistent at being inconsistent, but I do not think that is actually a criticism. You obviously make decisions based on what you are presented with.

I do not say this to make Deputy Le Tocq uncomfortable. I certainly do not doubt that at each of these times he felt sincerely about what he thought was best. In fact, I am going to own up to something myself here, just to assure him that we all make mistakes. During the eventual stakeholder engagement undertaken by the last ESC, Douzaines were invited to come and hear the presentation about two 11-18 schools. They were containing some 1,200 students each but operating as one.

As a St Saviour's Douzenier, I went along to Beaucamps to hear all about that. What was concerning me, in all honesty, was the thought of such large schools and whether or not students attending would not simply end up just as numbers, rather than individuals. I gave no thought whatsoever at that time to whether the age range of 11-18 was better or worse than what we had. Further, I gave no thought at all to what that meant for splitting the sixth form in half. I quite happily advised ex-Deputy Fallaize, at the time, that he might stand a chance if he had been talking about three schools and not two. I was wrong.

I did not know enough about education, generally, to comment on whether 11-18 was best and I certainly did not know enough about sixth form operation. Now I do and I have to disagree with Deputy Le Tocq, and anyone else who asserts that 11-18 is the pinnacle of educational experience, particularly so in the Guernsey context, where we have a sixth form that is of insufficient size that to dilute it at all negatively impacts curriculum choice, relies upon students moving between sites to enable a broad access to a range of combination subjects and in this proposal for satellite sixth forms suggests that teachers too will be moving from site to site. In my opinion, the worst of all worlds.

Now this truly can only function as a single school, like the two schools was supposed to do, across three sites, because the timetabling requirement, to incorporate access to the entire sixth form curriculum, which as a matter of interest is far broader than anything at the grant-aided colleges at this point in time, coupled with access to the labs and specialist rooms that will be shared with the 11-16 cohorts in each school, will be hugely complex.

These satellites have been proposed because, Deputy Le Tocq will know, that to provide all three schools with equal facilities and equal curriculum choice would be extremely expensive. So he has suggested the sixth form-lite approach, with an inevitable requirement for students and teachers to move between each. The reality in Guernsey is that splitting the sixth form is not cost-effective and, consequently, it is not ever going to be equitable if it is attached to only one school and thereby create a postcode lottery as referred to by Deputy Le Tocq, depending on where you live, unless we return to selection.

Just how do we see this operating? The proposal suggests that we have three 11-16s of equal size. Well, what size? What feeder schools? What transition over what period of time? How does the sixth form curriculum get divvied up between the three schools? Some schools will have to run some of the subjects, some others. But when it comes to matching combinations for students, inevitably they will have to move between sites.

Leaving aside the safeguarding issues and logistics, each school has to operate efficiently in its own right, nevertheless, and servicing the needs of these 400, 450-plus sixth form students, their needs for suitably timetabled combinations in different schools would be so complex that inevitably different schools would begin to specialise in particular subjects only, just to be able to run the subjects cost-effectively.

Then, should the population projection become a reality, at some point even that would become completely uneconomic and we would be left, at best, with probably two schools having some sort of sixth form or, more likely, exactly where we are today. This is touted as being the superior model for Guernsey.

What this is, in reality, is an impractical means of delivering the undeliverable and this is crystallised in the second option put forward in this amendment, which echoes that of the Cameron/de Sausmarez approach, one inequitable 11-18, including sixth form, with two 11-16s in

partnership. To wit, keeping at all costs, at least one integrated 11-18 in the mix, whether inequitable or not, because you cannot practically split the sixth form three ways without negatively affecting the curriculum and having students move from site to site.

Now, this is not just me telling you this. In the extensive teacher survey last year, keeping the sixth form as part of one or more 11-18 colleges ranked the lowest score overall by teachers other than the Grammar School but, when including the Grammar School, it was still the second lowest choice.

If you referred to the side-by-side comparison that the ESC has created you will see capital costs have to suggest that La Mare is definitely not one of the schools, the sixth form component at the Grammar School cannot exceed 50% or considerably more cost is required to extend the facility. It must retain the tipping point we have now introduced or again further capital costs will be required.

Expanding Beaucamps and St Sampson's would mean that there would be no room left for expansion if the population predictions turn out to be larger than anticipated. There would be substantial variation in the three-school population size. It will add at least a year to the anticipated launch date.

And what of the relationship with the TGI? We have had a separate sixth form and a separate College of FE for a very long time, forever. This year, for the first time, we have had an IB option, in finance, which the two organisations have managed to put together. Why do we believe that is? Could it be because operating the Grammar School, which contains the only States-funded sixth form in the Island, is naturally and understandably quite an undertaking, and that consequently, embracing cross-working in the vocational, technical and professional arena, can present a fairly big challenge on top of that.

Would it not be easier to develop more cross-pathways if your only concern was to operate the sixth form and you only had to cross the courtyard to talk to colleagues? These are the opportunities presented by putting the sixth form on the same campus as the TGI. Is that not perhaps where the future of post-16 education in Guernsey needs to be?

There can be absolutely no doubt about that. That we cannot successfully operate a sixth form across multiple sites. Why does it not, therefore, make more sense, to position a sixth form independently between the environment of the attending students' past school experience and their future adult options in further and higher education, regardless of which 11-16 they began their learning journey.

Why is it that elevating the sixth form to its own position of prominence alongside our newly awakened understanding of the true value of investing in further education in the vocational arena, not so much a step forward for Guernsey than trying to anchor it in the past into an inequitable, post-selection single 11-18 school setting? Why would a separate, well-equipped sixth form, with its own identity, not be appealing to students Island-wide, whether in the state sector or indeed the grant-aided colleges. What is it that those who seem wedded to 11-18 feel they are losing compared to what the Island is gaining?

There is as much evidence in favour of the performance of 11-16s, as there is the 11-18s nationally. It really depends where you want to look. You can have faith in 11-18 as essential simply because some adherents are very vocal about it. Or you can recognise, in the Guernsey context, you can only ever deliver that realistically in one school setting out of three. And you can accept that it is therefore inherently inequitable and requires that some students find themselves having to move at age 16 and join other students who have the benefit of their first five years knowing their school, the teachers knowing them and having benefited from having had the per-pupil spend on them somewhat greater due to the better student-teacher ratio.

Or you can recognise that success for Guernsey's economy lies in the secondary educational future, which has easy access to a blend of academic, vocational, technical and professional pathways, which intersect, cross over and will be revisited many times from post-16 onwards in the lives of our young people and reject this amendment in favour of the Committee's Proposition. Thank you.

2080 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Parkinson.

Deputy Parkinson: Thank you, sir. Deputy Le Tocq almost damned his amendment with faint praise. But I have always believed in 11-18 education, so I am going to support his amendment wholeheartedly. I believe that 11-18 education works better for teachers, who often want to teach across both the 11-16 and post-16 curricula. I think it works better for pupils, who benefit from having young adults in the school alongside them. I believe that supports the development of a healthy school ethos and I think that the statistics from the UK demonstrate that the vast majority of the best, non-selective schools in the UK are 11-18 schools, in the state sector.

2085 So, I think that the evidence that this system works best and produces the best results is very strong. There are some practical problems with the idea of integrating sixth forms with the 11-16 schools but I think it is easy to exaggerate them. Many of the problems stem from the fact that Guernsey seems to be wedded to the idea that the choice of secondary school should be determined by feeder schools.

2090 In other words, that because a pupil went to a certain primary school, therefore they will inevitably end up in a certain secondary school. I think that is fundamentally flawed and something that Guernsey really needs to reconsider. The distances between our schools on a national scale are absolutely tiny. The travelling distance if you are in St Martin's and currently send your children to La Mare de Carteret and if you were instead to send them to Les Varendes or Les Beaucamps, the differences in travel distances are just insignificant.

2095 Guernsey I am afraid, there is this insular character where people who live in Torteval think that people who live in the Vale are somewhere in a distant continent. (**A Member:** They are, too!) Really, we are talking about schools, which, for the most part, are a mile or two apart. There is simply no reason why pupils from any part of the Island could not get to any of the sites being considered for the development of secondary schools.

2100 That, to me, means that the secondary schools do not have to be cookie-cutter duplicates of each other. They do not have to offer the same curriculum options across the piece. I think that if there was a measure of specialisation within the secondary sector, students, parents, and teachers would welcome that because it would allow for development of centres of relative excellence in particular subjects.

2105 To me the practical difficulties of developing a three 11-18 school model have always been grossly exaggerated and largely depend on this fixation on the concept of feeder primary schools, which I would scrap on day one. So I believe that 11-18 schools are a good idea and I believe they would be attractive to the public and I believe that, although there are practical issues to be addressed in that sort of model, I think those practical difficulties can be overcome.

2110 So I really do not think there is anything much more I can say on this. I have spoken in many education debates in the past. My support for the 11-18 school model is longstanding and has been clearly expressed. I realise that new Members of the Assembly will not have had the pleasure of listening to my speeches on this subject before but I do not really feel a need to rehearse them because I think the arguments are very clear. I wholeheartedly support this amendment. I urge other
2115 Members to do so as well.

The Bailiff: Deputy Brouard.

Deputy Brouard: Thank you, sir. I thought I would stand a little bit before lunch just to be a bit more of a cheerleader for the 11-18 schools and I thank Deputy Le Tocq for the opportunity to be able to second the amendment but I am very much in favour of it. While we know there is much to celebrate about our educational performances, there is room for improvement and this was made clear in the Education Billet of 2019, number 66 of September 2019.

2125 The inequality offering has been around since 2002 when the States at that time resolved to bring the three secondary schools up to the standard of the Grammar School and, slowly, St Sampson's High was built, Beaucamps redeveloped, leaving La Mare till last. I would have voted
2130

to rebuild La Mare as part of that journey as they provide now a very positive learning experience and have the resources and ethos to help children who need that extra support. But that is where I started to lose every vote. The Grammar went, selection went, La Mare not built. I did win the Pause and Review but, alas, in the end, that failed my expectations as the Pause was there but the Review never came.

What I seek is the Holy Grail of improved outcomes for all children, giving them the opportunity to reach their potential. What I really want, not just the opportunity but the reality of all children to be the best they can and results do matter. I want a high quality learning environment with modern purposed facilities. What an 11-18 school can offer is a greater number of students to continue into the sixth form on the same site, something that one of the Deputies mentioned this morning, and a smoother transition to the sixth form as they follow their peers and colleagues.

As an 11-18 school, you get contributions from the sixth formers for running clubs, outside activities, which is not only beneficial to the younger members of the school but also to their own development. The ability of the schools to recruit from a wider pool of teachers, the opportunity for teachers to teach the full range from 11-18, with improved professional development opportunities. The presence of having a sixth form that will inspire the young students to reach the sixth form and will also encourage those who wish to go on to a vocational subject to go onto the College of FE or the Guernsey Institute as it is now known.

As the emphasis will be on learning and development to fulfil one's potential, no scary jump to a sixth form as one would have lived with a higher learning facility from the previous five years. We have the chance now to have a single leadership team to support three schools or colleges. So where is the detail?

The present Committee says that for them, and I am content with that, that a large amount of work has been done in preparing for the two 11-18 schools and most of that can be rolled out for three 11-18 schools. I do appreciate the amendment does not specify which schools remain or which close, but we do say your existing educational sites and again the Committee can see which one would be most beneficial.

Myself and a few others have engaged with the professional staff at Education and I thank them for their engagement. I was surprised and pleased to learn – this is probably contrary to what Deputy Murray said this morning – that three roughly equal size sixth forms would be able to offer a broad curriculum as one would have initially thought that by splitting the sixth form, that offering would be compromised. But not by very much and far outweighed by the students being in the sixth form or college.

Also, we were advised that there was no need for specialism, something that Deputy Parkinson picked up on, as I would have thought one would have needed to. One more for science, one perhaps more for arts, but the curriculum modelling that we spoke to when we spoke to the professionals there did not predict that outcome.

So I did have to look up the difference between what was defined as a school and what is a college. Apparently a school is defined as an institute for educating children and a college is an educational institution. So that cleared that up! (*Laughter*) The point is the terms are really academic and a college particularly provides higher education.

I just want to touch on size. Ladies' College sixth form, 90 pupils; Elizabeth College, 119, Blanchelande, 16; and the Grammar School, 404. So divide three, I managed to do this, into 404 and it is roughly 134. Any of the States' new 11-18 colleges with an equal divide, will be bigger than Ladies' College or Elizabeth College. So please do not tell me that they are not good schools –

Deputy Soulsby: Point of correction, sir.

The Bailiff: Point of correction, Deputy Soulsby.

Deputy Soulsby: The sixth form college is actually a joint college, so it is about 209 pupils.

The Bailiff: Deputy Brouard to continue, please.

Deputy Brouard: Yes, so please do not tell me that they are not good schools. In fact parents will pay for their children to go there and will also pay tax to provide a place in state schools that they choose not to use. Don't we have a great opportunity to do the same for the state system by having 11-18 schools?

Whether you think 11-16 schools are better, or best, or 11-18 are best or better, I have never heard anyone say, as part of their move to Guernsey as an entrepreneur or a director in finance, because it has got good 11-16 schools. But I have heard that Guernsey having both private and state 11-18 schools was a factor in their move to the Island.

I think we all recognise that buildings are just one part of the school but the key driven by an outstanding head must be the teachers. As Denis Mulkerrin, we have not heard much from him lately, but he was very influential in reforming the education and the reform platform for standards to improve, after some pretty poor results over many years.

Now, the debate is not complete without some plagiarism and I have some words from the proposals for two 11-18 schools. There is a quote, which has been popular in the world of education:

The quality of an education system cannot exceed the quality of its teachers.

In other words, the recruiting and the retaining of good teachers is a prerequisite for good schools. Or as Denis Mulkerrin put it when he reviewed education in Guernsey some years ago:

The most important person in any school is the pupil and the most important asset is the teacher.

It is sometimes suggested that 11-18 schools attract better teachers. Putting it that way is unfair to the many excellent teachers working in Guernsey's high schools. It is true, however, that some good teachers wish to teach across the curriculum phases, key stages three, four and five. Successive Education Committees and their senior advisers have recognised that maintaining an 11-18 offer in the state sector can assist with recruitment and retention of good teachers.

In 2016, the then Education Department promoted the notion of federating schools and of teachers working across all key stages in secondary education, including post-16, thus enhancing their career opportunities and progression. This was also recognised by the head teachers of the Bailiwick's secondary schools in the letter they wrote to the President of ESC, on 19th January 2017, which stated:

We recognise the benefits of an 11-18 secondary school and the five head teachers are keen to explore a federated model. There are currently teachers who work within the high schools and contribute to teaching in the sixth forms. Further development of this work will undoubtedly support continued recruitment and retention of high quality staff.

I just want to reflect on the business case put forward for the two 11-18 schools. One school on two sites. One of the key objectives and benefits of 11-18 schools is this and it said:

Attracting and retaining high quality teams. The ability to attract and retain teachers from a broader pool. This will be achieved by greater opportunity to teach at sixth form, a reduction in the need for teaching outside specialism, improved professional development and new progression opportunities. The teachers are a key in this particular programme.

Now, the amendment before you has two options. There is three 11-18s-rich, which is the preferred model for myself and there is three 11-18s-lite, and you will see there is an either/or on amendment 5. Now, I favour more of option one, which is looking at three 11-18 schools. I would in fact be happy if they were all three of equal size sixth forms.

But both these options, it is three schools to work together to be under one clear leadership, sharing resources and students as appropriate. My plea is that we have the chance to have three colleges. Why would we not take it? You have lost the Grammar. Do not lose the chance to have three colleges in the public sector.

Now, I know some of my colleagues like to quote football and some others like to quote music lyrics, others Latin and a few like to go literary bards like Shakespeare. Alas, for me, it is a humbler piece of prose. Now, I know we are not meant to read newspapers in this Chamber and an old colleague of mine sometimes used to do the crossword secretly but with the Bailiff's indulgence, I just want to read the comment of yesterday's *Press*. It is very unusual that the *Press* and my thoughts actually align, it is only about the first time it has happened in 17 years but I just want to read this:

There is something almost painful in trying to read the responses from Education, Sport & Culture's questions submitted by the head of Environment & Infrastructure. The level of waffle, jargon and evasion is probably unprecedented within the States. What makes this even more serious is the Assembly will be asked this week to spend huge sums pursuing an educational model that sensible analysis shows is sub-optimal, expensive and, if approved, something the Island will regret for at least a generation.

Now here is the bit I like:

Academic experts are generally agreed the best results come from 11-18 schools where there are a large number of specialists who can teach across all ranges and so provide a diverse curriculum through teachers who know their subjects. Deviating from this approach is a risk and, thanks to Deputy Lindsay de Sausmarez's Rule 14 questions, Islanders now know how big that risk is. Guernsey is adopting the role of the guinea pig in embracing a tiny Sixth Form Centre because nowhere else in the world thinks that is sensible.

So I ask my colleagues and Members here, you have the opportunity today for three 11-18 schools. If you want better outcomes, if you want better prospects for our children, grab this opportunity now. Thank you very much.

The Bailiff: Members of the States, we will now adjourn until 2.30 p.m.

*The Assembly adjourned at 12.32 p.m.
and resumed at 2.30 p.m.*

COMMITTEE FOR EDUCATION, SPORT & CULTURE

Secondary and Post-16 Education Reorganisation – Debate continued

2240

The Bailiff: Members of the States, it looks as though some Members have voted with their feet that we should be allowed to remove jackets, even though nobody has suggested yet that they can. But if you are minded to remove your jackets, etc. then I will now give you permission because the sun has started coming out. I feel particularly sorry for those Members who promptly put their jackets on as I walked in!

2245

Who wishes to speak on amendment 5 next? Deputy Inder.

2250

Deputy Inder: Sir, only briefly. I think one of the best speeches of the day, so far anyway, has been actually Deputy Murray but those who have got fixed ideas and fixed views probably to a degree like myself, probably would not listen to him. That is the nature of the democracy and the so-called debating chamber that we live in sometimes.

2255

I must admit, whether we like it or not, I think elements of this debate look like a proxy war to me. We have got different types of States fighting in other people's patches of land and those fights are being taken along in our secondary schools. What I find most offensive about this is that many of the protagonists in this proxy war have bought their way out at 11-16 and the secondary sector. I am as offended as I was when we lost the selection and I am still offended because I think this is the real disingenuity about some of it.

2260 Anyway, I thought I was not going to get up because I thought I am only going to be inflammatory and I promised I would not be. Too late. When Deputy Le Tocq stood today – we do this all the time actually, we repeat things three times and they become a sudden truth in Guernsey, we see this absolutely everywhere – and he said, I am not sure if he said a substantial part of all the parents want 11-18.

2265 Well, if he is talking about the secondary sector, we actually do not have an 11-18 school. We have got the Guernsey Grammar and the Sixth Form Centre. We have got 330 kids in 11-16 and 500 in the Sixth Form Centre. Unless he is talking about people that are in the independents, as someone who is in the secondary sector and has almost got to apologise for that, with children in the secondary sector, I get no indication at all. This is someone who is in it today with their children. I get no indication at all that they want 11-18. They certainly do not want the split of the sixth form – that absolutely is the case – of which Members in this Assembly decided to split last year, cast it
2270 into two and now we want it split into three.

So, we have got ‘substantial parents want 11-18’. I just do not believe it because I am in the sector and I speak to parents on a regular basis and no one ever mentions it but they certainly do not want the sixth form split in half because it is successful, it is in the top 1% or 2% of sixth form centres in England, why on earth would you want to do it? We are again in the middle of education
2275 bingo.

He then went on to say, and there was a threat as well, ‘vote with feet’ and if we have not got 11-18, everyone is going to buy themselves into the independents. Well, I said exactly the same thing but that was over selection. I think Deputy Trott’s words, when we lost that actually, it was going to be bonanza day. I think that was in the speech we had when we both fought valiantly and only lost by one or two votes – Deputy Gollop – by removing selection.
2280

I note that we have got Deputy Gollop in the corner, via you sir, chuffing away, thinking this is a fantastic result. Well Deputy Gollop, via you sir, if you want 11-18 schools, proper 11-18 functioning school, you should never have got rid of selection. But anyway, on the day of selection I think I said, aping effectively what Deputy Trott said, that if I was buying shares in anything it would be the independents.
2285

Actually, that did not happen. Not to the degree that we thought. So, for Deputy Le Tocq to say that parents will vote with their pockets to move and want 11-18, I do not think there is any basis of that at all. Just finally, you can fairly well see that I will not be voting for this at all. I have got to pick Deputy Brouard up as well and he said, again, it is a scary jump to sixth form – he is not here, because I was going to offer, I should have called 26(1) the first time around – it is a scary jump to sixth form. How does he know that? How does anyone know that?
2290

All of those people that have got children in the secondary sector that believe it is a scary jump to sixth form please stand up. More importantly, those people who are educating their children in the independents, who can dodge this morass and this mess that we have continued with for 20 years, please stand up and tell me what you know about secondary education. Because none of you are in it. There is no such thing as fear. It is a joy for people.
2295

Those who are in the 11-16 at the moment, because I am afraid, and I do not really dine out on personal experience, I have watched over the last four or five days contemporaries of mine, which include one of my daughters, her relief and joy at joining the Sixth Form Centre. She could not wait to go there. She was not hiding in the back of the car. It is the first time in years I could get her out of bed! She wanted to go. So I am sorry, Deputy Brouard, and now you are back in the room, I wish you would not say the scary jump to the Sixth Form Centre because I do not think you have got the experience, because I have.
2300

In that regard, I will not be supporting this because this is based on a total fallacy. Sub-optimal, 11-18 schools, cutting in thirds now. We have gone from two schools, cutting the successful Sixth Form Centre into thirds and I will not support this in any way, shape or form. It is a total nonsense and it should be rejected.
2305

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

2310 **Deputy Ferbrache:** I would like to say, 'Well said, Deputy Inder'. Well said, in stronger terms than I think I can say it. The position in relation to this is there are some people that have never, ever experienced, either as a pupil when they have got no choice, or as a parent when they have every choice, their children going through the normal public school. But of course they have got opinions because they know about it from theory. They have never known about it from practice
2315 and that was a disgrace in the education debate and it is a disgrace.

Deputy Le Tocq, I work with almost every day. I respect him considerably, I have got to know him really well over the last nine months. I know he is a sincere and able person. I have seen him deliver, heard him deliver, some really passionate speeches and I have to say, with no disrespect to him, I thought his speech before lunch was passionless.

2320 What he basically said was, in fact one of the opening sentences, he said, I do not believe the option I am putting forward is particularly the best option. So why put it forward as an option to get people to vote for if you do not particularly think it is the best option? We cannot gamble with children.

Now, Deputy Inder is talking about his experience and his girls are in the secondary system. I
2325 have got seven grandchildren. One of them is only four. I do not bring in my family, as other Members do, and attack other Members about their family. I do not do that. I have got seven grandchildren. One is four tomorrow. The same birthday as Deputy Leadbeater, albeit she is a bit younger than him. I have got two who are at Castel School, I have got two who are in the independent schools and my oldest granddaughters have left school

2330 So, I think I have got a pretty broad experience and of my four kids, one went to secondary school all the way through, one went to the Grammar School as a scholarship girl and two we paid for, one at the boys' college and one at Ladies' College. I think I have got a pretty mixed experience of the education system.

Deputy Le Tocq is a wise person. I think he is a bit naive when he said because of this there are
2335 some people, because there is not going to be three 11-18 schools, they will want to educate their children privately. Why are they wanting to education their children privately? Deputy Prow made a point that some people are not fortunate enough to be able to do that because it is a question of affordability.

I cannot go back to the days of when there was gaslight and horses in the streets when I passed
2340 the 11-plus because the education system has changed. It gave Peter Ferbrache and the working class kids of my generation an opportunity that the posh people, who have never educated their children through this system took away. That was a disgrace. They took away the opportunities, instead of reforming the system.

My good friend – we do actually get on most of the time, Deputy Trott and I – we both had the
2345 same view in relation to selection, we both had the same view in relation to Pause and Review but we differed from that and I will speak more about that probably when he presents his amendment in due course. But I respect his view. I know he will respect mine.

To say that why people want to educate their children, if they can afford it, and more people
2350 would educate their children if they could afford it, in the private sector because they are fed up with this States and its predecessor and the predecessor States to that destroying an education system without having any idea what they are going to put in its place. It is a disgrace. This amendment is not a disgrace but it should fail.

The Bailiff: Deputy Leadbeater.

2355

Deputy Leadbeater: Thank you, sir. I have just got a few comments and a few points to make. Not a great deal. I will not be supporting this amendment, by the way. Deputy Brouard read out, which I thought was a great piece in the paper yesterday, in the opinion column, but he did not read out the end bit of it, so I am just going to finish up where he left off.

2360

Secondary education has been a political football for years. As such, it would be better for the States to pause and consolidate the existing structure and provide some certainty for the current cohort of secondary school children. That would require minor capital investment in La Mare and elsewhere but, more importantly, would allow the profession and their students to consolidate the enormous change that has already been introduced but not yet completed through adopting non-selective education. Managing the existing structure and estate for the benefit of the current cohort of students and pausing the secondary review until the Island's finances are in better shape makes more sense. By then, a better informed view may have emerged on what the secondary and other types of education look like post-pandemic, what Guernsey actually needs.

The thrust of that piece yesterday was not necessarily just promoting 11-18 education, it was also saying we are actually okay as we are, should we stay as we are and consolidate post-removing selection?

2365 I just want to read out, I hope Deputy Brouard forgives me and I am not attacking him here because he is my President at HSC, but I would just like to read out Deputy Brouard's speech that he made in this Chamber in 2018 when we were discussing education and my amendment, and I really thanked him for his support at that time.

I think Deputy Leadbeater, through the Committee, has put forward a practical solution. I am happy to support the three schools. The rebuild of La Mare, I think, is an absolute must. The idea of having one Sixth Form Centre, I think is much better than having it split. Obviously who would not prefer to have three fantastic schools and three fantastic large, thriving sixth forms, but we just do not have the numbers. If you want to have that, you have to move to another country.

2370 The difficulty we have here is we are trying to square circles or we are trying to make the circles fit into squares. That was back in 2018 and I agreed with Deputy Brouard then and I agree with his speech that he made then, now. I think it is still relevant. Just a couple of comments on things Members have said. Deputy Trott said parents will want to send their children to the school perceived to provide better educational outcomes than others. It is that perception and to go back to Deputy Brouard's previous amendment, there is a perception that there is an advantage but there is no conclusive proof and we are not going to find that conclusive proof unless we continue with the *status quo*. Anyway that has gone, but that might come back later on.

2375 Deputy Oliver pointed out that in her experience students looked up to sixth formers and I can understand they do but what we need to understand here is we are debating 11-18 education only for some of our students, not for all of them. Because the majority of students will leave at 16 regardless of what models are adopted. It is not as if every single child ... if we had a three 11-18 school system, most children would still leave at 16 years of age. That is a fact that is overlooked, I think, quite often.

2380 Deputy Prow said that we have to make a decision because it has dragged on too long. If you think about it, all the time the States have dithered and dallied over education, our education system has actually consolidated itself and actually done quite well. La Mare de Carteret, for example, has grown from strength to strength, and we should not lose sight of that progress that has been made during that time. That is for a speech on another amendment, so I will leave it there, thank you very much, sir.

2390 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Roffey.

2395 **Deputy Roffey:** Thank you, sir. I am not going to speak for long but can I preface my remarks by saying how I think it is that people are being deemed only to have legitimate views on what our state education system should be if they themselves or their families have been through state education. I am a man and I voted and have full right to vote on abortion laws. I am never going to have an abortion. Things are changing all the time but even in my world I do not think we are ever going to reach that.

2400 I think everybody who has been elected by the public of this Island to sit in this Chamber has a right to have a view about what health system we have, what education system we provide and everything else. To try and tell people they should or should not because of their personal experience, I think, is shameful.

That said, if you really want my credentials, I went through the state system, all three of my step-children went through the state system, all three of my grandchildren are going through the state system. But I really should not need to say that. It would not have mattered whether we were or were not, I think I would still have a view on what is best for the people of the Island and what we should be able to provide.

I share an experience with Deputy Le Tocq. We went through that debate of 2001 and, like him back then, I voted for three 11-16 schools and a tertiary college. We could not persuade the States but we were co-joined in our opinion then. I have to say I have changed my mind in the light of evidence.

I still believe, as I think he does, that if we are going to go to an 11-18 system of secondary schools, then a tertiary college makes more sense than two entirely separate institutions post-16. That is not on the table, that is not being offered. But I have changed my mind on the evidence in two ways. For one reason because I think even a tertiary college, with a co-joining of – I hate the term – vocational and academic because if you train to be a lawyer that is pretty vocational but I think it is quite academic as well. So is medicine vocational but that is really academic. But using those traditional terms, even with those joined together, it is a very small standalone institution.

But to try and do it just for A-levels, IB, just for a sixth form college, just over 600 pupils at the moment but according to all of the demographic projections falling to 300 and something not that far down the road, all professional educational wisdom that I have seen over years have said that is just far too small to work well.

So that is one of the reasons I have changed my mind but the other reason, I have to confess, I have become convinced about the evidence over 11-18 schools. I have become convinced of that and I think there are many reasons for that. Partly it is recruitment. All the surveys of teachers show the vast majority would prefer to work into an 11-18 setting.

Now, many of those actually do not want to teach A-levels. They are quite happy to teach just the key stages that go up to GCSE. But they still prefer to teach in an institution that is 11-18 because they know that the real subject specialist teaching of the A-levels are available to teach GCSEs throughout all of the key stages, not just at A-level.

So, teachers are the most important thing, far more important than buildings, far more important than ideology. We want a model that attracts the majority of teachers. That is not just anyone it attracts, some really good ones who want to come and work for 11-16, but we are closing the field. We are narrowing it down and I do not think we can afford to do that.

If I have any criticism of Deputy Le Tocq, I think he has just under-sold his amendment at the beginning. He under-sold his amendment partially because he was saying actually what is on the table from ESC could work and work quite well. I think he is wrong. The main bit about his amendment that I like is the very first line:

To delete the Propositions and substitute therefor:

Because I can tell Deputy Le Tocq I am not convinced that three 11-18 schools is the perfect solution. I think splitting the sixth form three ways does have problems. Actually splitting it two ways, two 11-18 colleges, I think would work really well. I do not know if anybody has ever considered that! But I can see problems with splitting it three ways. But those problems, at the moment we are not voting on whether or not this should be – sorry I was going to say final solution but that has got unfortunate connotations – the action we adopt. Working on whether to replace the Propositions in the Billet now, with this, we can still go on to discuss the other options afterwards.

Why do I think that the problems are fewer with the Le Tocq amendment than with what is in the Billet itself? Partly, I think, Deputy Murray answered some of that. Deputy Murray said one of the problems with three 11-18s is, if it is arranged this way, you are going to have some teachers having to drive around the Island between schools.

What on earth, sir, does he think is going to happen with a 370-380-strong standalone sixth form college? There are only three ways that that can be staffed. One is part-time teachers, who are

subject specialists. One is full-time teachers that only teach there, in which case they will have to teach more than one subject and will be teaching A-level in their non-specialist subjects. Not a problem in a 1,200-strong sixth form college in the UK, where they have enough cohorts in their specialist subject to be able to fill their day and their week teaching them but in a 370-odd it is a real problem.

Or, most likely, they will actually, and probably the least damaging of the three, they will drive around the Island teaching in the other establishments because if they are an expert at whatever, specialist teacher at whatever, teaching A-level, they will also go around and teach that at GCSE elsewhere. It will happen more under the ESC model than it will under the Le Tocq model.

Now, Deputy Prow, I am sure he did not mean it this way, but he did get my goat slightly. Deputy Le Tocq had said one of his concerns, there is a perception out there – I think it is more than a perception, I think it is a reality but it is definitely a perception – amongst many people that there are advantages to 11-18 schools.

Clearly it is something that ESC admits is a perception, even if they do not serve it themselves because they were really worried a few weeks ago when we discussed the Cameron amendment that having one 11-18 and two 11-16s was a postcode lottery and gave an advantage to those who happen to go to the Varendes site. So obviously they accept at least there is a perception that there is an advantage to 11-18 education.

So, where am I going with this, what was I trying to say? I think the difficulty then is that if people want to buy out, which is where I was coming back to, I am not sure that they will do. But I think there will be a number of people that want to buy out and the message from Deputy Prow was 'do not worry, lots of them will not be able to afford to'. He is right, of course. Lots will not.

So we have got a big tranche of Guernsey people who believe, rightly or wrongly, I think probably rightly, that there are inherent advantages to 11-18. Those that can afford it, no problem, they can access the education that they perceive as advantageous, those that cannot afford it, sorry, your children will go into 11-16 education whether you want them to or not.

That is not the type of educational divide that I think we should be creating. So, I have absolutely come to the view that we should be retaining some sort of 11-18 offer within the state sector in Guernsey. Now, I am not sure that Deputy Le Tocq's amendment actually gets that absolutely right but it does retain it and also I have to say, I have got to be consistent, one of my arguments against ESC's proposals is I think it is really hard to make something work when the vast majority of the profession have got big question marks about it and that applies probably equally to splitting the sixth form in three directions.

I am going to vote for this amendment not because I think it is Nirvana, not because it is what I am going to vote for at the end of today or tomorrow or Friday, or whenever it is, but because I think it is better than the proposals it is seeking to replace and therefore it is just common-sense to vote for it.

The Bailiff: Deputy Matthews.

Deputy Matthews: Thank you, sir. I would like to start by very briefly speaking critically of the Committee's preferred option. It has attracted some considerable criticism within the teaching profession to the extent that the proposals are opposed by at least two thirds of the teachers in state schools. There is no need for me to repeat the adverse views, as Members will no doubt be familiar with the issues that have been raised.

But, as a parent and taxpayer, I have my own criticisms but also a far more optimistic vision of what could be achieved if there was a will to consider other possibilities. Sixth form colleges can be more efficient in the UK, but there they benefit from much greater economies of scale than can be achieved in Guernsey. The proposal is simply to move the existing provision and that does not create any efficiency gain.

It seems obvious that sixth form education and the type of skill that is required in Guernsey is far more efficiently delivered when attached to an 11-16 school. Such facilities can be shared and

2505 teachers can have the option to work across both GCSE and A-level and indeed this has many benefits for the school as a whole, such as in recruitment, providing role models to younger students, create more opportunities to stretch their most able students and helping to create a more mature learning environment, which can inspire younger students, which can help the behaviour and can create a sense of pride and achievement in the school, which are all reasons why parents, when presented with a choice, will usually choose an 11-18 school over an 11-16 school.

2510 This is something that can help with social mobility, helping those from a disadvantaged background to achieve their full potential and promoting a sense of unity among Islanders, where everyone gets a fair chance in what can sometimes seem a very divided society between the haves and have-nots.

It is worth noting at this point that there is something much bigger that education policy should be setting out to achieve than just a narrow measure of educational outcomes and grades. Our education system is how we can shape our society to make it more equitable and to help bring people from a range of backgrounds together. The potential to introduce choice into the system should not be overlooked.

2520 Some in our community may see it as simply a form of discrimination, some children depending on their location or their income, attend a school where they see older students at their school as role models, that may inspire confidence, that they too could aspire to careers as doctors, lawyers, engineers, architects or designers, whether they later choose an academic or vocational route should not matter. What should matter is if our education system will not provide a choice of school to many parents, in contrast to the UK.

2525 So, where does this leave the concept of parity of esteem that the Committee has been keen to place at front and centre of their proposals? Well, the concept of parity of esteem, as it is understood in England, is a much broader concept than buildings or locations. It is about valuing and funding further education equally with academic pathways and providing good careers advice and pathways to allow students to switch between academic and vocational tracks easily. Learners across the ability age range can benefit from such an approach.

2530 There is no requirement to locate a sixth form study and further education in the same building or on the same physical site. Indeed, there are advantages in locating further education separately, as the educational offer may maintain a different style with a more grown-up and less school-like atmosphere, which many learners may prefer.

2535 The Committee's use of parity of esteem to describe a simple relocation seems like picking up a buzz-word to justify a building project, rather than a heartfelt commitment to transform the post-16 education offer. On the other hand, a three 11-18 model, which retains Les Varendes as a central hub but develops new sixth form teaching at two other satellite locations provide true equity throughout the whole system.

2540 All schools would have equal status. The two small sixth form units could not offer a full range of options alone but working together could do so. This specialism should not be seen as a negative. This is a positive. An element of travel between the sites would be required but this could be surprisingly minimal, as little as 10% of the total sixth form – about 45 students – taking direct transfer at some lunchtimes, depending on the range of subjects that each school was able to offer.

2545 The two satellite schools with sixth forms may have to specialise in a narrower range of subjects. This should be considered a strength, not a weakness. It presents an opportunity to create centres of excellence in fields that are important to the Island. Specialisation at sixth form is well understood and successful within the UK school system. The rest of the school, at 11-16, continues to offer the same broad and balanced education and National Curriculum options as currently.

2550 Potential is real to create schools, which are not only outstanding, but world class within their fields. The reality is, regardless of what we choose today, we will have a three 11-18 system in the Island but it will be in the independent sector and that is just a fact. The question is, for the state system, will we attempt to compete with this or simply give up on providing 11-18 education?

2555 In the UK, some are noticing that in affluent areas, schools retain their state 11-18 schools where deprived areas move to more 11-16 schoolings for cost savings reasons. Those cost saving reasons,

which we do not realise here in Guernsey due to scale. Have we truly considered the impact on our Island of allowing 11-18 education to become the preserve of those who can afford to pay for their education?

Around one third of our students attend a private school, a much higher percentage than the UK. Our Island's educational landscape could become externally a source of ridicule, a state system derided by its own teachers and within the community, that has become increasingly elitist and divisive. It could set our international reputation back. How could anybody be encouraged to relocate to Guernsey from the UK with such an offer? Please, when it comes to our children's education, choose wisely. Thank you, sir.

The Bailiff: Deputy Gollop.

Deputy Gollop: Thank you, sir. Deputy Inder was kind of saying some of us have more right to votes than others or perhaps we make the wrong votes. But I have often looked back at the different ways I voted and the first time this education came, it was Deputy Trott and me who were comparatively new Members and we were on the same side in protecting what we thought were the colleges against the proposals of the day, which funnily enough Deputy Le Tocq has alluded to because he was on the Education Committee back in 2001.

It is a funny old world because, during the summer break, I went in the new Members' room, that has been slightly revamped in Frossard House, and I looked back on the Billets from 2001 and the proposals that the new Education, Sport & Culture Committee are putting forward are remarkably similar to what the then Education Committee put forward in the days when Allister Langlois and the late Wendy Morgan and Deputy Martin Ozanne were Members. It is a curiosity.

The only significant difference – even the sites were the same – albeit the St Sampson's School was planned for Belle Greve rather than Baubigny. The three schools as chosen were the same and the sixth form combined, co-located with a College of Further Education was the same, but as Deputy Roffey has reminded us, the hint in the 2001 era was more of a tertiary model than the one we have.

So you think 20 years of progress? Maybe, maybe not. But in many ways I looked back to when I shifted with the narrow majority, it would have gone through actually anyway even if I had not changed in 2016, because of course the default Proposition was the previous Sillars vote, as amended by Deputy St Pier when we went from four schools to three schools.

But moving on from that, I think I voted in 2016 to abolish the 11-plus as it was currently being done in such a way as to no longer be optimal in terms of social mobility. In itself, I did not vote to abolish 11-18 schools. There was a different element to the debate and it is all how you interpret it. I would argue – yes I would, Deputy Vermeulen chuckles – that we never actually have a proper education debate in the Chamber. Not really. We have had lots of ideological opinions, we have had views from teachers, but we have never had a real debate like the UK has experienced over the last 30-40 years.

The kind of issues we should have been debating, not just those Deputy Fallaize brought up in the last term but the words of wisdom we heard from Deputy Matthews today and Deputy Parkinson. We have never talked about specialist schools. We have never talked about how in the UK grammar schools have continued in some areas as grammar schools and in other areas as semi-selective schools.

We have never talked about technology colleges or academies or free schools or schools that have a leadership that is divorced from the local authority. We have stuck in the 1970s. The sides have not changed since then. So, I am pretty neutral about all of these proposals because I think they are all in different ways rather backward looking and I will give the 11-18 schools another go with the Le Tocq amendment. I am less sympathetic to some of the other amendments when we get to them.

Because maybe the *Press* editorial is, on the balance, right that 11-18 schools do produce better outcomes, although you could trace it back to say single-sex schools produce better outcomes. It

all depends how you look at it or geographical locations. I would also argue that it is a pity the way things have gone because of the diseconomy of scale that we are not really offering the choice to non-independent parents, 11-model.

Of course, should Education, Sport & Culture's model eventually win the day, there will be a semi-link between one of the campuses, maybe the whole collective, three-in-one, and the Sixth Form College. You can make any system work if you have got the will to make it work, I think, and you have the resources, both human and financial, that you can project into it.

I think another problem with all our education debates is they are rarely attached with a price tag as to which is the best model if you include specialisms and money because there is a price to be paid. But I am left with a situation that, on balance, I think the Le Tocq amendment should be supported at this stage, because I think you would see probably a greater intensification of examination results. But that remains to be seen.

The Bailiff: Deputy Dudley-Owen, you wish to speak now.

Deputy Dudley-Owen: Thank you, sir. Members are looking quite comfortable so hopefully they will be prepared to listen to quite a lot of what I need to say today, which I am afraid is a little bit on the long side, considering some of the shortness of speeches that we have had today already on this amendment.

The amendment essentially seeks to debate the benefits and disadvantages of organising education into schools for 11-18-year-olds and schools for 11-16-year-olds with separate post-16 provision. Now we have had a long summer break and I have had time in which to consider how to tackle this motion but I will start with the basics and just reiterate in summary an outline of the amendment, because it comes in two substantial parts, one which we have been told is the rich version and the other one the lite version. I am assuming in terms of merely calorific content.

So, the rich proposals is that we have three 11-18 schools, where 11-16 students split is broadly equal, and I am reading here from the amendment, one school with the 'main sixth form' and the other two with 'satellite' sixth forms:

... maximising vocational and academic option mix between the Sixth Form Centre and The Guernsey Institute.

The lite proposal for three 11-16 schools where student split is broadly equal, with a co-located sixth form at one of those and to offer:

opportunities to continue post-16 studies, including A levels, where practicable, at the other two school sites through partnership with the sixth form centre; and ... maximising vocational and academic option mix between the sixth form centre and The Guernsey Institute.

Well, it is not straight-forward and there are just so many ways to tackle this amendment because the proposals lack any depth of real assessment on the current situation. They lack thought to our strategic direction as an Island and they also lack any concentration on the challenges of implementation.

So, I have decided the easiest way to explore this amendment is on the basis of the guiding principles that the Committee used to solve the question of how to reorganise secondary and post-16 education. Now, I remind Members that these are: a model that gets greater equity for post-16 education and training. A model that is reflective of the economic climate. Not just fiscal constraints but also the need to invest. It is realistic of the timeframe. It is mindful of disruption. And it is easily understood and pragmatic.

So, sir, how does this amendment fit these principles? Looking at greater equity for post-16 and training, we want all students aged 16 and over to feel equally valued whatever their chosen qualification pathway, whether it be A-level, BTech, IB, apprenticeship or retakes. Some have talked about this as dumbing down. This is a poor attitude in my mind and is exactly the issue that we are

seeking to address. This is about levelling. It is levelling up, identifying the best aspects of the student experience for the various parts of our post-16 offering and sharing that across all pathways.

It is about levelling the playing field in our Island, where we know that the gaps in our community are becoming ever wider. How could anyone dispute whether this is necessary or demand evidence to prove it? To purposefully create either a wholly 11-18 schools or some sort of hybrid is to accept that not all children from the 11-16 phase of education will have the same educational experience as their peers, as a consequence of not having achieved, at a certain point in time, the required academic results or not wanting to pursue an academic pathway of education post-16.

Where is the fairness in that? Where is the fairness for children who will not know whether or not they can stay on in their own school for post-16 study until they have received their results in Year 11 and unless they have met the criteria for the academic pathway that this school has on offer? Perhaps as bad, another in-baked inequity would be having told a student that they are welcome to stay on, if they achieve the required results, in the scenario that is the three 11-18 schools, because of the size, these 16-18 add-ons, the subjects that a student wants to study may not be on offer and they will have to move entirely, which then conflicts with the ideal of having a straight-through educational experience in an 11-18 setting.

Those students are also disenfranchised and have to leave one school setting to join another to continue their studies or will have to move to multiple sites to achieve their choices or may choose to drop choices because it becomes too difficult to move around between various different sites, which are often a few miles of a journey away. Not far in Deputy Parkinson's mind but, given Guernsey infrastructure, we know can often be rather challenging.

Any perceived or actual benefit of the 11-18 schools are negated for at least 50% of the students, based on current numbers of all ability students who attend the Guernsey sixth form. This is as far away from equitable as you can get in our Guernsey context. In fact, it is a similar prospect to what the children in our non-selective cohorts face now, at Les Varendes, if it remains as is today. Because not all of them will be welcome to stay to experience the Guernsey sixth form. They will have to leave and go elsewhere to finish their studies or enter the workplace.

This summer 69.6% students achieved five A*-C grades, including English and maths in their GCSE examinations. This was some achievement, in light of the many challenges faced by the Bailiwick as a result of the pandemic. This means that approximately 70% of our students have achieved the necessary qualifications to achieve A-level or equivalent-level provision, such as BTech, in the College of Further Education, which the Committee considers are progression routes of equal value and wants the whole community to recognise as such.

I cannot stress enough the need for everyone to see that both with academic and technical, professional, vocational level three progression routes are of equal value. But, in addition to this, and it is a big but, approximately 30% of our children this year did not achieve the so-called gold standard.

There might be many reasons why these young people may not have yet peaked academically. Maybe they have suffered disruption due to long-term illness. Maybe there has been a relationship breakdown, or a bereavement at home. Quite frankly, we are very concerned that all the focus and the noise has been around the Sixth Form Centre, which takes approximately half of all our post-16 learners on an annual basis for academic studies.

What about the other 50%? We design an education model for all our children, not just 50%. They matter hugely to the Committee and should do also to this States' Assembly. **(A Member: Hear, hear.)** This ongoing separation of learners post-16 is a perpetuation of selection at 11. Why, having removed this concept of academic selection, do we want to continue this outdated model of selection into post-16 education. All our young people are valued individuals, with huge potential for future success. It is for this reason that inclusivity is at the heart of the Committee's model.

This is a clear demonstration of the value that some place on vocational and technical qualifications versus academic qualifications. 'You can stay if you are academically inclined or have

2705 reached the right grade in the timeframe we have given you. But if you are not or you have not, then sorry, you do not belong here.'

It is notable that the amendment has a stab at equity as it wants to maximise the vocational and academic option mix between the Sixth Form Centre and Guernsey Institute. But we go back to the issue that still remains in this scenario and will continue to remain, due to separating the post-16 provision in different locations. Those who do not obtain the grades to continue to sixth form at their school would have to leave or move at the age of 16. As already explained, even those that do stay on at an 11-18 establishment may have to move site, depending on their choice of qualification. What is the educational benefit of this?

2715 Going further than this, retaining the sixth form on one site, will continue to provide the inequitable provision that removing selection was intended to remove. Separating sheep and goats is how it was described in one memorable selection debate by one of my predecessors.

Our second guiding principle, sir, is that the proposed model must be reflective of the economic climate. Not just the fiscal restraints but also looking at the other side of the coin, in terms of investment and potential for returns, not just financial. It is a fact that the Department of Education in the UK linked financial viability to the size of the sixth form. We do not need to always copy what the UK does. In fact, it serves us well on many occasions not to. So why should we care about this fact in the UK?

I think in terms of a stand-alone, we need to see that co-location of the sixth form with the TGI as ensuring that we do have economies of scale in terms of the facilities and share our specific space to lock-in viability. It is a different matter for a sixth form attached to a school and the risk of creating three 11-18 schools is that the less than optimal satellite sixth forms are too small and too limited in terms of choice options and, as already stated by Deputy Murray, they risk closure as the student population declines due to demographics, or student options. How is that acceptable for a new model? Where is the sustainability and in-built flexibility?

2730 Looking at investment, we all know that we are in extremely turbulent times and have experienced a global economic downturn. The best investment we can make is in our children. I will repeat that many times without any shred of apology. I want to be as bold and ambitious for each one of our Island children, as if each one were my own. They are worth the investment. Without them, this Island's future is doomed.

2735 Capital investment must yield a return and it is a pity I have to spell this out in simple terms for some who are choosing to ignore what they know to be true. We must invest in our children's education, which is so intrinsically linked to the economy and to the broader success and wellbeing of our Island and the community, which has after all no other natural resources to rely on.

2740 This amendment fails to address that the business sector wants more emphasis on technical and vocational qualifications to deal with the changing economic landscape. That is how intrinsically linked education is to our economy. Never has it been more apparent or essential that if Guernsey is to recover from the financial impact of COVID-19, to forever change ways of working that resulted from it, from the revolutionary changes that are envisaged globally as a result of automation and artificial intelligence, which quote honestly, despite knowing about them for quite some time we have been very slow to react to here on Guernsey.

2745 We need to focus on the way we equip our young people to enter the workforce and the way we support adults living in our community to upskill and retrain. The model proposed by the Committee seeks to restructure the delivery of secondary and post-16 education to provide equitable and fair opportunities for learners, whether or not they choose to follow vocational or academic or a combined pathway at post-16.

2750 The model also provides a flexible and long-term solution for the Bailiwick's education system, which can meet the increase in the global demand for skills. We are tasked in this Assembly to make strategy and political decisions for the direction of this Island and to have to continually explain the interplay between education and the success of our Island does nothing to enhance the electorate's faith in us to be able to take a long-term view of the overall aims and interests of Guernsey, leading on their behalf, as they asked us to do a year ago.

Our third guiding principle, sir, is that a model must be delivered in a realistic timeframe. The amendment states in the explanatory note that the direction will not take the Committee back to the board. I would argue strongly that it will. Because taking the decision of how best to organise education is not as simple as determining the age range and number of sites. Any reorganisation is intrinsically linked to the important factors, such as the students and staff experience, student numbers on site, length of transition, costs and investment in our young people.

This has been painstakingly set out in a very useful comparison document put together by officers over the summer recess and published earlier this week. I hope Members have got their copies because we offered hard copies, at some expense, but others of you will have them online. It is plain for all of you to see.

Therefore, the seemingly milestone event of merely choosing the age range and number of schools is barely a step forward and effectively does take the Committee back at least five-six months to begin the process of looking at all the factors, which have been outlined in that document, which need to be explored and challenged thoroughly by expert staff.

The delivery of the model with the construction industry as it is currently in Guernsey is also unknown. How can we give any assurances that the work can be delivered in these circumstances? Well, we just cannot. Certainly not here and not today.

So, sir, is this amendment mindful of disruption? This is our fourth guiding principle and we think this is really very important. Under this amendment, construction will be undertaken at three or even four different sites also considering the Guernsey Institute build. The extensions will not be able to be undertaken in the six weeks of the summer, because they are too extensive and will have to be carried out whilst students are on site. This, we know, causes significant disruption, not just to students but also to staff who will have to continue to study and work during the construction phase, with building works going on around them.

If the sixth form were to be larger than 50% of the students in that phase and could not be accommodated at Les Varendes, due to the intake in the lower school, then it could be that we instead have to build out at St Sampson's.

Sweeping statements have been made in the amendment about disruption but there is further disruption caused in this amendment, with the student transition and lack of detail on the size of the sixth form extensions. These points offend our principle of ensuring least disruption as possible. There will be unavoidable disruption at all sites throughout the academic year.

We do not know about how the transition of students from La Mare de Carteret will be approached. Will they be guaranteed a move together in one group, with many of their teachers, as we have said we hope to do in our model? Or will they be scattered across various sites? Indeed, whether it would be a closure of that school, and it could equally be the Grammar School at Les Varendes which closes under this amendment, we just do not know any of that level of detail.

So, sir, is this a model that is easily understood? Post-war, many people in Guernsey have not experienced a straight-through 11-18 education locally. Many more have had an 11-16 education at a secondary school and then left to either study at the Sixth Form Centre or the College of Further Education or gone to work.

Deputy Le Tocq believes that a substantial number of parents believe that 11-18 schools are better. We just do not have the evidence to support that assertion. The community and many staff understand the Committee's preferred model. They do not understand this model put forward. The concept of a main Sixth Form Centre and satellites is not easy to understand. It leaves us with unanswered questions. How big will these be? What subjects will be taught. Will there be subject specialisms? How will IB work in the main centre or its satellites? Students will have to move – how many and how will this work? Staff will have to move, how many of them and how will that work? What even is a satellite sixth form? On and on. Lots of questions.

This is an unfamiliar concept in Guernsey. This is an untried and untested model. We, the Committee, have a tried and tested concept of students graduating and having to leave their 11-16 school to enter into the sixth form, world of work or the College of Further Education. That is what we have done for decades here in Guernsey.

We have not, though, tried the concept of all schools providing integrated 16-18 provision which only half or less of our students would experience, whilst the other half will have to leave. I could go further here and say that the opposition to the two-school 11-18 model might have demonstrated that locally there are many people who are non-plussed about whether it is an 11-18 educational experience. Many of those will not have experienced it themselves unless they were selected to either go to the Grammar or be selected or pay to go to one of the colleges.

Inevitably the culture of an organisation is one of the essential components of its success and in this instance it is not easy to understand or envisage. The culture of a sixth form is a really important part of the student, social and staff working experience. This is why we are so keen to have a single delivery organisation physically separated from the 11-16 phase but still intrinsically linked to it via the Secondary School Partnership from a staffing and governance perspective.

Under the Deputy Le Tocq amendment, this model will without doubt have an impact on the culture and community of sixth form, depending on whether a student attends the main site or a so-called satellite site. It also is not easy to understand what the curriculum offer will be. This actually has the potential to be unfairly delivered depending on how A-levels are offered.

Where there are specialist courses taught at key stage five on different sites then this may lead to more subject choices at the 11-16 phase on those sites. But it is not easy to understand in this amendment whether or how IB will be delivered. It is also not easy to understand a return to federation that is revisited in this amendment, with clarity required about how the Guernsey Institute and the Sixth Form Partnership will work.

Is this about changing the whole curriculum at the sixth form and, if so, what are the space requirements if we are to deliver blended pathways on those sites? The federated approach did not work here in Guernsey. Neither staff nor students warmed to the approach and it was abandoned due to the negative effects on the 11-16 phase, where we know that students are less inclined towards moving between sites and the disruption that that can cause.

The notion of a federated or a consortium-style sixth form is more complex to implement than the Committee's Sixth Form Centre, due to the complexity of timetabling sixth form provision across multiple sites alongside 11-16 provision. How will the main centre and the satellites be staffed? So, what are we left with from these two Propositions? We are left with more questions and lots of them.

Here, sir, I am seeking to raise awareness of the limitations of the proposal, notwithstanding the fact that officers in education who produced a comparison document have sought to give sound answers. Through you, I would be pleased to hear from Deputy Le Tocq in his summing up the answer to the following questions, which are the details which States' Members really need before they can consider themselves to be informed to any degree on this amendment.

Proposition 1 states that 11-16 schools will be roughly the same size. What size? Please explain how you would organise primary feeders into this model. Please explain how you would manage the transition of students into this model. When do you anticipate the go-live of this model? Please explain what is meant by sixth form satellites and what the difference is between a main Sixth Form Centre and a satellite. Are the satellites teaching centres, pastoral centres, specialist curriculum centres? What are they?

Will this model result in unevenly sized schools? Please explain precisely what evidence has been used to determine that the top all-ability schools in the British Isles are generally 11-18 schools. Does the British Isles include all Crown Dependencies, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland? If yes, have the amenders analysed the data and evidence and how they reached those conclusions?

Just as an aside here, it is way too simplistic to look just at exam results, due to the complex nature of the British education system as there are so many other casual factors, other than the type of school, such as demographics, deprivation, immigration, free schools, academies, religious schools, etc. Guernsey is not the UK and it is not directly comparable with the UK.

I go on. Will students have to move between sites and, if yes, how will this work? Has transport been factored in as this is an increased revenue cost? Please could we have an explanation of what was meant by our proposals – ESC proposals – being potentially expensive. Why has this been

assumed and what modelling have the amenders undertaken to make this assumption? Potentially it is not acceptable for the States. We need to drop this wishy washy type of approach to our forecast costs.

Why has it been assumed that there is a risk of narrowing curriculum options? Please can the amenders explain what curriculum modelling they have undertaken, which suggests that our model risks narrowing the curriculum and also why a three-school sixth form will maintain curriculum breadth.

Please can the amenders explain how they think a shared campus will affect governance plans for the Guernsey Institute. How can we make assumptions like this without any evidence to back it? Do we think our senior staff and civil servants are not capable of delivering this? Please explain how the amenders have drawn a conclusion that the Committee's model is untried. There are many examples, also in the UK, of 11-16 schools and separate post-16 provision with shared staff. So how is this untried? Something that we have done here for a while as well.

The explanatory notes mention that this would not send the Committee *for* Education back to the drawing board in the sense that the States will have taken a definitive decision to retain 11-18 education offer within the state sector. How is it definitive? Proposals would have to come back to the States' Assembly and likely face the same opposition from the profession and there we go, back on the merry-go-round back to square one.

We have built in 11-18 partnership to ensure that we have an offer available to staff who wish to work across these spaces. But before I close I will just beg a few more questions, just to raise that awareness for Members about the limitations of this amendment. In regard to the lite version of the 11-18, can we be told please how it is possible to have an option with a Sixth Form Centre, with just some A-levels teaching at the 11-16 sites? How does this work? Do staff move? Do students move? Would the students which have gone to the Sixth Form Centre then be expected to go to the other sites for some subjects? It does not make so much sense, so please can this be explained?

What is the target date for this model to begin? How is it proposed to fit all the students on the Varendes site, bearing in mind the maximum capacity with sixth form on the site is five-form entry and because it leaves 13 forms of entry to distribute across the other sites. This will be uneven from the start. How would the feeder primaries be managed to ensure even distribution of students in this model?

Proposition 2 includes a co-located sixth form, yet the explanatory note dismisses sixth forms as too small to be stand alone. What is co-located in the true sense of the word, here? Is it on the same site? Is it that it is sharing facilities and resources? What is it?

Limited options to investigate and develop opportunities for post-16 students on the site, that is a comment within the amendment. What is that about? So a few children get an opportunity to study? There is no cohesion, there is no credibility in the suggestion. This is even worse than the three 11-18 rich version. It is fluid and every year it would change. There would be no continuity and no stability. Any cursory investigation of this student experience, movement of staff and students, is a curriculum that is in a constant state of flux.

Sir, through you, I ask Members to listen very carefully. This model, these Propositions, are a nonsense. It is as plain as day that this model is the worst so far of all options. To add insult to injury on this, if Members vote this through today, you may be giving away the opportunity to even see any further plans on the model. We would have to bring this back to the States and there may not be the opportunity to do this.

We know that Deputy Le Tocq is focused on revenue yet we do not know what the detail looks like. It could take six months to get to the point where we have any proper ideas as to what the revenue costs look like and that would be done on a done-to basis, as opposed to done-with, without proper working with the unions and profession, as we need to do.

Are Members seriously going to vote for this? Has this debate really shifted its focus from what is best for our students, what is best for Guernsey? Where is the best for our students in this model? I have been generous to the bringers of this amendment and I do appreciate that they brought this with the best of intentions. But actually I could have called for a ruling on these Propositions because

it plainly goes further than the original Propositions. But I respected the amenders and I respected the need for us to debate these models in full.

2915 Because I want this to be the final debate that we have on this education model. It is holding us back as an Island and certainly the further amendments that we see coming forward in this debate have equally as destructive effect; more so. This debate should be about what it needs to be about, which is an eye to the future and about what is best for Guernsey. This amendment satisfies no one, sir, and I urge Members please to oppose it. Thank you.

2920

The Bailiff: Deputy Meerveld.

Deputy Meerveld: Sir, I would like to invoke Rule 26(1).

2925 **The Bailiff:** Will those Members who intend to speak in debate on amendment 5 please stand in their places? Deputy Meerveld, is it still your wish to invoke Rule 26(1)?

In that case, Members of the States, I am going to put forward the motion that debate on this amendment be closed, subject of course to hearing from the proposer of the amendment, Deputy Le Tocq, to reply to it before there is a vote on it? Those in favour; those against?

2930

Some Members voted Pour; some Members voted Contre.

The Bailiff: I think we might go for a recorded vote on that, it sounded pretty even to me. Greffier.

2935

There was a recorded vote.

Not carried – Pour 19, Contre 19, Ne vote pas 0, Absent 1

POUR

Deputy Soulsby
Deputy Taylor
Deputy Vermeulen
Deputy Aldwell
Deputy Blin
Deputy Dyke
Deputy Ferbrache
Deputy Haskins
Deputy Helyar
Deputy Inder
Deputy Mahoney
Deputy McKenna
Deputy Meerveld
Deputy Moakes
Deputy Murray
Deputy Oliver
Deputy Parkinson
Deputy Prow
Deputy Queripel

CONTRE

Deputy St Pier
Deputy Trott
Deputy Brouard
Deputy Burford
Deputy Bury
Deputy Cameron
Deputy de Lisle
Deputy de Sausmarez
Deputy Dudley-Owen
Deputy Fairclough
Deputy Falla
Deputy Gabriel
Deputy Gollop
Deputy Kazantseva-Miller
Deputy Le Tocq
Deputy Leadbeater
Deputy Matthews
Deputy Roffey
Alderney Rep, Snowdon

NE VOTE PAS

None

ABSENT

Alderney Rep. Roberts

The Bailiff: Members of the States, in respect of the motion pursuant to Rule 26(1), proposed by Deputy Meerveld, there voted Pour 19, Contre 19, one Member is absent and therefore because there is an equality of votes, I will declare the motion lost and debate continues. Deputy de Sausmarez.

2940

Deputy de Sausmarez: Thank you, sir. I will try and be quick, for all those that voted Pour. Deputy Oliver started this debate off by saying, describing herself in a slightly tricky position, because I know we have had conversations about this and she has been very open in previous debates. She is a fan of 11-18 education but her stumbling block, certainly at that point of the

2945 debate, was that the teachers were not particularly keen on this. Well, they are really not particularly keen on the models in front of us either.

I would just rewind a couple of months and I think it is worth recapping that for every amendment we are measuring the virtues of the amendment with the substantive Propositions. So, at the moment, the binary decision that we as an Assembly need to take is: are the proposals in the amendment better than the substantive Propositions, which at the moment are ESC's proposals? That is not to say they might not be superseded later on, that is the binary choice, which one is better?

2955 So, I think, faced with two options, neither of which the teachers particularly support, I would much prefer to go for the one which is tried and tested and proven successful. Not just nationally, UK, internationally, but very much in the Guernsey context. I was very surprised by Deputy Murray's assertion earlier when he said that the reality is that it is just not feasible or cost-effective, or words to that effect, to split the sixth form. That is demonstrably not the case because, as others have pointed out, all of our independent schools, our grant-aided colleges, have got smaller sixth forms than are being proposed here so are the equivalent of a split sixth form.

2960 Deputy Soulsby was quick to get to her feet and point out that they are federated, the sixth forms are federated. So that is an equally valid option. The point remains. But I think Deputy Roffey made a good point when he talked about recruitment. I completely agree with, also, Deputy Roffey saying that we should not need to put our credentials on the table and our own children and how we choose to educate them should be irrelevant. But it is fairly well known I have got four children and they are in the state education system. So, this really does impact me and my family very directly. So, I will be voting as a parent as well as a representative of the people.

2970 Absolutely, I know first-hand through that experience that we have got some absolutely cracking teachers in our 11-16 schools, certainly the one where my oldest child is. Absolutely fantastic. I think Deputy Roffey makes a very valid point that in recruiting it is very well-established that in recruitment terms you get much higher levels of applications to 11-18 schools, so what that does is it gives you more choice. The more applicants we can get then the higher the chance of securing absolutely the best of that possible range of choice there is. So, I think it is valid.

2975 Deputy Roffey also talked about the potential staffing structure of education, the ESC proposals compared with the Le Tocq amendment, and I think it is really relevant. One thing that he did not really touch on, which I would like to tease out a little bit more, is the effect of having a sixth form attached to the 11-16 schools, does have an effect on curriculum choice. Deputy Roffey described three scenarios, one of which is you keep your subject specialists who teach A-levels and they just teach part-time. That is great.

2980 For those subjects where it would really benefit having subject specialists teaching at GCSE, are you going to duplicate those subject specialists in the secondary schools? It becomes particularly problematic in the more, I never know if this is the right word, the more niche subjects, the ones that do not necessarily get the same levels of student numbers. So, for example, it is much easier to offer subjects like Spanish and German in an 11-18 when you have got the subject specialists at A-level than it is in an 11-16 and we see that played out under our current arrangements, in fact.

2985 So, there are real curriculum advantages to 11-18 schools, which I think does feed in and is an important consideration and that is why I do think this amendment is worthy of both debate and a vote.

2990 Deputy Ferbrache talked about, I think I had heard it before, he talked quite rightly about the fact the Grammar School system gave a child from a relatively disadvantaged background a fantastic opportunity and that is absolutely to be applauded. I think we all recognise that that had become less effective in achieving that aim over subsequent decades but irrespective of that, we need that aspiration for literally every single one of our children. We should not be containing that to some of our children. That should be our aspiration for all of them. We need to be giving every single child, irrespective of their background, the best possible opportunities. I feel so strongly about that. It has to be absolutely central.

This does bring me onto one of the aspects that I am concerned about. I know in the Committee's proposals there is a lot of talk about aspiration, there is a lot of talk about levelling up. Deputy Owen mentioned it just now in her speech just before me. (**The Bailiff:** Deputy Dudley-Owen.) I am so sorry, what did I say? I am so sorry. Deputy Dudley-Owen talked about that again.

3000 I have been trying to find the evidence to substantiate how those proposals are aspirational because I cannot find it and I asked some questions recently. I completely agree with the sentiment about parity of esteem of course. But the thing is I do not think there is anyone that disagrees with that and I do not think anyone is claiming that there should not be parity of esteem and I do not think that is down to just co-locating and in fact I think that creates more problems than it is worth.

3005 But I could not get any answers to my questions to provide me with any kind of evidence of how there would be educational benefits. All I can see is potential disadvantages and I really do think that the disadvantages very much outweigh whatever potential future benefits might emerge. Deputy Dudley-Owen talked about having the sheep and goats scenario and is it not awful if you have to divide children at 16?

3010 Well, it is still going to be the case. No matter how much you co-locate your Sixth Form Centre with your Guernsey Institute, there is still going to be some relevant criteria to meet if you want to take A-levels and study at the Sixth Form Centre. That is still going to be the case and I think in a way it is a little bit worse if you are co-locating those two institutions.

3015 Here again we have got the same issue that has cropped up in a lot of the communications around the Education proposals in that it really sounds to the casual observer like a tertiary college. But it is not a tertiary college. It is very much two independent, culturally and organisationally separate institutions that just happen to be co-located. They are going to be sharing and possibly competing for some facilities. But they are very different things and we know that the unions have described it as turn left for academic and turn right for vocational. So, none of those benefits, I just do not see how they can be realised at all.

3020 I think it will still be a sheep and goat system, it is just we are going to be keeping them in the same rather cramped pen, I think is the problem with the ESC proposals. The comparison, I have to say I did not find the comparison terribly enlightening. I think what it did underscore for me, with respect to this model, the comparison of this amendment with the original proposals and beyond, was how much we really need, not a side-by-side comparison but a like-for-like comparison. They are two very different things.

3025 I did find the criticism of lack of detail in Deputy Le Tocq's quite bemusing given that is one thing that has really struck me, is the lack of detail in the original proposals, particularly on revenue costs. So I did find that something of an eyebrow raiser.

3030 I am also increasingly concerned, actually, because it has been repeated so many times, about what appears to me from where I am sitting as a sort of dismissal of academic standards or results or grades. I absolutely endorse the concept that academic results are not the be all and end all. Absolutely. But they are still a part of the equation and to my and other parents' view, an important part of the equation.

3035 I am concerned that if we swing so much away from scrutinising, interrogating, including academic results as part of a broader metric, that we will be throwing the baby out with the bathwater and actually that is what it comes down to for me. I am so keen that we do genuinely level up, we do reach for the best, we are properly aspirational.

3040 I go back to the starting point and it is not my absolutely preferred model either but that is not the question we are being asked to make. The question we are being asked to make at this particular point in time is which do you think is better, is it the proposals in the Le Tocq amendment or is it the proposals in the Committee's policy letter?

3045 I have to say I am worried that once we build a standalone Sixth Form Centre on a design that we know has got no proven precedent, at that scale, obviously ... If it was a much bigger scale it would be a totally different picture but the numbers are all important here. I am really worried that once we sink the costs into that, once we spend significant amounts of taxpayers' money in building a standalone Sixth Form Centre, on a wing and a prayer that it will somehow work, even when the

people tasked with it are not convinced that it will be particularly workable or successful, and when we have got no real idea of the benefits, I am concerned that as soon as we have got the sum costs involved with the bricks and mortar or whatever building techniques that might employ, that will be it, we will be locked in for a generation or more. Obviously more.

I do think 11-18 education is very, certainly, tried and tested. Certainly very successful. I think if we look in the Guernsey context, we have got some very successful 11-18 schools past and present and I do worry about the potential increased uptake of going to private or independent schools. We have already got an incredibly high percentage and that is when there is a cost involved.

I think that is the evidence. Deputy Dudley-Owen said that there was no evidence that the parents liked 11-18 schools. Well I think that is a fairly relevant bit of evidence that we ignore at our peril and I am a bit worried about carving off a separate Sixth Form Centre as a standalone institution with bricks and mortar, locking it in in terms of its structure and I think that that would be a misstep and so, for those reasons, I will be supporting this amendment.

The Bailiff: Deputy Falla.

Deputy Falla: Thank you, sir. If I heard Deputy Dudley-Owen correctly, she has just said that three 11-18 schools with separate sixth forms was an untried and untested model but I just wanted to remind Members, and we have heard it a couple of times today, 11-18 schools with their own sixth forms has worked for many years in Guernsey. When the Grammar School for Boys and Grammar School for Girls, both operated separately and when I attended the former it was actually very aspirational to move up into the sixth form and it would be a pity in my mind to only allow that for the private colleges, that form of aspiration.

To Deputy de Sausmarez and others' points, smaller sixth forms can also work very well and they do in the present and I know this because one of my sons left Elizabeth College sixth form only two years ago and, also, as a former director of Elizabeth College, I witnessed what a smaller, successful sixth form community can look like and it looked very good and it felt very good and it produced outstanding results. That school is 450 years old, so it is hardly untried and untested. I believe that this amendment does propose a better model to the ESC policy letter and therefore I will be voting for it.

The Bailiff: Deputy Kazantseva-Miller.

Deputy Kazantseva-Miller: Thank you, sir. I will be brief. I am actually very grateful to Deputy Le Tocq for bringing this amendment and to some extent it is not an amendment, it is bringing back what was one of the core models in the review. In fact this is taking us back to the first principles or organising education, which is whether you want to retain the 11-18 format or you want to stick to 11-16. In its kind of simplistic representation in the end this is what it is very much about.

Obviously the stony point within that structure is the sixth form and what has been presented by ESC is obviously completely removing the sixth form and removing its co-location and there are inherent challenges in that, there are inherent inefficiencies. So, the really fundamental question, I think, here is whether there are better efficiencies from an educational perspective, teacher recruitment, teacher retention, all sorts of perspective of co-location within the 11-18 setting or removing the sixth form.

But then how do you find efficiencies elsewhere? Obviously the proposed models by the Committee are around co-location with the Guernsey Institute. I have asked Deputy Dudley-Owen – I think it was in May – specifically asked her whether what was actually being proposed in the end was a tertiary college or not and she said categorically no.

However, in July we had a meeting with sixth form teachers at the Grammar School. About 16 or 19 Deputies, I believe, attended. The same question was asked because the inherent inefficiencies of removing a sixth form away from an 11-16 setting was raised. At that point, Deputy Dudley-Owen and Deputy Murray said in five years' time we could be looking at a tertiary college. They said that.

3100 I think what is very important is that what is being proposed to us in the regional propositions is a transition model because, as Deputy Le Tocq said, there will be inherent inefficiencies and to find efficiencies from the economies of scale, from all sorts of sites, you will have to have many more synergies with the Guernsey Institute.

3105 So, what is being proposed to us, in the Committee proposals, is effectively something which is just a transition model but for which we do not have the future details. So what Deputy Le Tocq is proposing, kind of the alternative effectively, is looking at the synergies and efficiencies of retaining that 11-18 provision.

To me, the lite version of the amendment probably looks not far away from what the Deputy Cameron model actually is. Effectively, what we are trying to debate here today is whether an 11-18 setting is fundamentally better. As Deputy Roffey alluded, inherently, whoever says that there will be inequality of having one 11-18 school but actually keeping two other 11-16 schools implies that the 11-18 provision is better.

3110 This is the fundamental question. If we agree on that, that it is a better provision, we should at all costs try to retain an 11-18 setting. This is to me the fundamental Proposition that Deputy Le Tocq's amendment is bringing, to make an agreement today that this is something, as an Island, we fundamentally want to retain. Then we can work to develop further details. The Committee was quite aggressive in asking for further details but actually exactly the same questions should be still asked and are being asked of their own models.

3120 In fact, a lot of the questions that seemed to be asked seemed to be of very operational nature so, again, very conflicting types of approaches that the Committee is taking. Anyone who saw the real value of Deputy Cameron's amendment should really see what Deputy Le Tocq is proposing is actually on similar lines and the fundamental inefficiencies of removing co-location of the sixth form from a secondary setting.

3125 Back to what Deputy de Sausmarez was saying, the choice – we are giving no choice. We are leaving no choice to people who cannot pay. Deputy Prow was quick to point. We are not going to have an exodus to the private colleges. Of course we will not have an exodus because not everyone can afford to pay so it is only the rich people forever. If a decision is made not to approve this amendment, it will be forever made that there will never be an option for people who cannot pay to join 11-18 settings, basically.

3130 So, I will be supporting this amendment because I think it is fundamentally important that we retain an opportunity to have an 11-18 setting with a co-located sixth form and that we need to work on developing the further details of how could it work out, whether it would be with satellites, whether we can grow this offering into basically proper co-located sixth forms down the line. Thank you.

3135 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Aldwell.

3140 **Deputy Aldwell:** Thank you, sir. This amendment asked Members to replace the Committee's proposals for three 11-18 settings or two 11-16-plus and 11-18. Let us be clear, Deputy Le Tocq and Deputy Brouard have already been informed by unions, at the meeting that was held at the Castel Douzaine for Deputies, where the question was posed there, if they the unions and teachers would support three 11-18s. Among them were previous or present teachers and they replied that they had never heard any colleague or member being in support with regard to three 11-18 settings.

3145 Deputies Le Tocq and Brouard also brought an amendment to the Pause and Review debate on February 2020, which was rejected 13-25 in this Assembly. I would also like to point out there is not actually much 11-18 educationally internationally. This is very much an English structure. Also, we have spoken a lot about the colleges. Actually the social demographics among our state schools are absolutely totally different to what the colleges are, with 25% of our students with additional needs.

3150 I believe students would miss out on a whole campus experience, if the sixth form was spread over three schools. They would also be separated not only from other A-level and IB students but

separated again from students in the brand new campus at Les Ozouets. The Committee's proposals put students in a more adult environment, in preparation for university and the world of work at Les Ozouets campus. Students would have a smooth transition from all secondary schools into one site to choose their pathways.

The Youth Forum feedback on key themes, including transition and for excellent outcomes, it is all about a smooth transition to the next phase, whatever that might be. I am finding it difficult to find a smooth transition for all in this model of Deputy Le Tocq's. How would you fill a sixth form on a particular site if students did not choose that pathway, attending at the sixth form? Would it be a case of moving students around from one secondary school to make up the numbers, leaving friends from the previous five years behind? How would this be done? A lucky dip, perhaps.

This suggested model is stopping students from becoming young adults and mixing with appropriate-aged young people. At 16 students are no longer children, we have given them the vote. They are young adults and should be treated as such. Moving on from a school environment, this feels more like segregation from their peers. Simply put, this is not parity of esteem.

The students could not hope to have the breadth of curriculum across all sites and timetabling would be difficult. This would mean a great deal of travel between the sites by teachers and students, not forgetting our Alderney students. How will they ever feel they belong if they have to travel around different sites?

We would also see safeguarding challenges. A significant number of students would likely be moving between sites with complex monitoring by staff, based on individual timetables. Yet these worries can be discounted if all students post-16 were on a single site, as is the case in the Committee's proposals.

Let us not forget that in the Committee's proposals there would be no disruption on two secondary school sites, as extensions would not be required. Students would all go seamlessly to a post-16 campus, now being young adults choosing their own pathways. Feedback from the Youth Forum wanted us to take on board key messages. Making sure each student realises their full potential, not just exam results. More emphasis on skills. They wanted employers to value academic and practical qualifications. More pathways to career opportunities. More practical opportunities to put knowledge and theory into practice.

Sir, the Committee again listened to both the Youth Forum and the industry representatives as employers, who stated they wanted students prepared for the world of work. We know this wish list is best achieved on a post-16 campus with academic, vocational and professional qualification opportunity.

So we need to invest in our post-16 students, bringing them together at Les Ozouets. Inclusivity, not segregated, on a campus of young adults where every student will feel valued on whatever career pathway they choose to take. Training our students for the future, giving them the skills they need to achieve, fulfilling them and enabling Guernsey to move forward in this non-selective era, allowing our economy to thrive. Please, Members, reject this amendment. Thank you.

The Bailiff: As no one else is rising, I will turn to the proposer of amendment 5, Deputy Le Tocq, to reply to the debate please.

Deputy Le Tocq: Thank you, sir, and I do not regret, at all bringing this amendment and I think we have heard during the debate quite a lot of useful information so that this Assembly will be able to make a decision on it. A number of people, sir, including the President of the Committee that I sit on, remarked that I spoke without passion to begin with. That is true, sir, although just to correct Deputy Ferbrache – I did not want to correct him while he was in full flow, it is always a dangerous thing to do – I did not say that I do not believe in 11-18 schools. When the media reporter that I have now identified as John Fernandez asked me the question, 'Why do you believe that 11-18 schools are the best option, three 11-18 schools are the best option for Guernsey?' I said, 'I do not know.'

I do not know and that is absolutely true. I was not sure and I do not think we can be sure. But what I do know and I will come back to this in due course, is that there already are a number of parents here in Guernsey and people who believe that and the evidence is clear to me and there have been questions asked by a number of people, including Deputy Dudley-Owen, where is the evidence for this. The evidence is there. It was there when I first joined Education in 2000. I had not really seen it before.

Forgive me for going over old ground but as some have not heard me say this before, perhaps, I entered into this Assembly and into the then Education Council as a believer in retaining the 11-plus. Largely because it had served me well. I was a special place holder at Elizabeth College. I enjoyed my time there. I did well with it. I do not regret any of those things.

But I could see immediately, having been on Education, and particularly involved in the 11-plus borderline, that because of the numbers of parents who chose to send their children, even at that time, to the private colleges, or once the 11-plus had taken place and they had not succeeded in being selected for that, to then choose to move back was so huge here in Guernsey, that it skewed any system like the 11-plus.

If you look at places in the UK that still offer a selection at 11 in that format, and it can take lots of different types of exams, but if you see that pattern, you will see that, roughly speaking 8% perhaps to 12% go to grammars or private schools, in Kent, for example. We have nearly a third who go in that direction, so as soon as you try and, if you like, select the rest, you are drawing the line in the normal distribution curve in completely the wrong place. It is just not fair. Certainly not at 11.

So it changed my mind on that and I think that still exists. So that is primarily why I am not speaking passionately in favour of this model because I think, as some other people have said in debate, sir, that if enough resource and enough finance is thrown at a number of different models – not every model but a number of different models – we can make it work here in Guernsey. Particularly at the end of the day, as I said earlier, teachers are what makes it work. So, if we can recruit the best quality teachers with the best ambition for their children they can make it work.

But I reserve my passion for the things that I am absolutely sure of and convinced of, just as I choose not to use my testosterone to grow hair. So we are debating, I hope, for the last time, changes that will, I hope, be able to be made as swiftly as possible. I will just deal with the issue of delay first because it is quite clear that if my amendment was successful, and it does not look like it will be today, but nevertheless I will say this, that it will involve some delay.

But, as I said before, that delay, I think, is worth doing if the culture that I have described is there around us in Guernsey and that is people choosing 11-18 schools, irrespective of whether the evidence, and I commend Deputy Murray on his speech, I thought it was very persuasive and I sort of agree with him in many places that it is unfair, this disparity of esteem. But you cannot force people into doing things that they choose to do. You should not try and do that. It will not produce better results.

Those are sort of the reasons why I feel it is important we lay this amendment. I would have much preferred, and I stated this before, that Education came forward including an option such as this, but obviously it would be more fleshed out because they are in a much better position to do that sort of thing, as an option on the table saying what their preferred option is, so that we would have a lot more detail before us.

We are not in that position and so things will need to be worked out afterwards. But the delay does not need to, according to their own staff, be longer than about a year. Bearing in mind that I have not voted for delay in the past, that has not been my habit, I ask for some leeway now that we might get this right.

Deputy Oliver started off, there were not many questions so I am just going to probably concentrate on the questions because there were very few, apart from the large list of questions that the President of ESC gave me, which I will come to later. Deputy Oliver started off and she said, whilst she was sympathetic to the amendment and to the model that it proposes, the thing that she

could not get out of her mind was that all the educationalists that she speaks to say it would not work.

That is true, certainly, in terms of the educationalists currently working for ESC because in my experience of all the advisers that we have had at various stages, they have supported the model that that particular Committee wanted to bring forward. That is only natural. But there certainly are educationalists, I have spoken to, both off-Island and that is evident by the fact that in the UK there are many 11-18 schools, who would recommend this sort of system.

In fact, even on-Island, there are educationalists, certainly in the past, including past deputy directors of education, who have spoken to me and supported this amendment. So it is not the case that does not exist. It does exist. But not surprisingly I think, as we have all found in speaking to teachers and educationalists alike, is that whilst they are very often against various proposals, they cannot find a majority that agree with any one proposal.

It is, as somebody said here before, down to us as an Assembly to decide and then down to the Committee responsible to implement those things and I fully support that and I believe that whatever decision is made here, we need to rally as an Assembly and stop bickering over it and try and make it work, whichever way it is, including this.

Now, Deputy Murray asked, I think, a few questions about splitting the sixth form, where he alluded to the fact that it is not cost-effective. No, I cannot disagree with that. The most cost-effective way would be to have one big school. We know what the Islanders think of that and so it is not as cost-effective as it might be.

In terms of its cost-effectiveness compared to what Education is putting forward, that is where I have some big question marks. I want to come, perhaps, now to some of the questions that Deputy Dudley-Owen asked me because they were very good questions but I could have equally the same questions to ask her. Because on issues such as how many will move from one school to another, how will you deal with staff on different terms and conditions and how will they integrate, what is the evidence for the satellites and whether the options will be available.

All of those sorts of things, the answers that we have been given when we have asked those questions are they are operational matters, they are matters for the Committee and its officers to actually deal with in the normal business as usual. In a sense, I do not disagree with that either. But the fact is I did not have the time, nor was I in the position to detail the sorts of things to answer those sorts of questions, but I think it is incumbent upon ESC to know that whatever position they find themselves in, as a result of this Assembly because at the end of the day it is this Assembly that decides that they work to their utmost to ensure the best value for money.

That is not just in terms of capital costs and obviously the options that are within this amendment, whether it is the rich version or lite version, now that is being used I might as well use it as well, do not involve building a brand new Sixth Form Centre less than half a mile down the road. So there are some savings there.

My concern is primarily over how to make that model work in the future and I am pretty convinced that it will require an increased injection of cash on a regular annual basis. Now, how much, we do not know, but the only other option that is left in the future, is numbers go down or if they go up in terms of the school population, would be to move towards 11-18 models, proper federation with schools, whether that is one school or two schools, or proper integration as a tertiary college, which as I have said before, I could see working in Guernsey.

This is why I am in a dilemma here. We are not being told the whole picture. So, in terms of some of those things, one of the big issues that we faced when we proposed a tertiary college, a fully functioning tertiary college, back in 2000 and it still is an issue if there is going to be further integration between these things, is are the terms and conditions, because lecturers work a different number of hours, have a different pay scale system than teachers do. Whilst you might be able to do one or two subjects and cross-pollinate between the two, if you are going to make proper, best use of those staff, you will need to do a harmonisation job of those terms and conditions.

Like it or not, and I take Deputy Aldwell's point that we should not always look to the UK, we do recruit from the English system. I wish we did not but that is the fact. They come from a system,

sometimes only for a few years here, they do not want to come out of a system and have on their CV saying we worked in a system that did not fit in with the UK system if they are career-minded. That is a big problem in terms of recruitment, which is why, if the majority of top-performing schools in the UK are, or at least are perceived to be, 11-18 schools, that is why parents do recognise that they tend to have and provide the best educational outcomes.

Like it or not, as I have said before, we seem to have that already in Guernsey, even before the abolition of the 11-plus and my fear is, unless something is done to retain that offer within the state system, it will only get worse. Excuse me a moment. I want to make sure I answer all the questions that have been asked and I think I have referred to all the ones that are specific questions in those terms that I can answer here.

Deputy Kazantseva-Miller, and I thank her for her contribution, said that the lite version, which we have not talked a lot about here, is a bit like Deputy Cameron's amendment. So, in other words, if this amendment passed, when it comes to the substantive Propositions put to the Assembly, we would have a choice between the rich or the lite version. The lite version would be effectively retaining one 11-18 school but giving the opportunity for the other two schools, 11-16 schools, to trial and to put in place sixth form studies, be that A-level or IB or whatever might happen, because there are lots of changes in this area, certainly that are being mooted at the moment, in the future in those two schools.

That would give an opportunity for that sort of flexibility. Certainly, in talking to some of the teachers currently at the Sixth Form Centre, there are those, a substantial number, who choose subjects such as English and maths, which could be taught, the core subjects could be taught, at smaller, satellite schools and then the specialist subjects could be taught at the main base.

I cannot remember who it was, sir, but somebody said this would – I think it may have been Deputy Dudley-Owen – who referred to the fact what does this mean for the Guernsey Institute and for post-16 opportunities of working together. To be honest, sir, I think we can still do that if we are currently doing it, it is possible to do it under either of these options in this amendment. I would want to see that enhanced. Because the options to mix and match and for vocational, as it has been referred to, academic to be more options, particularly we would be still able to do here.

Those who make a fuss about movement of staff or pupils, if necessary, and I think it would mainly be staff, which would still be the case under ESC's model, really need to listen to Deputy Parkinson. Because it is not a major problem here. It can be overcome. Where there is a will there is a way. All our schools, all our secondary schools, are located very closely together and the Guernsey Institute can be equally accessible to those that would have sixth formers that wanted to go there as well. It is not impossible.

So, sir, this is not a perfect amendment. I completely accept that. If I wanted to provide one, we would still be waiting around for one. But I promised that we need to have, I believe we needed to have the opportunity to decide whether we wanted to get rid of an 11-18 option within the state sector before we made that move and in order to do that this amendment needed to be presented in this way. For those that believe that and believe that there are a number of, perhaps, silent parents out there – they will be largely middle income earners, let us face it – who will choose to send their kids to private education as a result of this, which is what I fear, it is my concern, then I believe we need to vote seriously and wisely. So I encourage Members to support it.

The Bailiff: Members of the States, we come to the vote in respect of amendment 5, proposed by Deputy Le Tocq, and seconded by Deputy Brouard. Deputy Burford?

Deputy Burford: Could we have a recorded vote, please?

The Bailiff: And there is a request for a recorded vote, please, Greffier.

There was a recorded vote.

Not carried – Pour 14, Contre 22, Ne vote pas 2, Absent 1

POUR

Deputy St Pier
Deputy Brouard
Deputy Burford
Deputy Bury
Deputy Cameron
Deputy de Sausmarez
Deputy Fairclough
Deputy Falla
Deputy Gollop
Deputy Kazantseva-Miller
Deputy Le Tocq
Deputy Matthews
Deputy Parkinson
Deputy Roffey

CONTRE

Deputy Soulsby
Deputy Taylor
Deputy Vermeulen
Deputy Aldwell
Deputy Blin
Deputy de Lisle
Deputy Dudley-Owen
Deputy Dyke
Deputy Ferbrache
Deputy Gabriel
Deputy Haskins
Deputy Helyar
Deputy Inder
Deputy Leadbeater
Deputy Mahoney
Deputy McKenna
Deputy Meerveld
Deputy Moakes
Deputy Murray
Deputy Oliver
Deputy Prow
Alderney Rep. Snowdon

NE VOTE PAS

Deputy Trott
Deputy Queripel

ABSENT

Alderney Rep. Roberts

The Bailiff: Members of the States, the voting in relation to amendment 5, proposed by Deputy Le Tocq and seconded by Deputy Brouard, is that there voted Pour 14, Contre 22, there were two abstentions, one Member is absent and therefore I declare amendment 5 lost.

3360 Now, Members of the States, Deputy St Pier, there are four amendments that Deputy St Pier has submitted. My understanding, Deputy St Pier, is that you no longer want to pursue those numbered 6 and 7. Is that correct?

Deputy St Pier: Yes, sir.

3365 **The Bailiff:** And that neither of those will be laid and therefore they are replaced by amendments 10 and 11. Do we have copies to circulate, Greffier? Can they be circulated, please?

Members of the States, is anyone missing a copy of amendment 10? All the people up here have not got an amendment 10, please. Can I just check, please, Members, does everyone have both amendment 10 and amendment 11? It is amendment 11 at the back of the Chamber. Okay,
3370 Members of the States, how are we doing? Can I just check if anyone is missing either amendment 10 or amendment 11? Deputy St Pier, I am going to invite you to move the motion under Article 7(1) of the Reform (Guernsey) Law 1948 in respect of amendment 10, first.

Deputy St Pier: Yes, sir. Just very briefly, could I speak to that for one moment, sir?

3375 **The Bailiff:** Very briefly, yes.

Deputy St Pier: To explain that amendment 10 requires an extension of the Rules because of Proposition 2, which is a direction, which engages the Rules. If Members are not minded to suspend the Rules then amendment 11 will be laid. If Members are minded to suspend the Rules, then
3380 amendment 11 will not be laid. So, only one of these amendments will be debated. It is up to Members which. Proposition 1 is in identical format in both, it is Proposition 2 which differs between the two and amendment 10 does require a suspension of the Rules.

3385 **The Bailiff:** Thank you very much. Deputy Cameron, do you formally second that motion?

Deputy Cameron: Yes please, sir.

The Bailiff: Is there any comment on the motion to suspend the Rules, particularly on behalf of the Committee? There does not have to be.

3390

Deputy Murray: Could we have a recorded vote please, sir?

The Bailiff: Yes, just a minute. If there is no further comment in respect of the motion under Article 7(1) of the Reform (Guernsey) Law, 1948, to permit amendment 10 to be debated, proposed by Deputy St Pier and seconded by Deputy Cameron, we will move directly to the vote on that and that is a request for a recorded vote from Deputy Murray. Greffier.

3395

There was a recorded vote.

Not carried – Pour 16, Contre 21, Ne vote pas 0, Absent 2

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

3400

The Bailiff: Members of the States, in respect of the motion under Article 7(1) of the 1948 Law, proposed by Deputy St Pier and seconded by Deputy Cameron, there voted Pour 16, Contre 21, two Members were absent and therefore I will declare the motion lost, which means that the Rules are not suspended so amendment 10 cannot now be laid. But amendment 11, Deputy St Pier.

[Amendment 11.](#)

To insert new Proposition:

"1. To note that:

a) the support of the teaching profession, recognised by the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture as key stakeholders, is a pre-requisite to the successful implementation of any proposals to reform the secondary school phase;

b) the secondary Principals do not support the proposals set out in the policy letter;

c) an overwhelming majority of secondary teachers – 87% of those responding to a recent survey – do not support the proposals set out in the policy letter, believing them to be operationally unworkable;

d) the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture have been aware of the teaching profession's concerns referred to in b) and c) for some time;

e) the proposals in the policy letter will maintain larger class size policies;

f) the proposals in the policy letter, with no additional capital investment envisaged for additional physical provision to accommodate increased pupil numbers and greater demands in the 11-16 secondary schools at Les Beaucamps, St Sampson's and Les Varendes, which will result, for example, in some specialist subjects (e.g. sciences) being taught in some non-specialist spaces some of the time;

g) the proposals envisage moving from the current model of having four secondary school sites to one that will have four secondary school sites, following the closure of La Mare de Carteret High School and the opening of a new sixth form centre at Les Ozouets, consequently failing to realise the recurring annual revenue cost savings that would arise from having a smaller number of secondary school sites;

h) at a time when the Policy & Resources Committee have advised that resources are severely constrained, the proposals in the policy letter will require the building of a new multi-million pound sixth form centre at Les Ozouets, less than a half a mile from the site of the present Sixth Form Centre at Les Varendes, which was newly built only 16 years ago;

i) the proposals in the policy letter will require the closure of La Mare de Carteret High School, which has had a record of both achievement and performance improvement in recent years;

j) The Guernsey Institute project is long overdue and should be proceeded irrespective of decisions in relation to the secondary schools;

k) the proposals envisage approximately 1,200 pupils and staff on the Les Ozouets and Les Varendes sites which will have an inevitable detrimental impact on traffic in the area, in respect of which, no detailed consideration has yet taken place;

l) that the policy letter envisages that the new Sixth Form Centre to be located at Les Ozouets will have approximately 400 pupils, whilst there are no other sixth form schools or centres in the British Isles with less than approximately 650 pupils.

m) having regard to a) to l) above, maintenance of the 'status quo' in the short-term would be better than proceeding with the proposals in the policy letter."

"2. To note that the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture is encouraged by many stakeholders to co-create and co-design from the bottom-up a workable model and proposals for secondary education and Post-16 education that have the support of the teaching profession."

Deputy St Pier: Thank you very much, sir. I would like to thank the President of the Committee for the conversation that we had on Monday and to her officers for the conversation that we had yesterday, which has led to the amendment being revised in a number of minor, textual ways. I do not intend to go through all the changes, obviously, having not presented amendments 6 and 7, for example, the original amendment read that the overwhelming majority of teachers opposed the proposals and it now reads 'do not support'. So a number of changes of that ilk – and I am grateful to the President for the conversation that led to those changes.

It was Deputy Le Tocq in the previous debate who said teachers are what makes it work. Sir, in opening the debate, I have not had the amendment read; I do intend to go through it item by item in opening this debate, which I shall do relatively briefly. Proposition 1 is to note the number of problems associated with the Committee's proposals which are before us and to note that:

... the support of the teaching profession, recognised by the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture –

– and of course its predecessors –

– as key stakeholders, is a pre-requisite to the successful implementation of any proposals to reform the secondary school phase;

Of course, during the so-called green ribbon campaign, it was built largely on the back of and exploited the teacher concerns that existed around the missing information and the missing details at that stage of the two-school model. As soon as that political objective was achieved, in terms of

3420 the Pause and Review, it seems that the teaching profession have become politically expendable and we no longer pay them the same regard as to their views in relation to the proposals as we did with previous models.

Indeed, the language we have had is that they are self-interested, they are more interested in their parking spaces and, rather bizarrely, they do not understand the whole system. Some of the arguments that have been presented to us. So it is a pre-requisite, I would argue, that any changes to the system do have the support of those who are expected and required to deliver those changes.

To note also that the secondary principals do not support the proposals set out in the policy letter. I am sure the President, when she responds to this debate, will tell us that the principals do not oppose this model. That of course is understandable. They are professionals. They are employed, it is their job to make any system work, as Deputy Gollop said in a previous debate. But that does not mean that they support the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture's proposals or indeed will do so with any enthusiasm if they do become the substantive Propositions.

We also of course have the opposition, or the lack of support I should say, not only from the principals but of course from those whom they manage, namely the teachers. We have had, of course, the survey, to which many responded – an overwhelming majority of secondary teachers – 87% of those responding to the recent survey do not support the proposals set out in the policy letters, believing them to be operationally unworkable.

Of course, we have also had the teachers today in the media coming out saying that feedback from colleagues is ongoing but at a time when professional confidence in Education, Sport & Culture is already very considerably compromised, the possibility of bottom-up workable proposals will certainly appear welcome to many of those charged with actually delivering any secondary organisation Propositions approved by Deputies, is the quote attributed to the profession.

1 d) to note that the Committee for Education Sport & Culture have been aware of the teaching profession's concern referred to in the previous two sub-paragraphs for some time. Most recently, of course, the President of the Committee has met with the principals, on 25th June, the minutes from that meeting have not yet been agreed with those who participated in that meeting but we know that certainly they did express clearly their concerns and their lack of support for the current proposals.

e) the proposals in the policy letter will maintain larger class sizes;

f) the proposals in the policy letter, with no additional capital investment envisaged for additional physical provision to accommodate increased pupil numbers and greater demands in the 11-16 secondary schools at Les Beaucamps, St Sampson's and Les Varendes, which will result, for example, in some specialist subjects (e.g. sciences) being taught in some non-specialist spaces some of the time;

That was a point that was made very clear to us for those of us who attended the meeting at the Beaucamps and their clear concerns that we are trying to squeeze too many people into, too many pupils into, those sites and the only possible way to utilise all the space, which is the working assumption of those behind these proposals, will require the use of every inch all of the time, which sounds incredibly efficient but also is not necessarily going to produce the best educational outcomes if teachers are required to teach in specialist subjects in a non-specialist arena.

Now, again, I fully expect the President to advise that there is contingency within the multi-million pound budget to provide for additional space, if there is a business case with clear evidence, but I would suggest that clear evidence already exists. It is quite clear that there is insufficient space at those sites for that number of pupils. We are being told that by the profession repeatedly and we are choosing to ignore it. So, we will need to dip into that contingency quite significantly. But at the moment it is the case that no provision has been made for that additional space.

The proposals of course envisage moving from the current model of having four secondary school sites, this is in (g), to one that will have four secondary school sites following the closure of La Mare de Carteret and the opening of the new Sixth Form Centre, at Les Ozouets. Consequently, failing to realise the recurring annual revenue cost savings that would arise from a smaller number of secondary school sites. It does not say there will not be potentially some revenue savings from

the Committee's proposals. That is what the Committee claim. There is a lack of detail and clarity around that but that is not what the amendment says. It simply says that we would not realise the revenue savings from having a smaller number of secondary school sites. That is self-evident – a phrase that was used not by me but by the officers advising the Committee when I spoke with them yesterday.

Of course, at the time in (h), when the Policy & Resources Committee have advised that resources are severely constrained, the proposals in the policy letter will require the building of a new multi-million pound Sixth Form Centre at Les Ozouets, less than half a mile from the site of the present Sixth Form Centre, Les Varendes, which was newly built only 16 years ago.

Of course this has dominated much of the public discussion in the last couple of months. It is not a very obvious point to make. Deputy Murray, when he spoke on the previous amendment, was very keen to emphasise how essential it was that it was indeed located on exactly the same site but I do, and I think many would, struggle to truly understand how, if those advantages do truly exist, then that could not be delivered from the existing site, given it is then located so close to the Guernsey Institute site.

The proposals will of course, in the policy letter, require the closure of La Mare de Carteret High School, which has a record of both achievement and performance improvement in recent years. I think that is a statement of fact. The Guernsey Institute project is long overdue and should be proceeded irrespective of decisions in relation to secondary schools. Again, I think that is a pretty well established fact. Hopefully undisputed.

The proposals envisage approximately 1,200 pupils and staff are on the Ozouets and Les Varendes sites, which will have an inevitable detrimental impact on traffic in the area, in respect of which no detailed consideration has yet taken place. Again a statement of fact. In (l) the policy letter envisages the new Sixth Form Centre to be located at the Ozouets will have approximately 400 pupils, whilst there are no other sixth form schools or centres in the British Isles with less than approximately 650 pupils. That, again, I think has been well-presented up to this point.

Again, I expect the response to that to be that we are not the UK. Indeed we have already heard it during this debate. This is a Guernsey solution. We are unique. Again, I think others have already presented reasons why, given the need to recruit from the UK and staff from the UK, that actually we do have to have cognisance to what is working and what is not working outside our own borders.

Then, having regard to all of those things that I have gone through, the amendment says it notes:

... maintenance of the 'status quo' in the short-term would be better than proceeding with the proposals in the policy letter."

We would of course, with the *status quo*, know exactly what the annual revenue costs would be because we are currently running with them. Again, I suspect the challenge will be that it lacks ambition and in the short term, of course, if there is no change, then that may well indeed be the case. But it is better, I would suggest, than taking action for taking action's sake, which appears to be very much where we are in this debate.

As Deputy Leadbeater and indeed Deputy Roffey have said in previous debates, it is very much that the *status quo* is better than that which is before us with the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture's proposals, so Proposition 2 pulls all that together to note that the Committee is encouraged by many stakeholders to co-create and co-design from the bottom up a workable model and proposals for secondary education and post-16 education that do actually have the support of the teaching profession, which takes me back to where I began and indeed where Deputy Le Tocq referred to the importance of obtaining teacher support and engagement because it is they that will make the system work. With that, sir, I will look forward to the debate.

The Bailiff: Can I just check with you, though, Deputy St Pier, that this is to add two additional Propositions to the four that are already in play from the Committee?

Deputy St Pier: In the absence of the previous amendment, sir, yes.

The Bailiff: That is right. Thank you very much. Deputy Cameron, do you formally second this amendment?

3520

Deputy Cameron: Yes, I do, sir.

Deputy Taylor: 26(1), sir?

3525

The Bailiff: Very well. Will those Members who wish to speak in debate on the amendment please stand in their places as Deputy Taylor is proposing to curtail debate. Deputy Taylor, is it still your wish that I put the motion under Rule 26(1)?

Deputy Taylor: Absolutely, sir.

3530

The Bailiff: Thank you very much, Members of the States, I am going to put to you the motion that Deputy Taylor is proposing, that debate be curtailed on this amendment. There would be, of course, the opportunity for the President of the Committee to reply to it and for the proposer to reply to it anyway before we move to a vote on it. Those in favour; those against.

3535

Members voted Contre.

The Bailiff: I am going to declare that lost.

3540

Deputy Queripel: Recorded vote please, sir.

Deputy Meerveld: Sir, can I request a recorded vote?

The Bailiff: Therefore we will have a recorded vote. Greffier.

3545

There was a recorded vote.

Carried – Pour 20, Contre 15, Ne vote pas 1, Absent 3

POUR

Deputy Soulsby
Deputy Taylor
Deputy Vermeulen
Deputy Aldwell
Deputy Blin
Deputy Dudley-Owen
Deputy Dyke
Deputy Ferbrache
Deputy Haskins
Deputy Helyar
Deputy Inder
Deputy Le Tocq
Deputy Mahoney
Deputy McKenna
Deputy Meerveld
Deputy Moakes
Deputy Murray
Deputy Oliver
Deputy Prow
Deputy Queripel

CONTRE

Deputy St Pier
Deputy Trott
Deputy Burford
Deputy Bury
Deputy Cameron
Deputy de Sausmarez
Deputy Fairclough
Deputy Falla
Deputy Gabriel
Deputy Gollop
Deputy Kazantseva-Miller
Deputy Leadbeater
Deputy Matthews
Deputy Parkinson
Deputy Roffey

NE VOTE PAS

Alderney Rep. Snowdon

ABSENT

Deputy Brouard
Deputy de Lisle
Alderney Rep. Roberts

The Bailiff: Members of the States, the voting in respect of the motion under Rule 26(1), proposed by Deputy Taylor is that there voted Pour 20, Contre 15, one abstention, three Members

were absent and therefore that motion is carried and I invite the President of the Committee if she so wishes to reply to debate on this amendment.

3550

Deputy Dudley-Owen: Thank you, sir. I do wish to reply in regard to this amendment because the debates that we have in this Chamber should be constructive, strategic and based on fact. We are expected to apply intellectual honesty. Statements to note drafted by Deputy St Pier have been cast in a specific way so as to sow doubt and put a negative spin on the Committee's proposals.

3555

These amendments were originally published on Wednesday last week and as a pair were destructive. The States should not be spending time on these types of motions in this Chamber. Never, but certainly not during this term. We are too busy. Are we really in the business of being so destructive? None of these Propositions took us any further forward.

3560

Bringing to the States intentionally deceptive messages in the form of statements to note is an extraordinary thing to do. Why would do this. We know that deceptive messaging reduces trust. So was it the intention of Deputies St Pier and Cameron to reduce trust? Not being honest is something that increases stress but also causes –

3565

The Bailiff: Just a minute, Deputy Dudley-Owen. If you are making an allegation this is dishonest, which you are coming perilously close to, then you are running the risk of incurring my wrath, please.

3570

Deputy Dudley-Owen: Thank you, sir, for the reminder. What we can be left with is damage to reputations and I wonder what the intent here is. Is it to reduce trust in the Committee and to damage the reputation of the Committee, to cast us as a group as untrustworthy and lacking credibility? These ugly amendments are about as low as politics get.

3575

It is sad when things get personal and when weak arguments are pitted against well-researched and credible policy. But even worse, where is the duty of care to protect staff who have no right of reply? To make assertions with no evidence was an appalling error of judgement, especially where a group of staff is so small and each one identifiable. We must adhere to the principles of good governance and these are designed to ensure that our behaviour is beyond reproach.

3580

Deputy St Pier has made several errors, in my view, in his approach to this set of amendments notwithstanding the fact that he has now amended them. He failed to consult with the Committee in advance and I must say that affording us half a working day's notice to comment on an amendment is not consultation in my book. Instead he relied on incorrect hearsay and misrepresentation.

3585

He failed to clarify his understanding of matters within the policy letter or statements, made in the initial part of the debate earlier this summer. He failed to check his facts before launching into the spotlight and the media and announcing to the Committee false rhetoric aimed at discrediting his colleagues. I think he has failed to treat Members with respect and aims to make colleagues look foolish by trying to over-emphasise or make a point as if it is a material issue about our model but fails to mention those points are not exclusive to our proposal and might well apply to other options.

3590

Sir, playing with a straight bat is what we should be doing. Sleight of hand, using the States' Rules to scupper democratic process is not cricket. But, worse, it is not honourable either. The electorate, those who voted us in, the community at large expect more of us. It is something to wonder at that we have had no amendments to note in the past year. Why not, you might ask. What is it that we would normally be asked to note? Perhaps something merely factual and substantive. To note an action, to note accounts, to note a material point.

3595

In using 'to note' in this way, this amendment has been used as a tool to make a political statement. Yes, clever, I suppose, but not playing with a straight bat and it leaves me to ask why. What is the point of asking the States to spend time noting these statements, which at least in their initial form were completed, published and communicated at large to the community and were littered with inaccuracies?

3600 I accept that there have been last-minute amendments to modify the worst of what this amendment originally would have put before us but it remains a negative motion, which adds nothing constructive, delivers nothing strategic and does nothing to contribute towards moving this debate forward.

3605 What is surprising is that initially scant regard was paid to the new Rule 4(d) by Deputy St Pier. The introduction of these new Rules was to ensure that we had better quality amendments coming through to the Assembly. From a former Chief Minister and former Treasury Minister to come forward with these amendments, which completely disregarded what he knew to be true in terms of cost is really disappointing and, in actual fact, it raises a point of procedure, which I have already raised with the President of the States' Assembly and Constitution Committee.

3610 In terms of the involvement of staff, Deputy St Pier seems to point to the staff's response to the policy as a major factor in not continuing with the model. It is already well-documented that the various education debates have all seen resistance to change from the education profession. What we are seeing is nothing new in that respect about this debate and it is important to clarify that any change programme, whether this be in the public or private sector, will of course see resistance to change at the outset. It is to be expected that many staff in any organisation, undergoing change, 3615 would prefer to maintain the *status quo* and are not likely to be on board with change, at least initially, not at first.

In actual fact, I listened with interest to the Prospect union representative on BBC Radio Guernsey on Tuesday morning. He was interviewed in response to recent announcements made by Deputy Soulsby about public sector reform and he said, 'All organisations need to be refreshed and 3620 restructured from time to time. Change is obviously done for good reasons, for good purposes.'

As I have said, there is a lot of positive with change. Change is not actually easy to go through. If your way of working has been long-established and is about to change that obviously causes anxiety. Are we wishing to note that anxiety in a States' Resolution?

3625 I will not prolong what I had written down to tell the States because there are issues with the retention of the *status quo* and that had issues to do with the curriculum and operationally in terms of the primary feeder which I think were important to raise initially but, given the appetite that I read in the States today, to continue with this, I will not prolong the debate.

3630 But will just finish on this bottom-up design because we have heard over the last few days, this phrase pop up about a bottom-up approach and we do not really understand what that means. Where is the bottom? Where does it start within the cogs of the system? Maybe in Deputy St Pier's closing speech he can talk to us about his ideas for a bottom-up approach, because maybe he will be suggesting that for future projects for Transformation that we do. In actual fact, it leaves me to wonder why on earth we are here anyway. If we are looking for a bottom-up approach, this is not the Assembly to do it. We need to restructure completely our type of democracy. So I will be 3635 interested to hear exactly what bottom-up means in our approach to Transformation. I urge Members please throw this awful amendment out. Thank you.

The Bailiff: Deputy St Pier, the proposer of the amendment, to reply.

3640 **Deputy St Pier:** Thank you. I absolutely agree with Deputy Dudley-Owen that politics should not get personal, but she did seem to spend the entire speech having a go at me, which I have to say I did not do when opening debate. It is certainly, also, when talking about playing a straight bat, I think I am not entirely convinced the Committee has done so throughout the identification of objections from –

3645

Deputy Ferbrache: Isn't that an accusation of bad faith? Is that not something you should be addressing with Deputy St Pier?

The Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache, if you wanted to raise a point of order, you know what you do. I am not going to say that that is getting perilously close to making an allegation of dishonesty because dishonesty is different and that is unparliamentary, as Members know. Deputy St Pier is responding to what has been said in the debate. Deputy St Pier to continue.

Deputy St Pier: Thank you sir, yes I was responding to the point that had been levelled at me that I was not playing with a straight bat and perhaps if we are playing cricket then both sides do need to play with straight bats and perhaps we should leave it there.

In terms of the extensive comments made during Deputy Dudley-Owen's speech that there were inaccuracies in the amendment, of course she did not actually go through and list those at all. So, the concerns, which staff have raised with me, clearly concerned staff as advisors to the Committee and discharging their own impartial role as advisors to us all was the subject of a conversation yesterday, which led to the amendments, which have been made in the amendment that has been lodged and laid today and Deputy Dudley-Owen herself has acknowledged those changes.

In terms of why, it is unusual, I completely concede it is unusual to ask in an amendment merely to note a whole series of statements of fact and it is a very conscious political decision to do so because we are in a very unusual political environment in this particular debate, which has extended for so long.

It is asking the States to, particularly now that we are debating this amendment, rather than the one that would have required a suspension of the Rules, and is therefore merely adding two Propositions, it is asking the States to note these facts because, in other words, it is making the decisions consciously, with its eyes open, in relation to the proposals, which have been put before the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture. That is the rationale for taking the approach, which Deputy Cameron and I have done and that is the reason why we encourage Members to support the amendment, sir.

The Bailiff: Members of the States, we come to the vote –

Deputy Queripel: Sir, can we have a recorded vote, please?

The Bailiff: We come to the vote now, Members of the States, on amendment 11, proposed by Deputy St Pier and seconded by Deputy Cameron, and there is a request for a recorded vote, when you are ready, please, Greffier.

There was a recorded vote.

Not Carried – Pour 11, Contre 23, Ne vote pas 4, Absent 1

POUR

Deputy St Pier
Deputy Trott
Deputy Burford
Deputy Bury
Deputy Cameron
Deputy de Sausmarez
Deputy Falla
Deputy Gabriel
Deputy Kazantseva-Miller
Deputy Parkinson
Deputy Roffey

CONTRE

Deputy Soulsby
Deputy Taylor
Deputy Vermeulen
Deputy Aldwell
Deputy Blin
Deputy de Lisle
Deputy Dudley-Owen
Deputy Dyke
Deputy Fairclough
Deputy Ferbrache
Deputy Gollop
Deputy Haskins
Deputy Helyar
Deputy Inder
Deputy Mahoney
Deputy McKenna
Deputy Meerveld
Deputy Moakes

NE VOTE PAS

Deputy Brouard
Deputy Le Tocq
Deputy Leadbeater
Deputy Matthews

ABSENT

Alderney Rep. Roberts

Deputy Murray
Deputy Oliver
Deputy Prow
Deputy Queripel
Alderney Rep. Snowdon

3685 **The Bailiff:** Members of the States, the voting in respect of amendment 11, proposed by Deputy St Pier and seconded by Deputy Cameron was that there voted Pour 11, Contre 23, four abstentions, one absentee and therefore amendment 11 is declared lost. The next Amendment to which I am going to invite the States to turn to is amendment 2, which is taking us back to where we were in July and this is proposed by Deputy Leadbeater if he now wishes to lay it.

[Amendment 2.](#)

1. For Proposition 2, substitute the following propositions:-

"2. To agree that –

(a) the three 11-16 schools will be located on the existing school sites at –

(i) Les Beaucamps,

(ii) St Sampson's, and

(iii) La Mare de Carteret in the existing school which will be expanded to accommodate six forms of entry, and

(b) the Sixth Form Centre will be located at Les Varendes.

2A. To note that the development and implementation of the above model is estimated to have a capital cost of £59m as set out in the table in the explanatory note; and with an ongoing revenue cost which will not, in the medium term, exceed the current revenue costs associated with these phases of education."

2. In Proposition 4, for "£54m" substitute "£83m".

3690 **Deputy Leadbeater:** Thank you, sir.

The Bailiff: Do you wish it to be read at all?

Deputy Leadbeater: Yes, please.

3695 **The Bailiff:** By the Greffier?

Deputy Leadbeater: Yes, please.

The States' Greffier read out amendment 2.

The Bailiff: Thank you very much. Deputy Leadbeater to open debate on this amendment.

3700 **Deputy Leadbeater:** Thank you, sir. I wrote this speech quite some time ago, before we broke in the summer, so there might be a few mistakes. I might refer to yesterday when it was quite some time ago, so I apologise.

3705 As I mentioned last time we debated education before we broke for the summer, La Mare de Carteret secondary school opened on 9th September 1974. Its 47th birthday is tomorrow. Plans to rebuild the schools, La Mare, Beaucamps and St Sampson's, were first approved by the States in May 2001, with a preparation of site development plans agreed for 2002, with La Mare finally prioritised for funding in the States' capital prioritisation debate in 2013 and reconfirmed as a pipeline priority project by the Assembly in 2014.

3710 Since those days, sir, the school has gone from strength to strength. Not last week but a few months ago I sent around to Members a copy of the Bailiwick school performance tables covering the years 2017 through 2020. In 2017, the percentage of La Mare students gaining five or more

GCSE grading 9 to 1, or A*-G, was 95.8%, St Sampson's was 92.3% and Les Beaucamps 90.8%. The Bailiwick average for that year was 91.7%. In 2018, La Mare achieved 100%, the same as the selective cohort at the Grammar School. That year, St Sampson's achieved 91.6% and Beaucamps 88.5%. The Bailiwick average was 93.8%; 2019 also saw La Mare achieve 100% success rate, St Sampson's was very good at 90.93% and Les Beaucamps better than it had been at 95.8%. The Bailiwick average was 92.1%.

Sir, in 2020, La Mare scored 96.2%, St Sampson's 87.1% and Les Beaucamps 88.8%. The Bailiwick average was 95%. La Mare, sir, consistently props up the Bailiwick-wide figures and in recent years more often than not equalling the performance of the selective Grammar School, whilst the two other mixed ability schools are consistently achieving below the Bailiwick average. How can we ignore these facts?

Last time we heard the Vice-President of ESC, Deputy Murray, tell us that these results are not that important and we heard Deputy de Sausmarez agreeing that they did not constitute the full picture of how a school is performing. I disagree that results are not important. They are very important. But I do agree that there is more to a good school than just good grades.

Deputy Matthews last time read out parts of an email we all received from a teacher at La Mare on May 15th. I have her permission and I will now read it in its entirety.

Dear sir/madam, my name is Emma Hughes, I am a teacher at La Mare de Carteret High School. My role is as a pastoral leader and head of house and I also teach physical education. I joined La Mare, so have not been part of the school community for very long. However, I have worked in a number of institutions, including Cheltenham Ladies' College and the Guernsey Grammar School and Sixth Form Centre. But up until now I have never worked anywhere that I have felt so invested in a school's future or its philosophy.

La Mare de Carteret High School is a truly special place. Everything fits. The staff work incredibly hard and so cohesively that the children are always put first. It is a happy place and children feel safe there. Our children love to learn and that is because the teachers understand them. We get them. The sense of belonging is something that I have never experienced before and although I understand there is no money available to rebuild the school, I think it is an absolute travesty that you would take away what is in fact the hub of a community and one that works exceptionally well to meet the needs of the community that it serves.

I have been part of the engagement sessions and previously to that the consultation discussions, so have listened to the rationale that the Education Committee have used. I just hope that you are ready for the fallout that that decision will bring. You will see a rise in school refusers, you will see the children that live on the Genêts estate even more isolated than they already are. La Mare provides opportunities and change for children who really need it.

I am not writing this for fear of my job or for any selfish reasons. I am writing to you solely because of what you are proposing to take away from some of the most vulnerable children on the Island. I would have to say that the whole thing has been handled terribly. A small number of staff were told of the proposals of the Education Committee two weeks ago at an engagement meeting, before any members of the school leadership had even been told and, sadly, we have no idea of what will happen going forward.

Our children were told of the proposals and they want to know if they will still be going to school with their friends, how they will get to school, will they still see us, their teachers, because actually this is what they care about and yet they have gone home at the weekend with hundreds of questions running around their heads and we are unable to put their worrying minds at rest because we do not have the answers.

Please do not make the decision to close La Mare before really thinking about the impact that you are having on these young lives. La Mare may not be the prettiest building or have the best facilities but I can wholeheartedly say that there is magic in that school.

That was from Emma Hughes and I thanked her for that letter. Now forget the results a minute, let us look at the attendance figures. If you look at recent attendance figures, you have got Les Beaucamps at 92.5%, St Sampson's 91.9% and La Mare ahead again, 93.1%. This school excels its peers in every single area. The best pupil-centred approach, the best pastoral care, the best exam results, the best attendance rates. What more evidence to Members need, sir? There is nothing wrong with this school. In fact, there is everything right with this school. What has been wrong is that the States has not recognised it is a success and has not provided it with the investment that it has earned.

When Deputy Ferbrache spoke in this Chamber during the tribute to the late Duke of Edinburgh, one of the things he said struck a chord with me. He spoke about the Duke's life and his amazing sense of duty, and rightly so. There is too much talk these days of people's rights but not of their duty. That struck a chord with me. Those teachers and the other amazing staff at La Mare de Carteret

do not scream about their rights, they just get on with their duty and their duty is to our young people.

3745 I first brought this model to the States in January 2018, directly after the alternative model amendment had been successful. The Rules had to be suspended to allow me to lay the amendment and the vote was split 20-20. Where have we seen that before? So, Deputy Le Pelley, President of ESC at the time, proposed and led on the amendment, with Deputy Dudley-Owen seconding it. Last time this was debated in the States, sir, Deputy Dudley-Owen did not just support it, she seconded it. But I doubt I am going to get her support today.

3750 I will go back to that debate, sir. Some of the Members are still around today that supported me and I would just like to go over a few of the things that were said. The current Members who voted with me on this amendment in 2018 are Deputy de Lisle, my seconder today, Deputy Brouard, Deputy Dudley-Owen, Deputy Prow, Deputy Gollop, Deputy Meerveld, who seconded, and Deputy Inder. This is what some Members said in that debate, sir.

3755 Deputy Gollop said:

This amendment, bringing it back to this, is remarkably to, I think, the spirit of 2016 and 2017 and probably more accurately reflects public opinion at the moment rather than the different arguments we have heard from sundry professionals. It is the most conservative model for Guernsey and in that it fundamentally keeps things similar to as they are. The Beaucamps continues in its fine new building without any extensions, St Sampson's the same and La Mare de Carteret, we honour our promises and rebuild it. The advantage of that will be significant for the construction and building sectors and that would give a degree of economic multiplication to the economy, which is another reason to support the amendment.

Les Varendes will continue as a larger sixth form college and their spare space there, perhaps, but we have to bear in mind there could be an extra pupils in the future who would not do scholarships, plus other people would be attracted to the brave new curriculum and resources there. As other Members have noted perhaps the why element of the 11-16 package that I have most misgivings about was the further education partition of elements of the estate and of the excellent College of Further Education. Like other Members, I would like to see a university college there developed but in the meantime I think that a college of further education rebuilt and reinvigorated with brand new facilities on Les Ozouets. I appreciate we do not know every element of the cash in this and it does not the two versus the three-school element but what it does do is give, I think, greater speed and greater ease in terms of logistics, transport, planning and many other areas in delivering on our Resolutions.

I think there is an opportunity for at least all of us, regardless of how we voted in the last debate, to say whether we want this option for the Island or whether we are rejecting this one as well. I thank Deputy Leadbeater and Deputy Prow for bringing that forward.

Deputy Prow:

I do endorse fully the points by Deputy Ferbrache around democratic opportunities to make arguments with regard to this most important decision we will make this term. Neither shall I rehearse the arguments of the size of schools. What is absolutely clear is there is no clear and perfect solution. However, Deputy Leadbeater has provided us with a pragmatic and cost-effective solution and I stand shoulder to shoulder with him and I shall support this amendment.

Deputy Brouard:

3760

I thank Deputy Leadbeater, through the Committee. I think Deputy Leadbeater, through the Committee, has put forward a practical solution. I am happy to support the three schools. The rebuild of La Mare, I think, is an absolute must. The idea of having one Sixth Form Centre, I think, is much better than having it split. Obviously who would not prefer to have three fantastic schools and three fantastic large, thriving sixth forms, but we just do not have the numbers. If you want that you will have to move to another country. This is the difficulty we have. We are trying to square circles and circles into squares. I would prefer, if we are going to have a sixth form, I would have preferred it to be attached to a school. As I mentioned yesterday, this is not a Nirvana, it is a journey and we will have to come with our best ways of getting there and I think what we have at the moment, I will put my shoulder next to Deputy Prow and Deputy Leadbeater, who support it.

Deputy Dudley-Owen also spoke of La Mare during that education debate. She said: by not rebuilding La Mare, some of the least affluent children will be negatively affected. And she said:

I believe that we should rebuild a school at that site, a site that sits on the edge of one of our biggest social housing estates, which provides the support that is so needed there by many families. No reference has been made to Les Varendes as yet in speeches. Deputies need to understand the extent of the growth in the Sixth Form Centre and they

need to use classrooms in the main school. It makes sense to use these rooms for other full-time study courses if the 11-16-year-olds are moved elsewhere.

3765 This was during the Euros, when I was actually writing the speech and I had that song, *Three Lions*, going round and round in my head. So, if you forgive me, I am going to do a bit of a Deputy Queripel and I append my version of Three Lions and this is to the tune of Three Lions.

3770 Everyone seems to know the score. They have seen it all before. They just know. They are so sure. ESC is gonna throw it away, gonna blow it away. What they should do this day is please remember, La Mare on the shirt. Our building may not be gleaming. Twenty years of hurt never stopped us dreaming. So many hopes, so many tears and all those oh-so-nears. Yes, we were down through the years. But do remember that battle by all, turning around that school, forget the swimming pool. With results dazzling. La Mare on the shirt. Our building may not be gleaming. Twenty years of hurt never stopped us dreaming.

3775 On that note, sir, I will leave Members with this thought. A vote for anything else on the table other than this amendment results in the closing of our highest achieving all abilities school when we have just moved to an all-ability system. A school which is also an exemplar in our system at putting the student first and providing vital support to some of the most vulnerable young people on the Island, guiding them through their 11-16 years and consistently inspiring and helping them achieve to the best of their ability.

3780 I would just leave you with some wise words from former Deputy Looney. He was always coming out with interesting sayings and he said: it is never too late to do the right thing. Please, listen to that and support this amendment. Thank you, sir.

3785 **The Bailiff:** Thank you very much. Deputy de Lisle, do you formally second the amendment?

Deputy de Lisle: Yes, I do, sir, and I would like to speak next, thank you.

3790 **The Bailiff:** What I am going to do is pause briefly to see if anyone rises to make any procedural motions. If they do not then I am going to invite the Greffier to close the Meeting today and encourage you all to remain in the Chamber so that you can listen to Mr Liddell-Grainger and quiz him in due course. Greffier, we will close the Meeting for today, please.

The Assembly adjourned at 5.27 p.m.