



**OFFICIAL REPORT**

**OF THE**

**STATES OF DELIBERATION**

**OF THE**

**ISLAND OF GUERNSEY**

**HANSARD**

**Royal Court House, Guernsey, Wednesday, 30th November 2016**

*All published Official Reports can be found on the  
official States of Guernsey website [www.gov.gg](http://www.gov.gg)*

**Volume 5, No. 34**

**ISSN 2049-8284**

*Published by Her Majesty's Greffier, The Royal Court House,  
St Peter Port, GY1 2NZ. © States of Guernsey, 2016*

**Present:**

**Sir Richard J. Collas, Kt, Bailiff and Presiding Officer**

**Law Officers**

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

**People's Deputies**

**St Peter Port South**

Deputies P. T. R. Ferbrache, J. Kuttelwascher, D. A. Tindall,  
B. L. Brehaut, R. H. Tooley

**St Peter Port North**

Deputies, J. A. B. Gollop, C. N. K. Parkinson, M. K. Le Clerc,  
M. P. Leadbeater, J. I. Mooney

**St Sampson**

Deputies L. S. Trott, P. R. Le Pelley, J. S. Merrett,  
T. J. Stephens, C. P. Meerveld

**The Vale**

Deputies M. J. Fallaize, N. R. Inder, M. M. Lowe, L. B. Queripel,  
J. C. S. F. Smithies, S. T. Hansmann Rouxel

**The Castel**

Deputies R. Graham L.V.O, M. B. E, C. J. Green, B. J. E. Paint,  
M. H. Dorey, J. P. Le Tocq

**The West**

Deputies A. H. Brouard, A. C. Dudley-Owen, E. A. Yerby,  
D. de G. De Lisle, S. L. Langlois

**The South-East**

Deputies H. J. R. Soulsby, H. L. de Sausmarez, P. J. Roffey,  
R. G. Prow, V. S. Oliver

**Representatives of the Island of Alderney**

**The Clerk to the States of Deliberation**

S. M. D. Ross, Esq. (H.M. Senior Deputy Greffier)

**Absent at the Evocation**

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

Deputy L. C. Queripel (*relevé à 9h 34*); Deputy G. A. St Pier, (*absent de l'Île, relevé à 14h 30*);  
Alderney Representatives L. E. Jean and S. D. G. McKinley, O. B. E. (*relevé à 10h 45*)

## Business transacted

Evocation .....	2390
Convocation.....	2390
Policy & Resources Committee .....	2390
Brexit update – Statement by Lead Member of External & Constitutional Affairs .....	2390
Committee for Economic Development.....	2399
Condor Ferries’ comprehensive service review – Statement by President of Committee for Economic Development .....	2399
<b>Billet d’État XXIX.....</b>	<b>2406</b>
Statutory Instruments Laid Before The States.....	2406
The Driving Licences (Theory Test) (Guernsey) Regulations, 2016; The Air Navigation (Restriction of Flying) (Bailiwick of Guernsey) Air Display Regulations, 2016; The Air Navigation (Restriction of Flying) (Bailiwick of Guernsey) Alderney Royal Aero Club Air Racing Regulations, 2016; The Financial Services Ombudsman (Case Fee and Levies) (Bailiwick of Guernsey) (Amendment) Order, 2016 .....	2406
Committee for Employment & Social Security.....	2406
I. The Family Allowances Ordinance, 2016 – Approved.....	2406
II. The Health Service (Benefit) (Amendment) Ordinance, 2016 – Approved .....	2407
III. The Long-term Care Insurance (Guernsey) (Rates) Ordinance, 2016 – Approved .....	2407
IV. The Severe Disability Benefit and Carer's Allowance Ordinance, 2016– Approved.....	2408
V. The Social Insurance (Rates of Contributions and Benefits, etc.) Ordinance, 2016 – Approved.....	2408
VI. The Supplementary Benefit (Implementation) (Amendment) Ordinance, 2016 – Approved.....	2409
Committee for Education, Sport & Culture.....	2410
VII. Future Structure of Secondary Education in the Bailiwick – Debate commenced .....	2410
<i>The Assembly adjourned at 12.35 p.m. and resumed its sitting at 2.30 p.m. ....</i>	<i>2435</i>
Future Structure of Secondary Education in the Bailiwick – Debate continued.....	2435
<i>The Assembly adjourned at 5.39 p.m. ....</i>	<i>2471</i>

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# 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 BAILIFF *in the Chair*]

## PRAYERS

*The Senior Deputy Greffier*

## EVOCAATION

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Lester Queripel has arrived, do you wish to be *relevé*?

**Deputy Lester Queripel:** Sir, yes, please.

## CONVOCAATION

5

**The Senior Deputy Greffier:** Billet d'État XXIX of 2016. 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 Court House on Wednesday 30th November 2016 at 9.30 a.m. to consider the items listed in this Billet d'État which have been submitted for debate.

## POLICY & RESOURCES COMMITTEE

### Brexit update –

### Statement by Lead Member of External & Constitutional Affairs

10

**The Bailiff:** Good morning to you all.

We start today with two statements, the first to be from the lead member of External & Constitutional Affairs at the Policy & Resources Committee, Deputy Le Tocq.

15

**Deputy Le Tocq:** Thank you, sir, for the opportunity to make this statement, today. It will not be a short statement as much has happened since we first debated this item earlier in the summer, and indeed although some Members were present at an External Affairs Briefing last week, there has been developments even since then. So I would like to take this opportunity to give an update of our activity since the policy letter was put before this Assembly regarding the management of the implications for Guernsey following the UK's historic referendum vote to leave the EU.

20

We published and agreed to the proposals in that policy letter some five months ago. It is perhaps hard to believe that since then, this Assembly has debated the Island Development Plan, Phase 1 of the Policy & Resources Plan and our Budget for 2017.

25 We acted fast on Brexit because we were well prepared in advance of the referendum, but it is very clear that the process of understanding what leaving the EU means has only just begun for the UK.

Guernsey had to move deftly in order to cope with the challenges that the UK joining the EU presented. The process of the UK's leaving is far more complex and will require nimble positioning  
30 in order to achieve the objectives set out in that policy letter.

Since we agreed the policy letter in June we have been working with third parties, including businesses and other bodies such as the Guernsey Financial Services Commission and the Institute of Directors in order to gather more information.

Importantly, we have been actively engaging with the UK at every level on Brexit. We have now  
35 had two British-Irish Council summits which have both focused on the UK's exit of the EU, the latest taking place just last week. The British-Irish Council (BIC) has become a business critical tool for the UK in managing its exit from the EU. The value, focus and tone of the organisation has therefore been changing. It provides opportunities for us to express our interests and concerns at the highest level and in turn, allows us to understand what is happening across the devolved  
40 administrations and the Republic of Ireland.

During July and August, officers from across the Crown Dependencies were busy holding meetings with the UK's Department for Exiting the European Union, the Cabinet Office, HM Treasury and the Ministry of Justice to stress the importance of communication throughout the process of the UK's exit and to develop the UK's understanding of our top-level policy issues  
45 surrounding our existing unique relationship through Protocol 3 and as a third country in other areas.

Together with the other Crown Dependencies, we established four initial priorities with the UK Government at those meetings:

50 Firstly, fisheries and agriculture. Protocol 3 allows us to freely trade in these products and we want to preserve that right. Although the economic impact of these sectors is perhaps small in simple GDP terms, fisheries and agriculture are part of our unique historic and cultural identity and we are determined to preserve that.

Secondly, financial services. Over the years Guernsey has successfully negotiated its own access to EU financial markets as a non-EU jurisdiction. These relationships are not going to change  
55 directly. However, the geopolitical landscape and politics of the EU will change when the UK leaves the EU. We need to make sure we know what terms the UK negotiates with the EU in terms of its market access and how we mitigate any political and economic impact we may experience because of that exit.

Thirdly, free movement of people. This is a highly complex area due to our ancient rights and  
60 links to British Nationality, the Common Travel Area and, particularly, the status of Channel Islanders in Protocol 3. Needless to say we are engaged with the UK at a technical level so they understand our needs, including the rights of our residents, as well as those on the Island for seasonal labour.

Finally, customs and goods. We want to maintain our trade links with the UK and the EU,  
65 provide stability and protection for our businesses in order to safeguard and build on our trading relationships. No doors for new trading opportunities should be closed to the Islands and with that in mind, the extension of the UK's Membership of the World Trade Organisation is increasingly important.

70 So, these four priorities are in accordance with those outlined in the June policy letter, but we will be keeping a watching brief to identify other concerns.

The detailed discussions in early July and the extraordinary British-Irish Council summit resulted in a letter from the UK's Prime Minister formally committing, not only to consult, but to actively engage with Guernsey to ensure that all our interests are taken into account. This commitment to engage is different to an agreement to consult. Engagement means  
75 participation – it means that we are not merely a passenger on this journey.

Robin Walker, Parliamentary under Secretary of State at the UK Department for Exiting the EU, has now been given formal responsibility for ensuring the Crown Dependencies' interests are well understood and reflected throughout this process. He has already held meetings with Deputy St Pier and has committed to meet with Guernsey and other Crown Dependencies on a quarterly basis. Following the first of these meetings held on 2nd November, Robin Walker said:

"As we approach our negotiations with the European Union we will go on working closely with our friends in the Crown Dependencies, helping to ensure that we get a deal that works for everyone."

He recognised that these meetings are an important and productive step in our continued discussions, allowing the UK Government to understand the challenges and opportunities that will arise for the Crown Dependencies and to ensure the Islands are given timely and relevant updates as the UK reaches the various milestones in the long process of what lies ahead.

We've also had a senior Crown Dependency Liaison Officer from the UK's Cabinet Office take the time to visit us in Guernsey on fact-finding visits to gain a better sense and understanding of our interests and concerns and to meet me and with our officers on the ground.

We have submitted written evidence to the House of Commons Justice Committee and Foreign Affairs Committee and also expect to be giving evidence to the House of Lords European Union Committee this December.

We have ensured that the Chairman of Alderney's Policy and Finance Committee met with HM Treasury in Guernsey, and have sought regularly to share information with Alderney and Sark as and when we have been able to.

Across Whitehall, Westminster, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland – we are engaging with the UK at every level.

At the BIC just last week the administrations agreed four principles for their collective work on the UK's exit: the importance of trading arrangements for all the BIC members; for the free trade in goods within the UK and to Ireland; and the ability to trade more widely with the EU. This goes to the heart of the customs union we have within the British Isles and to the EU customs area and to our desire to be a part of the World Trade Organisation.

Recognising the increasing value of the BIC in this regard the Summit noted that it supplements bilateral discussions and those of the UK devolution Joint Ministerial Committee. The devolved administrations agree that they benefit from the views and experiences of the Crown Dependencies.

It was also agreed that the governments of the BIC should look for solutions that provide minimum disruption as the UK transitions from being an EU Member State to being outside the EU but still in Europe.

Lastly, that there should be no hard border with Ireland. Whilst Ireland seems a long way from Guernsey the free border is a key part of the Common Travel Area that we all enjoy.

To achieve this, given the diverse range of views around that summit table it may take a range asymmetric solutions. We've all heard the mantra "Brexit means Brexit", but the UK is far from united its view of what this Brexit looks like.

However it's not just the UK and Ireland we need to be speaking to. It is crucial that we continue to develop our relationships with current EU Member States. We need allies during Brexit and we need these allies after Brexit. Our relationship with France, therefore, developed especially now with the help of the Bureau des Îles Anglo-Normandes, our joint French office, and our relationship with countries such as the Republic of Ireland through the British-Irish Council are now more important than ever. We are therefore conscious of the need to increase our efforts in both.

This autumn the UK Ambassadors of two of the most influential EU Member States have visited Guernsey – the Ambassadors of France and of the Netherlands. These have been useful opportunities for us to explain our position in relationship to the UK and the EU and to Brexit.

125 Similarly, this autumn we also welcomed the Swiss Ambassador to the Court of St James. Switzerland is a third country and a member of the European Economic Area, the EEA, so discussions with the Ambassador were useful as he was able to provide a different perspective of the future of trade and security in Europe.

As I speak the Premier is now travelling back to Guernsey following a series of meetings in  
130 Brussels. These meetings, managed by the Channel Islands Brussels Office, raise our profile and build on our direct relationships with the EU. We can only anticipate that our presence in Brussels through CIBO will become even more significant and strategic in the months and years ahead.

On this visit, which Deputy St Pier undertook alongside Jersey's Chief Minister Senator Ian  
135 Gorst, he met with some of our most important partners, not least the UK's Permanent Representation, which has given Guernsey and the Crown Dependencies a good deal of support and counsel in Brussels in the past, and continues to do so.

Deputy St Pier also met with the Permanent Representations of France, of Ireland, and of  
Estonia – each of them influential in different ways, and each of them increasingly more aware of  
140 who we are, what we are not, and thus certainly friends of Guernsey in different respects.

The meeting with Estonia was particularly timely as it will hold the rotating Presidency of the  
EU for the first time in the second half of 2017, taking over from Malta and preceding Bulgaria. Their  
145 Presidency had been due to take place in the first half of 2018 but it was brought forward by six months because of the Brexit outcome, as the UK had been due to hold the Presidency in the second half of 2017.

In addition meetings were held with two of the most important EU Commission cabinets for  
Guernsey – the tax cabinet headed by Commissioner Moscovici, who I have met in the past, and  
150 most recently met in Brussels earlier this year; and the cabinet for financial services, financial stability and capital markets. This last meeting is certainly important. Guernsey makes a significant contribution to the European Union's capital markets. Guernsey and Jersey's specialism is to channel investment from around the globe into funds which are then invested into Europe.

To illustrate, the Channel Islands, taken together, had £466 billion in funds under management,  
or administration, according to Q1 2016 data. Almost half of this comes from investors outside of  
155 the EU. These funds are drawn largely into the UK and the rest of Europe, and invested in key infrastructure and businesses in support of jobs and growth across Europe. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.)

In Guernsey and Jersey's joint January 2016 submission to the EU Commission's call for  
evidence on the regulatory framework for financial services, it was estimated that removal of  
160 additional fees and administrative barriers, together with the introduction of passport for equivalent third countries in due course could result in additional global capital flows into EU investments of between €12.5 billion and €25 billion.

Europe has significant requirements in the area of infrastructure investment; the EU  
Commission has estimated that between €1.5 trillion to €2 trillion is required to meet the policy  
165 goals of the Europe 2020 Strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth. Global capital markets have a vital and valuable role to play in making Europe competitive, and the Channel Islands, then, have a significant part to play in that.

Finally on-Island we are ensuring that, in partnership with the Committee for Economic  
Development, businesses on-Island are kept informed and can continue to ask questions and give  
170 us their views. One of the consistent themes in that engagement is that Guernsey must continue to meet international standards in order to protect its post-Brexit future. It is well understood that by meeting these standards, we demonstrate that we are part of the mainstream, part of the economic solution, a partner and not a threat to the UK and to the wider world.

In many respects, sir, this is an area of stability and security through the Brexit process and  
beyond. Whilst the UK is leaving the EU it is not leaving Europe and like the UK we will continue to  
175 play a role in meeting and contributing to multinational and European standards.

Guernsey's recognition as an OECD member is related directly to its relationship to the UK, and  
the UK's membership of the OECD is direct and not via the EU.



The European Council's recent MoneyVal assessment shows that Guernsey remains one of the leading jurisdictions in combatting financial crime in its own right.

180 Brexit will have no impact on our FATCA or Common Reporting Standards status – neither are contingent on the UK being an EU member. Tax Information Exchange Agreements and Double Taxation Agreements are negotiated and signed bilaterally, directly between Guernsey and the relevant countries.

185 Guernsey has signed up to the OECD's Base Erosion and Profit Shifting agenda, BEPS, which seeks to put in place new international standards of transparency and co-operation. We are a member of the BEPS Inclusive Framework and many EU and G20 members, and so will be involved with the shaping and measurement of the new standards.

That place in the international mainstream, through meeting international standards, is one of the reasons that we can be confident in meeting the challenge of Brexit.

Guernsey must never be complacent, however, but we do have reasons to be confident.

190 We now have the platform from which are actively looking for new business opportunities as the UK changes its relationship with the EU. It is not clear yet whether those opportunities will include brokering new trading deals, or exploring new market access agreements in services, but regardless, we certainly will seek to embrace any new business opportunities that emerge.

195 Every step of the way new issues arise that may impact upon us. For example, we will be monitoring the outcomes of the Supreme Court judgment on Article 50 to understand implications for our own jurisdiction. Constitutional judgments like this can have ramifications and it is important we remain engaged on the raft of issues that arise.

200 The policy letter debated by this Assembly on 29th June acknowledged that we would seek to use in-house expertise and reprioritise resources wherever possible. Developments mean we are now beginning to understand the additional resources that will be required in order to help manage the process over the next few years while maintaining 'business as usual'. We will meet these demands in line with the ongoing Public Service Reform programme agreed by the States last year, and led by the States' Chief Executive.

205 Using existing resources, we will be bringing the right people with the right skills into the right place to work on our response to Brexit. This type of working is exactly what was envisioned by Public Service Reform – a move away from having all job roles tied to a single service in a specific area, enabling us to make the most of our public sector capability.

On 14th December, the President of Policy & Resources will be giving a statement on Public Service Reform to provide an update to this Assembly.

210 The Policy & Resources Committee will give regular updates to all States' Members as the UK negotiates its withdrawal from the EU. Whilst we are not part of the UK or the EU, and in many ways we will not suffer the same constitutional shock-waves as the UK, we cannot expect to be completely unaffected. Things are going well now but we need to maintain diligence and to invest in order to keep pace in 2017 and beyond to make sure we can meet these challenges head-on.

215 **The Bailiff:** Members, we may now have a period of questions within the context of that statement.

Deputy Lowe.

220 **Deputy Lowe:** Thank you, sir.

It is just a question regarding the statement that has just been read, and I thank you for that update, it is extremely helpful.

225 I heard you mention the Economic Development Committee, but I did not hear any mention of Home Affairs, and there is a huge cross over in implications for Home Affairs, which we wrote to Policy & Resources to ensure that we were in the loop, and we have not heard anything since, but could you ensure please, and give assurances to the States, that we will be involved, because of the borders alone, and the security, and the financial implications for financial fraud.

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Le Tocq.

230

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

235

Yes, the President of Homes Affairs is absolutely right, I mentioned Economic Development only as an illustration, but in fact, there are quite a number of different Committees, and therefore their Presidents, that we are already liaising with, and certainly border issues, which I mentioned in my statement, definitely come under the remit of Home Affairs, and we will need to negotiate with them, and work with them, as we move forward and include them in any negotiations.

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Green.

240

**Deputy Green:** Sir, thank you.

245

Can I thank Deputy Le Tocq for his updated statement on this position? The implications of Brexit are enormous for this jurisdiction. I take the point that he makes that it is a complex picture for ourselves and the Crown Dependencies but I think that begs the questions of what exactly are the implications for Guernsey and what exactly are the resource implications for the States of Guernsey? He talked about investment. Can I ask him to clarify do we know at this stage what exactly the resource implications are going to be for our Government in dealing with the complex issues associated with Brexit?

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Le Tocq.

250

255

**Deputy Le Tocq:** Yes, as I said, so far so good from our perspective, we are using existing resources, both from St James' Chambers, working with the External Affairs Secretariat, and others in Economic Development, and obviously, other Committees as has been mentioned, and putting them together so that we pool those capabilities has meant, along with the fact that we were well prepared for this eventuality, unlike perhaps some other jurisdictions, so far, I mean the near future, we have our options scoped very well indeed, we know where we want to be, and that is a very good place to be compared to where we might otherwise be.

260

In terms of resources after Brexit, particularly, and this is my own opinion, I think we are going to need further resourcing. I cannot imagine that our 'business as usual' then will look like 'our business as usual' now. So, whilst the jury is out as far as I am concerned in terms of resourcing that, it cannot be said, as somebody said to me during the Election campaign, that if Britain leaves the EU we will no longer need our expensive Brussels Office. I am very grateful for, and I think this whole Assembly should be grateful for, the foresight in setting up that office, as indeed our office in France is becoming increasingly important. I cannot see that the future will involve more than that.

265

**The Bailiff:** Deputy De Lisle:

270

**Deputy De Lisle:** Thank you, sir.

**The Bailiff:** Your microphone.

275

**Deputy De Lisle:** Deputy Le Tocq, sir, mentions engaging with the UK at every level, but we appear to be running around on the outside, and I would like to ask to what extent is the Bailiwick well positioned in relation to the UK's Brexit negotiations, and the associated outcomes? Are we to have a place around the table with our experience, sir?

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Le Tocq.

280 **Deputy Le Tocq:** Well, if this is the outside, then I am not sure what the inside looks like. It has  
been one of the busiest summer periods for us, and for our staff, that we have ever seen. I think in  
terms of opportunities to engage, where doors have been opened we have moved in there, and if  
I can just say in terms of departments such as the Department of Exiting the EU, which has very  
285 little to do at the moment, they have been very willing to talk to us because they have had very  
little to do elsewhere, so that has been good. But also I would remind him that I mentioned the  
Cabinet Office demonstrating that was initiative from the Prime Minister and the Cabinet Office to  
come over and visit the Bailiwick, and to engage with us on a number of occasions early on, and I  
think that bodes well for the future. I am very confident at this stage, and that is as far as I would  
like to go, sir.

290

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Lester Queripel.

**Deputy Lester Queripel:** Sir, Deputy Le Tocq mentioned the Common Travel Area in his  
speech: is he able to give us his views, please, on whether or not there will be a relaxation of the  
295 Laws regarding the freedom of travel for offenders, particularly sex offenders, now that Brexit is in  
play?

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Le Tocq.

300 **Deputy Le Tocq:** I cannot, sir. But that is a good example, perhaps, of where the Committee  
for Home Affairs, if there is any move on those sorts of matters with regard to the information on  
cross border travel that we would have to liaise with the Committee for Home Affairs and work  
out what Guernsey would want. But I would remind him that in any agreement such as the  
Common Travel Area where you have got a number of different jurisdictions working together it is  
305 a matter of making sure that everybody is able to get what they want, and it is a negotiated  
process. I cannot, at the moment, see any change to the Common Travel Area, from what I hear  
from other jurisdictions represented therein.

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Inder.

310

**Deputy Inder:** Deputy Le Tocq, of course, ultimately, all politics are local, and post-Brexit, it is  
understood that the cruise lines may not necessarily need to clear in Guernsey to be found as an  
international voyage. Does Deputy Le Tocq have any indication as to the risk to our hugely  
successful and beneficial cruise-line industry?

315

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Le Tocq.

**Deputy Le Tocq:** Deputy Inder raises a very good point, and exactly in matters like that where  
when it comes to the point we need to know exactly what the risks are. At this particular juncture  
320 it is not appropriate, I think, for us to conjecture, or speculate, as to what that might look like. I  
think there are a number of reasons why cruise liners come here, I think that has been evident, but  
it is certainly one of the issues that we are well aware of, and if there is any threat to that, we will  
want early warning of it, and that is why we are engaging in the way that we are.

325

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Gollop.

**Deputy Gollop:** Lots of interesting points Deputy le Tocq raised, such as strengthening our  
relationship with France and European countries, but particularly on the single market issues and  
access to European and global markets for our finance and other industries, I would like to ask is  
330 Policy & Resources External Affairs factoring in to the resource, not just the impact of possible  
change in Europe, and with the UK's relationship with Brexit, but possible developments in the

United States of America if the new administration, post January, follows a more protectionist, anti-free trade line? So really, are they considering our relationship with the USA and the North American markets in addition?

335

**The Bailiff:** I am not sure that arises in the context of the statement. Are you happy to answer the question, Deputy Le Tocq?

340

**Deputy Le Tocq:** I am, but very briefly. I am sure the vice-premier would agree with me that the opportunities across the Atlantic are huge, and he would know from both his involvement with P&R responsibilities in terms of international business, and as Chairman of Guernsey Finance, that there are ongoing opportunities that opened up even before Brexit that possibly have even greater opportunities now. We are looking at all of those things, and working with Economic Development on those matters.

345

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Laurie Queripel.

**Deputy Laurie Queripel:** Thank you, sir.

350

Can Deputy Le Tocq give us any indication what opportunities these negotiations may present to us in regard to our corporate tax regime, Zero-10 and how we might be viewed if we considered moving away from the Zero, bearing in mind that it was apparently pressure from the EU that in part pushed us down the Zero-10 road?

355

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Le Tocq.

360

**Deputy Le Tocq:** I will not speculate from here, but I think, Deputy Laurie Queripel knows that the pressure, in terms of being a third country, will be the same afterwards as before. In fact, if anything, we need to make sure, as I said in my speech, that we have as many friends, because we will be losing one from around the table in the EU, so when it comes to access to markets, and equivalents, and all the issues that surround it, our corporate tax regime, we will have to continue to work hard to demonstrate that it is fair. It is currently fair, and it has been judged as such by all the appropriate authorities within the EU, and we maintain that that will continue in the future.

365

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Brehaut.

**Deputy Brehaut:** Thank you, sir.

370

In a recent debate the Labour member, Diane Abbott referred to Guernsey as an Overseas Territory as opposed to a Crown Dependency. When such errors are made, can we have any indication practically of then what happens from a local office perspective?

Thank you.

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Le Tocq.

375

**Deputy Le Tocq:** Yes, our officers were directly in touch with her office immediately afterwards, to correct that. Those of us, and I am sure, Deputy Brehaut knows a little bit of this, who are involved in representing the Island outside, know that it is a mantra that we have to continue to explain that we are not an Overseas Territory, we never have been that, we have a unique position in relation to the Crown, and, unfortunately, whilst that is annoying that we have to continue to do that because we are small and very often misrepresented, that is exactly why, in the process of Brexit and the negotiations, we need to make sure that we have our feet in the doors, and our representative around the table, at every point.

380

**The Bailiff:** Yes, Deputy Oliver.

385 **Deputy Oliver:** Sir, Deputy Le Tocq said that we know where we want to be with Brexit, but please can you just say, where is that, exactly, for the people of Guernsey? Just to clarify some situations.

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Le Tocq.

390 **Deputy Le Tocq:** As I think this Assembly agreed in the Propositions, when we debated them back in June, we want to continue our relationship with both – as it exists and has existed for many centuries with the UK, we do not want that to be affected, and we want to continue the current relationship that we have with the European Union. We have had a very good relationship as a third country, and that has enabled us to have access to markets, where we want them, it has  
395 enabled us to have the free movement of people and trading goods, and that is exactly what we want to maintain.

If, on top of that, there are opportunities to broaden our offer, if you like, then we are certainly looking to do that, and that is where it matters very much as to what the UK decides to do, because we will be behind them, involved in those opportunities as they arise. But our current  
400 position is that we know exactly where we want to be, and that is we want to remain as open and as free to trade and to movement of people as we possibly can.

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Kuttelwascher.

405 **Deputy Kuttelwascher:** Thank you, sir.

Could Deputy Le Tocq inform us as to whether or not the issue of the UK possibly trying to re-join EFTA, the European Free Trade Association, is actually on the agenda?

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Le Tocq.

410 **Deputy Le Tocq:** One of the interesting things in this role is that, certainly over the summer and up to date, you wake up in the morning and you think, 'I wonder what news is going to arrive on our doorstep today.' It could be almost anything. So, I could answer his question today by saying I think it is still on the agenda, tomorrow it might be a different matter, because it does  
415 seem that we are living in age where different priorities seem to move, to shift, very much more quickly than they did in the past. I would hope it is still on the agenda, but what is said in the media and what we hear behind the scenes is sometimes different.

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Green and then Deputy Gollop will probably be the last question, if he is...  
420

**Deputy Green:** Sir, thank you.

We have heard that there may well be resource implications for the Islands because of Brexit. Would Deputy Le Tocq agree with me that there might be some merit in us asking the UK Government for a financial contribution, bearing in mind that if there are going to be implications  
425 for our Island, it is not because we had a say in the referendum, and maybe we should be speaking to the Government and asking them for money.

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Le Tocq.

430 **Deputy Le Tocq:** Sir, I think we are being as robust as we possibly can. I would caution going down that route, because whenever that has occurred, say, in the past, there are obviously implications, and I would not want those implications, if we were to take that argument to its extreme, to mean that it changes our constitutional relationship, which is with the Crown and not with the UK Government. So we need to be very careful there, but I understand where he is  
435 coming from.

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Gollop.

440 **Deputy Gollop:** Do you find continued and evolving membership of the British-Irish Council helpful in looking at whether we could build a stronger relationship with the Republic of Ireland in relation to the European issues?

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Le Tocq.

445 **Deputy Le Tocq:** Yes, I attended, along with Deputy Fallaize, a BIC in Dublin just last year, and there is a very good relationship with the Republic of Ireland. I know the businesses over the last couple of decades have been increasingly involved with businesses in the Republic of Ireland. I think in the future, as I said in my statement, our friends within the EU will matter more than ever, and the Irish Republic is certainly on that list, and it is important that we maintain as close a link as we possibly can with them.

450

**The Bailiff:** Thank you very much. Well, the 15 minutes are now up.

## COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

### Condor Ferries' comprehensive service review – Statement by President of Committee for Economic Development

455 **The Bailiff:** I call on Deputy Ferbrache, the President of the Committee for Economic Development, who will make a statement in relation to Condor Ferries and the comprehensive service review.

Deputy Ferbrache.

**Deputy Ferbrache:** Thank you very much, Mr Bailiff.

My statement will be brief.

460 Sir, I want to provide an update to the Members of this Assembly on the actions which the Committee for Economic Development will now be taking, following the publication of the Condor Ferries' Comprehensive Service Review last week, and I would add that my Committee had a draft which was substantially in the form of the public document executed, or issued, last Tuesday, about 10 days or so before. So we had the opportunity to consider that document thoroughly.

465

Now, resolving the complex issues surrounding connectivity to and from the Bailiwick have been, and will continue to be, the number one priority for the Committee. We absolutely recognise that robust, reliable and affordable transport links are essential for the Bailiwick community. Now, that is whether you are travelling for a holiday, travelling for business or a means of bringing visitors to our shores, it is absolutely critical for the community.

470

Difficulties experienced in sea travel and the lack of confidence in the service needs to be resolved and to be resolved quickly. We are working very hard on this. The Committee for Economic Development is acutely aware of concerns about the operation and service levels provided by Condor Ferries. We have had many, and I should add very many, representations from a variety of individuals, organisations and businesses and we have taken note of all of them. Condor themselves recognise in the Review that their performance in 2015 and the first quarter of 2016, and this is what they say, was not what they would have wished.

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As one of the conditions of the Operating Agreement signed between Condor and the States of Jersey, two years ago, Condor is required to conduct a Comprehensive Service Review every two years. Given the difficulties, that they admit, were experienced by the operator during 2015

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and the first part of this year, the decision was taken to bring this review forward, and as everybody knows, that has now been completed. Now that was a document of over 200 pages, 150-odd pages of substantive material, and 50-odd pages of appendices.

485 It was necessary to complete this piece of work in order to inform discussions that will now take place with Condor Ferries and our colleagues in the States of Jersey.

The content and recommendations of the review need to be very carefully considered in order to ensure that any decisions taken in the near future are the right ones for the Bailiwick. To this end the Committee has already had a number of lengthy meetings to discuss the actions that will flow from the review. The Committee has formed a view of what needs to happen next, and we  
490 consider it appropriate to work through this methodologically, beginning with discussions with our colleagues in Jersey and then with representatives from Condor Ferries.

Rest assured, please rest assured, we are focused on ensuring that the levels of service required – in terms of guaranteed delivery of freight to the Islands, a safe and reliable means of travel to the UK, Jersey and France, and as an essential requirement for the visitor economy, will  
495 all be fully met.

The Committee for Economic Development will report back to the States of Deliberation once these discussions have been concluded and a clear way forward has been determined.

Thank you very much, sir.

500 **The Bailiff:** Any questions?  
Deputy Lester Queripel.

**Deputy Lester Queripel:** Sir, my view is that we should join with Jersey and the Ports in the South of England to set up our own ferry service and dispense with Condor. Does the President  
505 share that view, and if so, will his Committee be looking into the merits or advantages and disadvantages?

Thank you.

510 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Ferbrache.

**Deputy Ferbrache:** Sir, I do not share that view at the moment, and I do not believe my Committee, or the Committee, share that view at the moment. Our intent is to proceed with these negotiations with due alacrity, with care and realism, and hopefully, and I hope that is not just based on wishful thinking, hopefully, conclude an agreement that it for the benefit of the Bailiwick  
515 of Guernsey with Condor. If that does not work out then we must be alert and alive to other matters.

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Inder.

520 **Deputy Inder:** Deputy Ferbrache, I am wondering if the horse has not bolted on the whole company and the service. In 2011 Condor's passenger figures were some 122,000 end of quarter three we are looking at 80,000 that is a drop of over 30% in the five year period, it is an absolute disaster for this Island, for this community, and for the visitor economy. Is the problem with the company not far deeper than just the 2015 to 2016 period, and we are referring to *Liberation*?

525 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Ferbrache.

**Deputy Ferbrache:** Deputy Inder is absolutely right, the level of drop in people travelling by sea is a matter of great concern, and he has highlighted the figures accurately. Whether it is more  
530 deep rooted than we have been told, we will have to find out, and we will have to find out very quickly. We are assured that Condor will do all they reasonably can to address the concerns. It is the duty of the Economic Development Committee to ensure that they absolutely do that.

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Fallaize.

535 **Deputy Fallaize:** Thank you, sir.

It is beginning to sound as if Deputy Ferbrache's Committee is going to take a more robust approach with Condor than their predecessors did, and I think most people would commend them for that. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) But ultimately, his Committee is not, of course, responsible for Condor, they are responsible for the Island's sea links. Is Deputy Ferbrache satisfied that his  
540 Committee, and by extension the States, have set out clearly what the Island's objectives are, in terms of the services for our sea links, and if not, what are they going to do to in order to clarify those objectives?

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Ferbrache.

545

**Deputy Ferbrache:** I thank Deputy Fallaize for that question, it is a very apposite question. In our own mind we have clear objectives as to what we want to achieve, and as Deputy Fallaize has said, it is a responsibility of Economic Development but ultimately with Policy & Resources and ultimately with this Assembly to make sure that we get the best arrangement that we can. We  
550 certainly intend to be robust. Knowing the membership of the Committee, including, I hope, myself, I think the States can have some confidence that we will be robust. We are not patsies for anybody, including Condor. He rightly says, that it is an independent company and we cannot control what they do. So, therefore, in any negotiation there has to be give and take, but I would expect, without guaranteeing anything, because how can you guarantee the conduct of a third  
555 party, that there will have to be a significant amount of give on the part of Condor before we can recommend to this Assembly that the arrangements that we, hopefully, will come to are in the best interests of the Bailiwick.

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Trott.

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**Deputy Trott:** Sir, with particular reference to the last answer given, the States of Jersey have issued a statement advising unequivocally that no subsidy will be given to Condor in its capacity as a private company. Is this view replicated by the Committee for Economic Development?

565 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Ferbrache.

**Deputy Ferbrache:** Absolutely – well, if I can repeat the word absolutely twice, absolutely, absolutely. That is our view, we have already expressed it. We have not issued a statement because we have told people verbally, and that is often the best way of dealing with things. It is  
570 not our intent, it is not our wish, and we would actively oppose, and we would have to be overruled by this Assembly, any subsidies to Condor.

**The Bailiff:** Deputy De Lisle.

575 **Deputy De Lisle:** Thank you, sir.

A drop of 17% last year in sea travel has had a marked impact on Island business. There has been support for a Weymouth Guernsey Jersey service. I would like to ask – will Deputy Ferbrache and his Committee work to re-open this route in order to diversify and extend the service that is offered this Island by sea?

580 Thank you, sir.

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Ferbrache.



585 **Deputy Ferbrache:** Well, sir, our first concern, and our first consideration, will be negotiating  
with Condor via Jersey and all the other matters that I referred to in my statement. My  
understanding in relation to Weymouth is that Weymouth themselves, the Weymouth Authorities  
do not intend to operate a route for sea travel that would involve the Channel Islands going  
forward. Now that is my understanding, we will check it thoroughly, and the ultimate issue is if we  
cannot come to a proper arrangement with Condor, that we feel is in the best interests of the  
590 Bailiwick of Guernsey, and if that decision is supported by the States, i.e. by this Assembly, then  
we will have to consider all options, and they might include those referred to in the question that  
Deputy Lester Queripel posed just a few minutes ago.

595 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Roffey.

**Deputy Roffey:** Can I ask whether the Economic Development Committee either has done, or  
intends to do, any market scanning to see whether any other commercial operator has any  
interest in the sea routes to Guernsey from the UK and France?

600 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Ferbrache.

**Deputy Ferbrache:** Again, a very appropriate question, I am glad that we have considered it  
already, as an option. The answer is that yes we will, yes, we will consider and continue to consider  
until we believe that we have got a deal that should be acceptable to the peoples of these Islands,  
605 every option. That will include very option. Because, again, unless the States direct us otherwise,  
and ultimately all matters are a matter for the States and the Assembly, I will not be putting pen  
to paper to any arrangement with Condor unless I and my colleagues on the Economic  
Development Committee believe that it is in the best interest of this Bailiwick.

610 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Graham.

**Deputy Graham:** Thank you, sir.  
Clearly, to me, and I think to everybody, Guernsey cannot really be seen to be acting  
unilaterally in this. There is the Jersey dimension. I wonder if Deputy Ferbrache could bring us up  
615 to date on the extent of collaboration so far with Jersey.

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Ferbrache.

**Deputy Ferbrache:** Yes, sir, I have had discussion, albeit relatively briefly with Senator Farnham  
620 who is my broad equivalent in Jersey. I believe that Senator Farnham who is a Minister and  
therefore has more executive authority than I as President of the Economic Development  
Committee has, (**Deputy Brehaut:** At the moment.) at the moment, as Deputy Brehaut says, is of  
the same view. We would have met this week but clearly we have a very important debate that we  
are just about to engage upon, (*Interjections*) and naturally that has taken up a great deal of all of  
625 our time, because we want to research matters for that debate as best we can. At the moment,  
and it is always difficult getting diaries together, at the moment we are looking to have some kind  
of meeting, although it might be a telephone meeting, with Senator Farnham next week. But it is  
very high, as I said in my statement, it is the number one priority, and we will have detailed  
discussions with them very soon. I cannot pretend that they have been overly detailed at the  
630 moment, I would not want to mislead the Assembly.

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Laurie Queripel.

**Deputy Laurie Queripel:** Thank you, sir.

635 Following on from Deputy Graham's question, if we had to consider the nuclear option of the States becoming more directly involved with the provision of sea links, how might this be viewed by Jersey, or could we take such an action without cooperation with Jersey?

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Ferbrache.

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**Deputy Ferbrache:** I remember going back to 1997 when I was president of the Board of Industry and vice-president of the Transport Board, and at that time we looked at whether we could have a unilateral a Guernsey alone service, if I can put it that way, and at the time, and there was a slight misunderstanding between me and my then vice-president Conseiller Walters, which led to a little furore politically at the time. We looked, and the view that we took, including  
645 Conseiller Walters when he reflected upon it, was that it was impractical, it was impractical to have a Guernsey-alone service. At the moment that is still, I believe – and my colleagues and Committee will tell me otherwise – our view. Certainly still my view. But nothing must be ruled out at this particular stage. We must consider every option, because, again, as I emphasise this is such an important issue because of the damage that has been done, that Deputy Inder has referred to, Deputy De Lisle has referred to over the last two or three years. It is a crucial issue, the tourist industry, the travel industry, the people from this Island, they have had so many punches to the stomach in relation to this, they cannot take any, or many, more.

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655 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Green.

**Deputy Green:** Sir, thank you.

Can I thank Deputy Ferbrache for his statement?

Would he agree with me that one the real issues here is the reliability of the Liberation vessel?  
660 Can he comment today on whether his Committee is confident that the representations that were made by Condor to the States about the fitness for the purpose of the vessel for our waters when these things were being decided were actually accurate or otherwise?

665

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Ferbrache.

**Deputy Ferbrache:** I think, sir, if I may say so, Deputy Green has hit one of the major nails on the head, as it were. Condor, if you remember, there was a holder report which said it was fit for purpose, pre my time in the States. I am only expressing my view at the moment, I am not committing the other four members of the Committee for Economic Development. I frankly do not believe it is. I believe that is an issue that has got to be addressed. It could be addressed in a lot of ways. It could be addressed, for example, with having a second reliable vessel on the northern route. It could be addressed by *Liberation* being replaced. I think the latter is unlikely in the short term, because whether they like it or not they have invested many millions of pounds in that particular vessel. They are a commercial entity, and they are unlikely to right off that investment. So, therefore... but Deputy Green, if I may say so, is absolutely right that it is an issue of concern, and again it goes back to the Deputy Inder's and De Lisle's points about confidence in the company and confidence in the links between here and England. People do not have confidence at the moment.

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680 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Brouard.

**Deputy Brouard:** Thank you, sir.

I thank Deputy Ferbrache for the statement.

Can Deputy Ferbrache give any time scales, I mean, we are now six months in to the new term, when he hopes the matters and all the rocks have been turned over, and all the evidence gathered and everything has been done, when it will actually be concluded as either satisfactory,  
685

or change is required, when the actual issue will be addressed. Are we looking, two months, three months, six months, a year, that we will be will we won't we?

690 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Ferbrache.

**Deputy Ferbrache:** That is a question that has exercised my mind, sir, a lot. Because we wanted to be constructive, but we have not done nothing over the last six months. We have had regular discussions with Condor, we have reflected, we have discussed it periodically as a Committee, but we want to give, and I believe we are giving, responsible government so we  
695 wanted to wait for the review, which I said we have had now two and a half weeks or so, whatever the arithmetic is. We have considered it fully, although it is a 206, 207, 210 page document, whatever it may be, because of my previous experience I am used to reading documents of that level, and assimilating the detail, and so are my colleagues on the Committee for Economic  
700 Development. I am not going to guarantee it, because you can never guarantee the actions of a third party, but I would be very, very disappointed if by the end of February, or the end of March, at the very latest, say another three or four months, we are not in a position to say to this Assembly, this is what we want, or we have got nowhere. I think that is the best I can say, I cannot say that we can come with a concluded agreement that we put to the States and say please  
705 accept this Members of the States in that period of time, because Jersey are involved, I do not think they will drag their heels, I do not think they will, and Condor are involved.

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Fallaize has already asked one question. Deputy Gollop.

710 **Deputy Gollop:** As a member of the Transport Licensing Authority I am somewhat neutral as to opinions about the operators, but the question has been raised by Deputy Trott about financing the routes. Will the Committee be considering for the long term future, issues as to how many ferries, conventional or fast, are needed for the routes, and whether an improved Guernsey Jersey service for business, visitors and sporting communities would be beneficial, even if it  
715 require a bus style tendering process?

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Ferbrache.

**Deputy Ferbrache:** Thankfully, two questions from Deputy Gollop, and the answer to both of them is yes. Because, again, in our view, the day trip, if it could be called that, a day trip of three or  
720 four hours is not to me a day trip, that is currently on offer is not satisfactory. That has got to be addressed, and also, I think I have already touched upon it in the answer to Deputy Green's question, we do not believe that one vessel on the England Channel Islands route or vice versa is satisfactory.

725

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Trott.

**Deputy Trott:** Sir, Deputy Ferbrache has advised that a second vessel on the northern route would be desirable, but we are also aware that that would require a subsidy from the Channel  
730 Islands Administration, Condor have been quite clear about that. Economic Development have ruled out any subsidy, as have Jersey, both have been equally clear on that. So, sir, in order to manage expectations, the question I would raise is can our community expect no change in fleet for at least the next 18 months?

735 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Ferbrache.

**Deputy Ferbrache:** Well, whatever happens, I think the realism is that there will be no change for the next 12 months for sure, because we have had the schedules published, we were asked for

our views, we expressed our views. We said we were not happy with some of them. But because of  
740 the current arrangements, i.e. the arrangements that preceded the existence of the Committee for  
Economic Development and the election of me as its President, and my colleagues a week or so  
after I was elected, we are stuck with that. So the answer to Deputy Trott's question is that in  
negotiations there has to be a give and take, and we would be expecting, and I answered it to one  
of my colleagues earlier, we would expect Condor to give a fair bit in these negotiations. They  
745 know our concerns, and there is no point their telling us it is about like somebody telling you that  
is what the position is when you know it is absolutely wrong, and I and the Committee members,  
and a large chunk of our community, have got no confidence that, over a lengthy period of time,  
the *Liberation* will be able to discharge its duties.

750 **The Bailiff:** I will allow one more question, Deputy Fallaize.

**Deputy Fallaize:** Thank you, sir.

Deputy Ferbrache has been empathising the role of this Assembly in this matter, can I ask him  
to clarify. Is it the intention of his Committee that once they have, as it were, exhausted  
755 negotiations with Condor, if I can put it that way, and reached what they consider to be a  
satisfactory outcome, that they will put that before the States, irrespective of the degree of  
change it may entail from the present arrangement with Condor? Is that what the Committee has  
in mind? That they want the endorsement of the States irrespective of what they negotiate?

760 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Fallaize ... Deputy Ferbrache, sorry.

**Deputy Ferbrache:** We are very similar, sir, in age. (*Laughter and interjections*)

A very good question. Because the mandate is with our Committee, but I believe we are in a  
new form of government over the last six or seven months. It may be a bit cumbersome, and it  
765 may take a long time to get to do things – more perhaps than if you had executive Government.  
Part of the process will also be undoubtedly Policy & Resources, as the ... when I say 'senior  
committee', I do not like to think anybody is senior to us, but I think the Members will agree –  
(*Laughter*) It is our intention, once we have got the best deal that we believe we can get, or we  
cannot get a satisfactory deal, whatever it is, to come back to the Assembly and say, 'This is the  
770 position: either endorse this please, or give us further direction.' I think with an issue as important  
as this, and I would expect, if it is not the number one priority for most Members of this Assembly,  
it is certainly in the top two or three.

**The Bailiff:** Well, the time has now elapsed.

775 We have got other business to move on to. We will move on to legislation.

## Billet d'État XXIX

### STATUTORY INSTRUMENTS LAID BEFORE THE STATES

**The Driving Licences (Theory Test) (Guernsey) Regulations, 2016;  
The Air Navigation (Restriction of Flying) (Bailiwick of Guernsey) Air Display  
Regulations, 2016;  
The Air Navigation (Restriction of Flying) (Bailiwick of Guernsey)  
Alderney Royal Aero Club Air Racing Regulations, 2016;  
The Financial Services Ombudsman (Case Fee and Levies) (Bailiwick of Guernsey)  
(Amendment) Order, 2016**

**The Bailiff:** Greffier.

780 **The Senior Deputy Greffier:** The following Statutory Instruments are laid before the States:  
The Driving Licences (Theory Test) (Guernsey) Regulations, 2016; The Air Navigation (Restriction of  
Flying) (Bailiwick of Guernsey) Air Display Regulations, 2016; The Air Navigation (Restriction of  
Flying) (Bailiwick of Guernsey) Alderney Royal Aero Club Air Racing Regulations, 2016 and The  
785 Financial Services Ombudsman (Case Fee and Levies) (Bailiwick of Guernsey) (Amendment) Order,  
2016.

**The Bailiff:** I have not received notice of any motion to debate any of those.

### COMMITTEE FOR EMPLOYMENT & SOCIAL SECURITY

#### I. The Family Allowances Ordinance, 2016 – Approved

##### *Article I*

*The States are asked to decide:*

*Whether they are of the opinion to approve the draft Ordinance entitled "The Family Allowances  
Ordinance, 2016", and to direct that the same shall have effect as an Ordinance of the States.*

*This proposition has been submitted to Her Majesty's Procureur for advice on any legal or  
constitutional implications in accordance with Rule 4(1) of the Rules of Procedure of the States of  
Deliberation and their Committees.*

790 **The Senior Deputy Greffier:** Article I – Committee for Employment & Social Security – The  
Family Allowances Ordinance.

**The Bailiff:** Is there any request for debate or clarification?  
Yes, Deputy Oliver.

795 **Deputy Oliver:** Sir, I just want to ask if this was linked to the pre-school model. If the pre-  
school model changes in any way, will the family allowance rate change?

**The Bailiff:** Any other questions or debate?  
Deputy Le Clerc, the President, will reply.

800

**Deputy Le Clerc:** All I can say, sir, is that we are in discussions with the Education Committee and if there is a significant change to the pre-school proposals, we may increase family allowance back to where it was, but we would have to bring that back to the Assembly.

805 **The Bailiff:** We go to the vote then on the Family Allowances Ordinance, 2016. Those in favour; those against.

*Members voted Pour.*

810 **The Bailiff:** I declare it carried.

## **II. The Health Service (Benefit) (Amendment) Ordinance, 2016 – Approved**

*Article II*

*The States are asked to decide:*

*Whether they are of the opinion to approve the draft Ordinance entitled "The Health Service (Benefit) (Amendment) Ordinance, 2016", and to direct that the same shall have effect as an Ordinance of the States.*

*This proposition has been submitted to Her Majesty's Procureur for advice on any legal or constitutional implications in accordance with Rule 4(1) of the Rules of Procedure of the States of Deliberation and their Committees.*

**The Senior Deputy Greffier:** Article II – The Committee for Employment & Social Security – The Health Service (Benefit) (Amendment) Ordinance, 2016.

815 **The Bailiff:** Any requests for debate or clarification? No.  
We go to the vote. Those in favour; those against.

*Members voted Pour.*

820 **The Bailiff:** I declare it carried.

## **III. The Long-term Care Insurance (Guernsey) (Rates) Ordinance, 2016 – Approved**

*Article III*

*The States are asked to decide:*

*Whether they are of the opinion to approve the draft Ordinance entitled "The Long-term Care Insurance (Guernsey) (Rates) Ordinance, 2016", and to direct that the same shall have effect as an Ordinance of the States.*

*This proposition has been submitted to Her Majesty's Procureur for advice on any legal or constitutional implications in accordance with Rule 4(1) of the Rules of Procedure of the States of Deliberation and their Committees.*

**The Senior Deputy Greffier:** Article III – The Committee for Employment & Social Security – The Long-term Care Insurance (Guernsey) (Rates) Ordinance, 2016.

825 **The Bailiff:** Does anybody seek any clarification or want to debate this? No.  
We go to the vote. Those in favour; those against.

*Members voted Pour.*

**The Bailiff:** I declare it carried.

**IV. The Severe Disability Benefit and Carer's Allowance Ordinance, 2016– Approved**

*Article IV*

*The States are asked to decide:*

*Whether they are of the opinion to approve the draft Ordinance entitled "The Severe Disability Benefit and Carer's Allowance Ordinance, 2016", and to direct that the same shall have effect as an Ordinance of the States.*

*This proposition has been submitted to Her Majesty's Procureur for advice on any legal or constitutional implications in accordance with Rule 4(1) of the Rules of Procedure of the States of Deliberation and their Committees.*

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**The Senior Deputy Greffier:** Article IV – The Committee for Employment & Social Security – The Severe Disability Benefit and Carer's Allowance Ordinance, 2016

**The Bailiff:** Any clarification or debate?

835

We go to the vote. Those in favour; those against.

*Members voted Pour.*

**The Bailiff:** I declare it carried.

**V. The Social Insurance (Rates of Contributions and Benefits, etc.) Ordinance, 2016 – Approved**

*Article V*

*The States are asked to decide:*

*Whether they are of the opinion to approve the draft Ordinance entitled "The Social Insurance (Rates of Contributions and Benefits, etc.) Ordinance, 2016", and to direct that the same shall have effect as an Ordinance of the States.*

*This proposition has been submitted to Her Majesty's Procureur for advice on any legal or constitutional implications in accordance with Rule 4(1) of the Rules of Procedure of the States of Deliberation and their Committees.*

840

**The Senior Deputy Greffier:** Article V – The Committee for Employment & Social Security – The Social Insurance (Rates of Contributions and Benefits, etc.) Ordinance, 2016.

**The Bailiff:** There is an amendment to this to be proposed by Deputy Le Clerc.

845

Deputy Le Clerc.

*Amendment*

*To amend the draft Ordinance entitled "The Social Insurance (Rates of Contributions and Benefits, etc.) Ordinance, 2016" as follows –*

*(a) in the Preamble –*

(i) for "their Resolution of the \*\* November, 2016", substitute "their Resolutions of the 30th October, 2015 and the 3rd November, 2016", and

(ii) immediately after "8," where first appearing, insert "17(2)," and

(b) immediately after section 8 insert the following section –

"Variation of the Law as to the States' grant.

8A. In section 17(1) of the Law, for "fifteen per centum" substitute "14.7 per centum".

**Deputy Le Clerc:** Sir, I think the explanatory note says everything, so I would just ask the Assembly to approve the amendment.

850 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Langlois, do you formally second the amendment?

**Deputy Langlois:** I second the amendment.

**The Bailiff:** Any debate on the amendment?

855 We go to the vote on the amendment. Those in favour; those against.

*Members voted Pour.*

**The Bailiff:** I declare it carried.

860 Is there any debate on the Ordinance itself as now amended? No.

We vote. Those in favour; those against.

*Members voted Pour.*

865 **The Bailiff:** I declare it carried.

## **VI. The Supplementary Benefit (Implementation) (Amendment) Ordinance, 2016 – Approved**

*Article VI*

*The States are asked to decide:*

*Whether they are of the opinion to approve the draft Ordinance entitled "The Supplementary Benefit (Implementation) (Amendment) Ordinance, 2016", and to direct that the same shall have effect as an Ordinance of the States.*

*This proposition has been submitted to Her Majesty's Procureur for advice on any legal or constitutional implications in accordance with Rule 4(1) of the Rules of Procedure of the States of Deliberation and their Committees.*

**The Senior Deputy Greffier:** Article VI – The Committee for Employment & Social Security – The Supplementary Benefit (Implementation) (Amendment) Ordinance, 2016.

870 **The Bailiff:** Any debate or clarification?

We vote. Those in favour; those against.

*Members voted Pour.*

875 **The Bailiff:** I declare it carried.



**COMMITTEE FOR EDUCATION, SPORT & CULTURE**

**VII. Future Structure of Secondary Education in the Bailiwick –  
Debate commenced**

*Article VII*

*The States are asked to decide:*

*Whether, after consideration of the Policy Letter dated 14th October, 2016, of the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture, they are of the opinion:*

*1.*

*Either A*

*to re-affirm Resolutions 1 of 15th March 2016 made after consideration of the Education Department's policy letter dated 8th January 2016 entitled THE FUTURE STRUCTURE OF SECONDARY AND POST-16 EDUCATION, but with an amended timescale for implementation of a non-selective system to September 2021*

*i.e.*

*1. To agree that the current selective admission of students to States' secondary schools and the grant-aided colleges based predominantly on the 11-plus examination shall be replaced with effect from September 2021 (for new Year 7 students) by non-selective admission to States' secondary schools based predominantly on a feeder system from primary schools and that the States' secondary schools shall set students by ability as appropriate.*

*Or B*

*to rescind Resolutions 1 and 1A, paragraphs a) and c) of Resolution 2, and the text "other than the secondary school" in Resolution 2b), and the text "consistent with Proposition 1" in resolution 2d), and the text "1, 1A" in Resolution 4, of 15th March 2016 made after consideration of the Education Department's policy letter dated 8th January 2016 entitled THE FUTURE STRUCTURE OF SECONDARY AND POST-16 EDUCATION.*

*2. To direct the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture to return to the States with further reports on the future of the Education estate, including consideration of the La Mare de Carteret Schools' site and the College of Further Education estate, to be published by June 2017.*

*These propositions have been submitted to Her Majesty's Procureur for advice on any legal or constitutional implications in accordance with Rule 4 (1) of the Rules of Procedure of the States of Deliberation and their Committees.*

**The Senior Deputy Greffier:** Article VII – Committee for Education, Sport & Culture – The Future Structure of Secondary Education in the Bailiwick. *(Interjection and laughter)*

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**The Bailiff:** Debate will be opened by the President, Deputy Le Pelley.

**Deputy Le Pelley:** Thank you, sir.

This amendment we are laying is to try –

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**The Bailiff:** You need to open on the –

**Deputy Le Pelley:** Oh, I beg your pardon.

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**The Bailiff:** – main before you open on the amendment. You need to open the general debate first.

**Deputy Le Pelley:** I will do that indeed. Thank you.

895 I would like to start, sir, by asking a series of questions. I do not really want to have, I am  
representing Education, Sport & Culture. There is a difference of view across the whole board and,  
therefore, I really do not want to have an unfair advantage. I think it is fair that everybody has  
their chance to say what they want to say, and my board, as five individual Committee members,  
actually, have demanded that right, and it is only fair that they get it.

900 So, I will pose a few questions, which, hopefully the full debate will actually swing into, and I  
will use, if I may, my summing up to actually answer the questions that are raised and, hopefully,  
put across some of my views then.

Was March 2016 the right time to debate selection at 11? I do not think it was. I think at the  
time when we were looking at what was going on at that particular time, there was an attempt to  
*sursis* this. It was led, I believe, by the Mother of the House, and I was quite happy to support it  
and I think several others were, but it fell. It fell and the debate continued. That debate then  
905 moved on with a number of Deputies that took part. 47 Deputies in this Chamber took part in  
quite a detailed discussion about the future of education. The debate was subject to various  
amendments. Those amendments muddied the water, as far as I was concerned, somewhat. We  
ended up with something looking more like a camel than the horse that we were trying to design  
910 to start with.

It was pointed out at the time that the debate was likely, whatever the outcome, was going to  
be some kind of major issue in the forthcoming General Election. The point of the *sursis* when it  
was laid, or when it was attempted to be laid, made that point, that it was going to be something  
that was going to be fought on the doorstep, or discussed on the doorsteps, and would probably  
915 be coming back to this Chamber for further, either amendment, or change, or whatever.

That certainly appeared to be the case. Because of those 47 Deputies that discussed the  
debate the issue in March of 2016, 25 of them are no longer here. Seven seats, as I am sure you all  
know, were removed in the constitutional changes, and 18 Members of the old States either did  
not seek re-election or lost their seats in the Election. So 25 people who had cast a vote are no  
920 longer part of this Assembly.

Eighteen new people were then elected into this Chamber, into this Assembly, with who knows  
what position on the selection at 11, because we had never tested it we do not know. Now when  
we look at that, there is a potential, therefore, for 43 different votes to have actually gone this  
way, that way or wherever, and that is quite a large number of votes to be not consulting, not  
925 having to take into consideration when we are looking to go forward.

Now, when we came to the election of President of the Committee for Education, Sport &  
Culture, four of us sat on the top here and we answered the questions as best we could. I made it  
quite clear, in fact, I think three or four times I said to you, if you are going to vote for me please  
vote knowing that I will be asking my Committee, and you as an Assembly, to reconsider this  
930 situation. It could not have been clearer than that.

Now, when we got into our first meetings as a Committee, we actually had our elections for  
the four other members the week following, I think that was 18th May, we sat around the table we  
looked at, and explored, the extant Resolution, as it then stood, and we said what do we do. There  
are three brand new Members on this Committee who had not been in the States before. There is  
935 one person who is now the President who has not been on this Committee before, and there is  
one Members who is a learned wiser, older member of the Department, who had been on  
Education before, but there had been a gap. So there was something of a lack of continuity. So we  
decided to explore everything that was there. We had some very full and frank discussions. We  
did explore what the previous Government had been instructed to do, as the extant Resolution,  
940 and we went down the path of making sure that we knew where we were, what we had been  
asked to do, what the options were.

Now we have come under some kind of criticism, for taking so long to bring this back. But  
please bear in mind we said right at the outset that we intended to bring this back, and that we  
hoped to be debating it before the end of November. Guess what, it is 30th November, today, and  
945 here we are. So, I do not see why anybody should be having a pop at the Committee, or actually

any form of undue delay, or for dragging our heels, or whatever jargon you want to use. We are where we are. We are where we said we would be, and we are looking for this whole issue to be re-debated.

950 Now, over the last six months, I think it is fair to say, that we have actually been challenged, questioned, advised, to actually try and narrow things down so that we actually just debate the selection at 11 issue. When we put in the policy, the original policy letter, which was asking to look at all of the extant Resolutions that had been passed back in March, except for little bits and pieces, it became very convoluted. When I start getting advice from people like Deputy Fallaize, and Deputy Trott, and Deputy Lowe, people that are a bit more savvy than I am, as to exactly how  
955 all these things work. It became obvious that we had to try and reduce it down so that we could actually have a more meaningful debate.

That is precisely what we are trying to do. So, we will be, very shortly, asking if we can move an amendment. That amendment is coming to you in response to a letter of comment from Policy & Resources. So, I think rather than go further, and further and further, can I just advise you that  
960 there is an amendment which we would like to lay immediately, I sit – well I think Deputy Meerveld will second this situation, and then we will move on to an amendment which I wish to propose, and he will second, and we would like to have that discussed pretty quickly so we can move on and just have one debate, rather than a whole convoluted thing which will take us far into January. I am hoping that we can get this resolved today, or tomorrow, or perhaps even  
965 Friday, but certainly not into next year.

Thank you, sir.

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Le Pelley, do you now wish to lay the amendment?

970 **Deputy Le Pelley:** Do I have to have that seconded?

**The Bailiff:** Well once you have laid it. Do you wish to have it read?

975 **Deputy Le Pelley:** Yes, please.

*Amendment*

*To delete all the Propositions and substitute therefor a single Proposition as follows:*

*1. To rescind Resolution 1 on Billet d'État VII of 2016; to agree that all-ability States' secondary schools shall not be introduced and that instead selection by ability at 11 years shall continue to determine the admission of students to States' secondary schools; and to direct that by no later than June 2017 the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture shall submit a policy letter or policy letters containing proposals for the future use of the education estate, including consideration of the La Mare de Carteret Schools' site and the College of Further Education, and any other proposals or proposals for variations to previous States' Resolutions which the Committee considers necessary for the delivery of selective admission to secondary schools.*

**The Bailiff:** Greffier could you read the amendment please.

*The Senior Deputy Greffier read the amendment.*

980 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Le Pelley, do you wish to open the debate on what may, hopefully, be a short debate?

**Deputy Le Pelley:** Hopefully.

985 Sir, Members, we are laying this amendment to help make the decision before you today as simple as possible. Selection or no selection at 11.

Now, we have taken on board the comments made by Policy & Resources in their letter and, if approved, this amendment will remove all references to changing dates or timescales. What this amendment does is focus today's debate purely on the issue of whether to reinstate selection at 11, or not.

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Having clarity around this important decision will enable us develop consequential plans and strategies, allocate resources, and help provide the certainty that I know our families, students, and staff are all looking for.

Whatever decision this Assembly makes will then influence the options available for the future of the education estate. We are committed to bringing proposals for the future of the education estate back before this Assembly, and aim to publish our proposals by June 2017. In June therefore this Assembly will have the opportunity to debate the number of secondary schools, and as P&R rightly point out, different options will have different resource implications. We will also publish implementation plans for these options.

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If you vote for this amendment today, and I hope you will, very quickly, you are only voting to simplify the decision before you today. If we approve this amendment first, we can then debate the merits, or otherwise, of selection alone later in general debate, and finally make a decision to either approve this new Proposition or revert to the previous States' Resolution on non-selection.

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Whatever you decide we will implement, and we will use to guide or thinking with regards to options for the future of the education estate.

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Sir, I ask Members to approve this amendment in the first instance, to amend the Propositions. Sir, as I understand it, if this amendment is carried, there will then be the opportunity to vote *Pour* to rescind, and *Contre* to keep the March Resolution on selection following general debate.

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**The Bailiff:** Deputy Meerveld, do you formally second the amendment?

**Deputy Meerveld:** I second the amendment and reserve my right to speak.

**The Bailiff:** Thank you.

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The two Alderney Representatives have now arrived, do you wish to be *relevé* both of you? Thank you very much.

This is essentially a technical amendment. Can we go straight to the vote? Yes. Those in favour; those against.

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*Members voted Pour.*

**The Bailiff:** I declare it carried.

We now go into general debate. Deputy Tooley will make her maiden speech.

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**Deputy Tooley:** Thank you, sir.

Firstly, sir, I should place on record that I have five children who are all currently educated at Vauxbelets Primary School. I am a qualified teacher, educated at a comprehensive school and with a degree from a Russell Group University. I have taught in primary schools, and in secondary schools, in both state and independent sectors.

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Sir, this is indeed my first speech in this Assembly, a speech I have waited to make, much to the amazement of anyone who knows me well. *(Laughter)* Well, anyone who has known me for more than about five minutes, to be honest. The notion that I could have sat quietly for the best part of seven months seems little short of miraculous to my husband. But I have sat quietly, and I have listened, and I have, I hope, learned. I have learned the importance of having my speech in hard copy, and not relying on electronic devices **(Several Members:** Hear, hear.) I have learned to never, ever refer to fields in terms of their acreage. *(Laughter)* I have most certainly learned that if I ever wish to build a parking space on a budget, I should approach Deputy Mooney and not Deputy de Sausmarez for a recommendation. *(Laughter)* I have learned the importance in

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1040 Guernsey politics of having had an outside toilet, and I am therefore pleased to report that while I did not have such advantages at home, my school was ready to fulfil that gap in my experience with a concrete half roofed block which would freeze solid in winter.

1045 I have, at times, longed to stand up to make just one small point, to say, for example, that allowing people to commit to long-term love adds to and does not detract from society; to point out that it is perfectly possible for a family with as many as five children to operate with one car, provided one does not assume that the keys to this car will be held in the possession of a partner who spends all or most of the day working at one location, but are instead available to the main carer. I have wanted to point out that what we have heard called 'pepper-potting' actually provides a close reflection of that long-held dream, village life, where the lord of the manor and his dustman share a pint in the village pub, and the son of the big house attends school with the son of the person who cleans it.

1050 But I have not made these points, or others, because the first speech one makes in this Chamber is given a certain import, and tempting though it was to jump in with both feet and be freed of its weight, I did not want to throw it away on a whim. It was, I felt, too important to be frittered on a passing fancy. Indeed, the very language we use to describe it adds to that sense of import. A maiden speech, maidenhood, something we are taught is to be saved until you are sure, until you have something solid, something true, something which is without doubt right, and so I stand to speak on a subject where I know that this is the case.

1055 Sir, back in March when this was decided by the previous States, we were told repeatedly that this would be an election issue, and it was. It was not the only election issue, for a great many people it was not even the main election issue. Certainly, in St Peter Port South there was interest, but people also wanted to talk about health, about the harbours, and the Civil Service, about waste, and car parking, and buses, and off-Island transport. Indeed, I have heard Deputy Kuttelwascher say that air links were the main topic of conversation. Deputies on both sides of the argument will tell you that they trudged the streets and came back with a clear message about what people felt on the subject of selection, and that they were given a clear mandate at the ballot box.

1070 But how can this be true? If it were then at the very least districts would have elected with a clear mandate cohorts of Deputies with the same stance, and they did not. In fact, in my own parish they elected two Deputies whose manifestos clearly stated they were against educational selection at 11, one who said that an end to the 11-plus would level the playing field, one who made no mention in his manifesto of education, and a poll topper whose manifesto called for no more flip flop Government and again made no mention of education. Now, I could claim from this that St Peter Port South were overwhelmingly anti selection, but I do not. I mention it only to highlight the likelihood that people voted on the basis of a whole lot more than a candidate's stance on selection.

1075 These are not the only inaccurate or unproven claims that have been made. We have heard, repeatedly, that 61% of the Guernsey public are against an all ability secondary education system. This is simply not the case. It is true that 2,414 of the respondents to the 'Your Schools – Your Choice' survey indicated that they were in favour of selection, and that figure constitutes 61% of the response, but it does not constitute 61% of the public. It only, actually, constitutes 5% of the eligible respondents of what was a self-selecting survey. Of the respondents over 50% had connections with the Grammar School and Sixth Form Centre or the Colleges, Extrapolating from this sample to attempt to explain any trend in the Bailiwick is mathematically invalid. It is completely meaningless. It is, in fact, equally true to say that this survey showed that only 5% of eligible respondents called for retention of selection.

1085 Now we have been told, or it has certainly been implied, that these opinions are more relevant, or more worthy of notice, because they were *bothered* enough to respond and engage with the consultation process. Well, I am sorry, but that is not good enough. It is not our job to simply choose the education system which appears to best suit those children whose parents are *bothered*, indeed these children are already at a significant advantage, since research

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overwhelmingly demonstrates that parental involvement in children's learning is positively related to achievement. No. It is for us to decide a system which will best suit all of the children on the Island (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) whether or not their parents are *bothered* whether or not they even vote. Further, we actually have as corporate parents to Guernsey's Looked After Children, a duty in law to think first of those children who are least likely to have family or friends who are *bothered* and anyway, things have moved on. Another year group of 10 year olds and their parents have visited the Island's schools, have looked at the 11-plus and what it will mean for them and for their wider family. I have spoken to a number who have told me that although they were in favour of selection this is no longer the case. Viewing the schools, talking to the teachers and head teachers, and reading the research has opened their eyes, and they have done what sometimes seems unthinkable in this Chamber, they have changed their minds.

Now this ability to learn, and develop and modify opinion based on evidence, should be applauded, it is precisely what we want our children to learn to do. Our teachers aghast at hearing a suggestion made in this place that they were divided 50/50 on selection, carried out a robust survey which was responded to by 440 of our Island's educators and showed that more than 70% supported ending selection at 11. These figures were, of course, backed up by the separate survey carried out by the Committee for Education Sport & Culture, fewer than 1 in 30 educators voted to retain the 11-plus. I am going to repeat that, because it is highly relevant, fewer than 1 in 30.

If we decide this week to stick with a system where admission to secondary schools on Guernsey and Alderney is decided by the 11-plus exam, then we are doing what 100% of our head teachers and more than 96% of our trained professional educators have said we should not do. We are going against the advice of those to whom we entrust our most precious resource from the age of four.

Many will talk about the damage done to the psyche by the stress of the 11-plus exam, others will claim that this is propounded by parents and tutoring, and that it never used to be this way, well that is not true either. As long ago as 1957 Vernon reviewing the 11-plus referred to the fact that one of the things supporting the bias towards the middle class pupils attaining places at Grammar Schools was an ability to finance outside tutoring to supplement classroom education. 1957. We have been told that there are young people who have no ambition, and that they should therefore be allowed to sidestep academic education at an early stage. This staggers me.

With all respect to young people we tend not to allow them to make decisions which could adversely affect their future lives before we consider they are old enough to know their own mind. We do not allow them to buy tobacco products, or alcohol, or even to have their noses pierced until the age of 18, but we should somehow shrug our shoulders at a lack of ambition in an 11-year-old, and say, 'Oh well, never mind.' To quote one of our local teachers on hearing a Deputy make these claims, labelling some children as having no ambition is unforgivable. Some children may present like that because of a mistreatment of care, mistreatment or lack of care by adults. We should be providing an education system that removes any lack of ambition attitude rather than putting them in an education system that compounds the problem.

We will no doubt continue to be reminded that selection happens throughout life, that it is something we have to get used to and to cope with, much in the same way that we give small children short-lived pets to teach them about death and grief in a controlled manner. We need to teach them about selection, it is lesson they must learn. I do not disagree. I am not one to wrap my children in cotton wool, or bubble wrap. They must, and will, learn about selection. But when my nine-year-old is sad and upset that once again he is in the football 'B' team at school and not in the 'A' team, two things are true. One is that next week this could be different: hard work and practice could change this, it is not set in stone. Second, is the fact that this will not affect the rest of his life, or even the next five years of it. Being in the 'B' team will not prevent him learning foreign languages and thence choosing this as a pillar of a future career. It will not dictate that he should take combined science and not study biology, chemistry and physics separately, thus making his life much more difficult should he later choose to study these subjects at Sixth Form level.

1145 When we set out to teach children about death we tend not to do it by wiping out half of their family. This is not a controlled manner of teaching children about selection. In March there were those who felt that the way forward, as proposed by the then board, were drawn in two broad strokes, and that there was nearly enough detail about what secondary education would look like in the future if a non-selective system was adopted. Today the opposite is true. On the one hand we are offered the chance to confirm the decision made in March, and the head teachers who are unanimous in their support for a non-selective system have been very happy and willing to explain how it could and would work to anyone interested enough to listen.

1150 One the other hand we could choose to return to a selective model, and we really have no idea at all what that would look like. Many candidates at hustings suggested continuous assessment, but educational professionals have made a very convincing case against this as a selection method, pointing out first of all that there was a common misconception about what continuous assessment actually was, and the policy letter states that the Committee have now ruled this out.

1155 The 11-plus an exam which almost everyone in this room is on record as saying is not fit for purpose, is a too blunt tool, is not the right method, and I am sure I need not remind you that 96% of our teachers are against this. Or something else. Deputies were recently copied in to an email from a member of the public to the President of the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture. This email proposed that questionnaires should be filled out and interviews should take place with students, and their parents, to establish that there was a commitment to education, that we should ask favourite books and television shows. Now at the time we received this email I was reading comments from the children, now pensioners, who were selected for secondary modern schools in the early days following the enactment of the Butler Education Act in 1944 and I was astonished by the suggestion that we should head back there.

I would just like to read a couple of quotes from those pensioners:

I passed all the written exams but had to go for an interview at the Grammar School as there were not enough places that year. The interview was appalling, I stood alone before the Board of Governors and the headmistress. I could not understand why they were asking me the questions they were. What newspaper did my father read? What did my father do? Did my mother work? Did we own our own house, or was it a council house, or rented? Where did we go for our holidays? What did we call our midday meal?

*(Laughter)*

They asked me very little about myself. What did I want to be when I grew up? I wanted to go to university and do research and teach, but I don't think they believed me. When the letter came saying I had not got in, my parents accepted it, although my mother was very cross and blamed herself for marrying down.

*(Laughter)* Another said: 'I went for an interview and the head teacher didn't accept me because of the cost of the school uniform. My mother was a miner's widow.'

1170 The last one I will share is this, which struck me as particularly relevant to the email suggestions – Merle wrote:

I was in fact borderline and had to go for an interview. I remember taking a book and some embroidery work and being questioned by four very severe people. They kept asking why I had not joined the library. I had no answer because I could not tell them the real reason. An adult had to sign the application form, and my mother was illiterate and my father completely uninterested. I went to a very poor secondary modern, now closed, and left the week before my 15th birthday.

She goes on to say:

I attended lots of evening classes, but finally restarted my educational journey in 1971. When the Equal Pay Act came in in 1970 my salary doubled. I saved the extra money and this enabled me to return to full-time education. I have never left the education system since, and recently retired from a role as a senior lecturer at a university. Nevertheless, I still feel that I missed out at a crucial stage.

It is precisely children like Merle who are still being left behind by our system all these years later. But it is not only children like Merle who will be helped by a change.

1175 I spoke recently to a group of young people from Alderney. They told me how they felt that  
selection at 11 and this leading to entry into a Grammar School on Guernsey damaged the school  
on their own Island and placed Alderney students at a further disadvantage to their peers,  
because in order to access this higher standard of education they also needed to be emotionally  
1180 ready and mature enough at 11 years old, let's not forget, to leave the familiarity of home and live  
amongst strangers, albeit well-meaning strangers, at a time when they are just on the brink of  
puberty and hormonal changes. These young people who move across the water to live with  
foster parents, incidentally placing further pressure on the provision of placements for children  
who need a safe place outside their own family, although that is a separate issue. These young  
people told me that they would far prefer to see a system which kept children together but  
1185 allowed them to access the courses their school could not offer once they reached the GCSE  
stage. They would like to see an end to selection.

Earlier this week I, and several other Deputies, met with student representatives of the majority  
of our secondary schools. They had been chosen to attend in order to share with us the views of  
the student body at their schools. With the exception of one who said she was unsure, and the  
1190 two who were there on behalf of the Grammar School and Sixth Form Centre, who both spoke  
favourably of selection, although pointed out that they had not had the opportunity to consult  
the other students as they had only that morning been asked to attend. These young people from  
St Sampson's, Les Beaucamps, Elizabeth College, Le Murier, Ladies' College and the Home School  
Group, spoke eloquently of their belief that selection at 11 was wrong. They told us what their  
1195 peers had asked them to say; they spoke of the damage done to friendships and families; they  
spoke of the division selection causes in society; they quoted research; they spoke of their hopes  
for the future, and they were overwhelmingly supportive of the decision made in March; they  
asked us to ensure that in future education on Guernsey would be different.

I have the privilege of knowing a good many of our primary school pupils, some of them very  
well indeed. They are under no illusions about what 11-plus selection is, and what it does. They  
1200 know that they and their parents have a choice to make. They can choose to put themselves  
forward to take the selection exam or not. Let's be clear though, that is not a choice about  
whether or not to be educated in a selective system. Unless their parents can afford to pay for a  
college education, which incidentally is a far more mixed ability education, no child in a States'  
1205 secondary school has a choice about whether or not to be educated in a selective system. They all  
are. They can choose whether to take the exam or not. If they take it then the system selects a  
school path for them, one which opens more or fewer doors for them in the future, depending  
not only how they do on two particular days in January, and regardless of what else is going on in  
their lives on that day, but depending also on how they peers do. Be under no illusion that this is  
1210 a test which you simply pass or fail. It is rather a door which will admit only the first few. It does  
not matter how good you are at the test, only how many people you are better than.

Or they can choose not to take the exam, in which case they are, in effect, self-selecting the  
option which opens fewer academic doors. Can we really call this choice? There is not the option  
to attend a mixed ability school. That choice is not there, and never has been, unless of course,  
1215 one has deep pockets. Or, most strangely of all, perhaps, unless you attain the very highest marks  
in the selection exam, in which case you might be selected to attend a college at the expense of  
the taxpayer where your high flying ability will be allowed to do precisely what it would in a mixed  
ability states' system, and give a leg up to those hard workers who might not have been ready for  
a selective exam at the age of 10 or 11.

1220 To finish, and I think you are probably all very ready for me to do that – I did warn you, I sat  
quiet for seven months, it was never going to last (*Laughter*) – are we really prepared to walk out  
of this building, today, tomorrow, later this week, in January, having gone directly against the  
advice of 100% of our head teachers, and 96% of our Island's educators?

I urge you, in the strongest possible terms, to vote this week to reject the move to reverse the  
1225 decision of the March Assembly, and once and for all end the unfair system of educational  
selection at 11 for the children and young people of Guernsey and Alderney. (*Applause*)



**The Bailiff:** Deputy Graham.

**Deputy Graham:** Thank you Mr Bailiff, Members of the States.

1230 Mr Bailiff, I am very grateful to you for giving me a relatively early shot at this, because I am not sure my voice is going to last the day. There is no way that I can match the youthful passion of Deputy Tooley, and I join others in congratulating her on stating her case so well.

I begin this speech, really, with a warning because one of my many email critics amongst the Guernsey education establishment has identified me as being well known for my extremist views. 1235 *(Laughter)* His words. Even worse, a fellow Deputy has associated me with the evil of selection at 11, so beware, you have before you something akin to the son of Catherine the Great and Satan. *(Laughter)* I also begin with an apology, it will be a long speech by my standards, and by far the longest I will make during my four years as a Deputy. I have little hope that it will change one single mind, but there are some things that need be said, and it is a well for them to be said early on. 1240 In particular, I think, there is a need early on to challenge some of the myths, and even fibs, which are going to be put to the Assembly as irrefutable facts over the next day or two.

I will also begin this speech with a pledge, and it is pledge I gave to the Castel electorate. I will argue strongly for a particular way ahead for our secondary education in Guernsey, but if I lose the argument I will get behind whatever alternative course the States decides.

1245 Finally, I give a threat, whatever the outcome, win or lose, I am going to conduct the fiercest possible scrutiny of how, and by whom, future policy is implemented.

Now, my speech is going to follow the following format. I am going to discuss our mandate to debate secondary education, because that has been challenged. I am also going to deal with what, I think, are my credentials, for making a contribution and expressing my views on secondary education, because, basically, some our credentials have been questioned or challenged. I am then going to give my audit of where we are today, and link that to why I have my preferred direction of travel. 1250

Now, our mandate has been challenged – our mandate to even reconsider the decisions of the States in March earlier this year. ‘How dare we!’ has been the cry. Now, one issue centres around the timing of the report. It is asserted that we had no right to challenge decisions so soon after our predecessors settled the matter once and for all. Well, I do disagree. The right time to challenge is now. Before any irreversible steps have been taken. I wish it could have been sooner, but our colleagues at Education, Sport & Culture have had their hands full at The Grange, to put it mildly. 1255

Now, contrast this timing with the mandate that was inherited by the new States in 2012. That mandate was a clear Resolution of the States in 2001 that our secondary education would be provided by a grammar school and three high schools. The right time to challenge that Resolution was when the outcome was producing poor results. But those poor results were kept hidden from Deputies, but by March this year our predecessors had been provided with clear evidence that the high schools were now performing well within the system, what a moment to toss the entire arrangement of our schools up in the air so that it could break into pieces and then to be reassembled. **(A Member:** Hear, hear.) The resulting turbulence and uncertainty is there for all to see. 1260

Now, what about our mandate from the public, how does it compare with that of our predecessors in 2012? Well, I was just an ordinary voter in 2012, and I recall that neither selection for secondary education nor the number of secondary schools was a hot election issue then. The future Education Minister made no mention that he intended to close the Grammar School, indeed he pledged to save two primary schools from closure. Well, that went well didn't it? *(Laughter)* Here I must tease my friend Deputy Fallaize who has absented himself, who during the March 2016 debate proudly announced that he had been waiting impatiently for 25 years to make his speech advocating the ending of selection and the closure of the Grammar School. Strange then that in his 2012 manifesto he gave no clue as to his intentions, I read his manifesto both the short version and the hardback *(Laughter)* and the words secondary education, selection, non- 1275

1280 selection, 11-plus, Grammar School, simply did not appear, so if both the future Education Minister, and one of the strongest advocates of comprehensive secondary education, themselves did not ask for a mandate on this issue, who did? Certainly not the principal advocate of comprehensive education amongst the future political members of the Education Department. In the March debate he let slip that he had been waiting 47 years to make his speech against selection – and by the way, that made Deputy Fallaize seem relatively aggressive! (*Laughter*)

1285 But the Deputy to whom I refer, his manifesto, like Deputy Fallaize's, also omitted any mention of the selection/non-selection issue. It was, however, strong on the need quickly to devolve more autonomy to the schools themselves including the management of their own budgets. Well that did not go too well either, did it? The first Deputy Education Minister, he produced an excellent and comprehensive 2012 manifesto, but that was equally silent about secondary education and  
1290 the 11-plus, but by March 2016 he had become one of the most passionate and articulate advocates of ending such an allegedly cruel system.

As for the three remaining members of the Education Department who were serving on the board by March this year, I could not find access to their 2012 manifestos, but the brief versions prepared for *The Press*, and *BBC Radio Guernsey*, were all silent on secondary education. I  
1295 remember my Castel colleague, Deputy Green canvassing at my home, and I recall that he was then, shall I put it, ambivalent about selection and non-selection. I suppose it was just possible that all the above underwent a sort of Damascene conversion on the road to The Grange, (*Laughter*) but if I were a cynic, and I am not, I might conclude that their stunning silence about secondary education in 2012, when juxtaposed with their fervent passionate campaign to close  
1300 the Grammar School only four years later, could have amounted to a calculated ambush of a non-suspecting electorate.

Anyway I am not a cynic so I am not going to allege that. (*Laughter*) I am not going to go there. But I do suggest that if those I have mentioned were so hostile to our selective system which in 2016 they branded as cruel, divisive, unfair and condemning Guernsey to the dark ages  
1305 of education, then it would have been decent of them to have at least mentioned it in their manifestos when they stood for election in 2012.

So, how does their dodgy mandate compare with ours? For a start, does anyone doubt that secondary education was a hot issue at this year's Election? Quite clearly it was. The electorate dealt severely with those who had voted in March to end selection: 17 Deputies who voted to  
1310 close the Grammar School stood for re-election this year; 15 out of the 17 suffered a significant drop in their share of the vote. The exceptions were Deputy Lester Queripel and Deputy Collins. Those 15 suffered an average drop of 18% in their vote and it ranged from 10% right up to about 40%. Nine of the 17 failed to be re-elected.

By contrast, of the 12 Deputies who voted to retain the Grammar School and then stood for re-election only four suffered relatively minor reductions in their share of the vote and only one of  
1315 the 12 failed to be re-elected.

Now, that was the picture right across the States. What about our own personal experiences? I reckon the Castel must be one of the most diverse and representative of the seven electoral districts, and of particular relevance, the parish accommodates two of the Island's primary schools and two of our high schools. I do accept that there is a danger that as candidates we hear what  
1320 we want to hear – a classic example was at the Castel hustings a mere few days before the Election, when one of the anti-selection candidates, he did not get in, turned to me and he said that he had not met a single parishioner who supported selection, not a single one. Now, because I was aware of the syndrome, I did set about more methodically canvassing on this issue. I  
1325 knocked on 2,310 doors. I had 1,320 contacts of one sort or another. Of these, 815 were significant discussions of several minutes or more, typically not on the doorstep, but at kitchen tables, garden benches and sitting rooms. I noted these at the time of discussion, and I recorded the figures at the end of each day. 7% were not fussed either way about selection, 26% were anti-selection of any sort at 11, some vehemently so, 67% were in favour of retaining the Grammar

1330 School via selection at 11 – although not all considered the current 11-plus exam the appropriate method of selection.

Now, it has been pointed out to me, and Deputy Lindsay de Sausmarez is one who has, that upon election we represent all of our constituents, not just those who responded to our knocks and with whom we had conversations. Of course, we do, but I do hope that Deputy de Sausmarez was not implying that those who were not on the electoral roll were more likely to vote one way or another than those who were not. I am sure she did not, unlike the patronising attitude shown by the previous Education Department to those who responded to the infamous consultation 'Your School, Your Choice' – remember that one? – the 'wrong sort of respondents' was how they were dismissed.

1340 Now, this extremist standing before you now managed to get elected as a first timer in the Castel, and it was unlikely to be because of my youthful charisma. They do say, rather unkindly, that if you dress the tailor's dummy in a fancy army uniform, it would probably get a few hundred votes in the Castel. But it is just possible I was elected on the basis of what I stood for, (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) and I was nothing if not clear that I stood for retention of the Grammar School, via an updated selection process, and for a revision of the role of the high schools.

1345 Having campaigned on that view I would regard it as a denial of my democratic duty to simply cave in to some of the comprehensive lobby who insist that I have no right to seek a reversal of the March decisions. When I go door knocking for feedback next year, I want to be able to look in the eye those who were both pro and anti-selection and say that I did what I said I would do when I last looked them in the eye back in March and April. So, to all those who have emailed me saying how dare I challenge the democratic vote of March this year, I say how dare you challenge my right to do so. (**Several Members:** Hear, hear.)

1355 I have huge respect for Deputy Jane Stephens who I have known ever since those inspirational days that she led the Mont Varouf School, and later Le Rondin. I listened to whatever she had to say and back in May when she was bidding to be a Member of P&R I listened to her proposal speech, and she said this:

I have a clear view of what the social policy future should look like for our Island. It should begin with the community and travel with them in the direction that they want.

I agree, of course, we are not unthinking delegates, but we need to take the community with us, and could I remind Guernsey's teachers, they need to take the community with them too on this issue.

1360 I want to talk a bit about credentials for making a contribution to this debate. It is a pity we have to do that, because daring to have a view on secondary education has become a contentious thing. As I shall show shortly, the current education climate dictates that only one orthodoxy is tolerated, so I am obliged to establish that it is possible to be well informed, to be progressive, to have sincere concern for the wellbeing of our young, to have a sense of fair play and not be as dim as a turnip, whilst at the same time rejecting that one arrogant orthodoxy.

1365 Now for starters we are lectured that only teachers have any wisdom in this matter. In the March debate the Education Minister went even further, he insisted that only those who had been at school as a student since 2011 had anything useful to say. In his words, our experiences of students, as parents, and grandparents of children now at school, as would be employers of those who are educated at our schools, as aspiring Deputies, who spoke to so many students during the election campaign, or as intelligent open minded observers of education in other countries, all that experience, in his words, was of absolutely no relevance.

1370 Now, regrettably, such an attitude is typical of the UK educational establishment and that has taken such a firm grip in England and throughout our schools, and make no mistake that establishment is institutionally comprehensive from top to bottom. Comprehensive education is the only approach tolerated. One is reminded of former Prime Minister Thatcher, who was derided for being a TINA – 'There Is No Alternative'. Well, she has got worthy successors in the form of the UK education establishment.

1380 The intolerance begins in the teacher training establishments where comprehensive-ism is the orthodoxy, and any other approach is ridiculed as regressive, Dark Ages' education. In short the mind-set of the UK education establishment is firmly closed to selection in any form at 11. It is more than closed; the door has been shut, the key has been turned and thrown away, and just to make sure the door has been barred, booby trapped and is guarded by Rottweilers.

1385 As products of the teaching colleges most UK teachers cling to the orthodoxy, quite reasonably so, because partly it is what they have been taught, partly because that is the system in which they spend their careers, and partly because it would help their careers prospects if they do not openly challenge it. The orthodoxy is self-perpetuating, it pervades education headquarters at The Grange who appoint our teachers and head teachers. I lost count of the number of teachers present and recent past, pro and anti-selection, who told me that not a single teacher has been  
1390 appointed to a headship in Guernsey in recent years who was not on side about non-selection. (*Interjections*)

Now, I am not suggesting and I am not implying at all, and do not anybody put words in my mouth, that teachers and head teachers appointed in this way are not themselves good at their job. But the point is, far from being surprised to be told that 70% of our teachers, and 100% of our  
1395 head teachers, support non-selection, we should regard it as entirely predictable that they do. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) It is, however, despising that if 30% or even as few as 25% of our teachers do support selection, not one of them has been deemed suitable to be a head teacher of even one of our 20 States' schools. Scarcely a day has passed in the past few weeks when we have not been lectured about monopoly wisdom held by our teachers. 'Listen to the voice of experienced  
1400 experts', we are instructed – superficially a seductive invitation. But could we concede that some teachers may just be prisoners of their experience instead of enlightened beneficiaries of it?

What if their closed minds on the issue of selection place them in denial of facts which we think to be true? For example, among the outlandish statements to which we have been subjected is the assertion that there is simply no successful working example of an alternative method of  
1405 selection to that of the 11-plus exam. That is simply not true, as I shall demonstrate later.

What we have seen is not only a denial of any alternative but also an apparent refusal by teachers to operate any other method, not matter how successful it might be elsewhere. Instead they insist that selection at 11 has been universally discredited, proved not to work. Well, that is simply not true. Others have insisted that selective secondary education is so dark ages that not  
1410 one successful progressive country clings on to it. Not true. A former senior teacher and Deputy told a recent *Sunday Phone-In*, you can count on the fingers of one hand the number of countries that still select. Simply not true, as I shall show later – unless, that is, he has an extraordinary number of fingers on his hand. (*Laughter*) On the same Phone-In a current teacher in Guernsey claimed the English education system is amongst the very best in Europe. Not so, as we shall see.

1415 As a student I was encouraged by inspirational student teachers to challenge evidence and facts that were claimed as facts. Contrast this with the there is no alternative approach. No attempt to look at other ways. Nor to enquire seriously about how other ways do indeed work elsewhere.

1420 **Deputy Yerby:** Point of order, sir.

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Yerby.

1425 **Deputy Yerby:** Article 9 of our Code of Conduct states that Members shall at all times treat other Members, civil servants and members of the public with respect and courtesy and without malice, notwithstanding disagreements on issues and policy ...

With respect to Deputy Graham, this feels very close to sustained character assassination of our entire teaching establishment. It makes very uncomfortable listening. (**Several Members:** Hear, hear.)

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**The Bailiff:** That is not how I was reading it.  
Deputy Graham.

1435 **Deputy Graham:** I accept the point that Deputy Yerby makes. I mean certainly the intention is not to do that. If that is the impression I am giving, I regret it.

I think what I am really saying is that I do not think there is any monopoly of wisdom in this, that actually the teaching fraternity seems to have claimed the monopoly of wisdom, and I feel a need actually to respond to that challenge.

1440 We get calls along the following lines: 'But what if you were ill, would you not ask a doctor?'  
What a splendid *non sequitur*, in my view. Yes, I would go to a doctor if I were ill, much the same as I would go to a maths teacher if I wanted to brush up on my maths, and if I was seriously ill I would ask two doctors so as to have a second opinion. Second opinions, I think, are pretty important, but what if – and I believe it was Deputy Roffey who put this rhetorical question in some recent form – what if all of Guernsey's physicians, for example, recommended one particular  
1445 approach to the provision of health care? 'Would you go against their advice?' was the rhetorical question. Well, if I had political responsibility for our health system, as he indeed did, I would most certainly challenge them if I knew that their opinion was contradicted by that of tens of thousands of physicians in other countries with excellent health care systems. I most certainly would not tamely hand over a blank sheet of paper, a pencil and cheque, and with it an invitation to design a  
1450 health service of their dreams.

In similar vein, I would go to one of our excellent police officers to investigate a crime, but I would not hand over to the collective Police Force the right to decide the form of our criminal justice. No. if you hand over decision taking for public services to those who provide the service, be they teachers, doctors, police men, soldiers, you finish up with services run for the benefit of  
1455 those who work in them, and that should not happen.

I feel obliged to give my credentials for standing here and contributing to the debate. I consider my credentials, and those of all Members of this Assembly, to be every bit as strong as those of our teachers and head teachers. My credentials are as follows.

1460 On a personal level I have been married for half a century to a primary school teacher who has taught Years 5 and 6 in primary schools in the UK and in Guernsey, at the Vale, and most recently at the Castel, which was her own primary school and that of her mother before her. She also survived teaching at a school for young offenders in the UK. When it comes to listening to what teachers have to say about education, I know of no-one wiser.

1465 As a grandfather of three grandsons, aged 19 and 14 I have watched with concern and admiration, as their respective parents did their best to navigate their way through the perils of the English comprehensive secondary system, at one stage moving home some 200 miles in an unsuccessful attempt to find a good state school.

1470 I think I am the only serving Deputy who has visited every school and college in Guernsey more than once in recent years. There is one exception, Les Voies. I have even visited St Anne's School in Alderney three times. Before the election I had two one-on-one meetings with the former Principal of the College of Further Education. During the election I had private conversations with several serving and recently retired teachers from the Castel Parish's two high schools, and two primary schools, and the Grammar School. Since the General Election I have visited La Mare de Carteret High School twice, including its prize giving, and the primary school  
1475 once. I have had one-on-one meetings with the head teacher of Les Beaucamps High School, the Principal of Elizabeth College, and the senior management both at the Grammar School and the Sixth Form Centre. I had a third and final meeting with the College of Further Education former principal, just before her departure, and more recently with her successor. I am grateful to them all for making time to talk to me, and I wish to make it clear that nothing I say in this debate is  
1480 attributable to them, unless I state that I have their express permission to attribute it to them.

Crucially, in addition to these openly declared meetings, I have also been approached by pro-selection teachers who have considered me as a safe Deputy with whom to air views and concerns

which they are unwilling to air in public. These have led to some highly illuminating conversations, after which I promised them anonymity at their request.

1485 Finally, I have taken considerable trouble to research secondary education systems elsewhere with one exception: I have not relied on the internet or research papers and studies. I have gone directly to the Embassies, and the Education Authorities of the countries concerned, and it was not difficult, and I only wish the former Education Department had done likewise. I have the names, telephone numbers and email addresses of the relevant authorities who have indicated their  
1490 readiness to help advise us if we ask.

It is tempting to rehearse the March debate and, even before that, the 'Your Schools, Your Choice' exercise, but I am going to resist that temptation, and I am going to go straight into my analysis of where we are today.

On special needs, I think this is one area where we can congratulate ourselves. Le Murier is a  
1495 purpose built school, sensibly built adjacent to St Sampson's High School to enable appropriate sharing. I visited a fortnight ago and it appears to be in good shape, and I am particular pleased to see that the cabin project for the independent living is beginning to take root.

A similar good news story really for our provision of A-level and International Baccalaureate education is well covered by the Sixth Form Centre, and the two large colleges, although all three  
1500 are operating significantly below capacity. 40% of the Year 12 intake into the Sixth Form Centre come from the Grammar School, 40% from the high schools, and 20% from the three private colleges, mainly from Blanchelande. A-level results compared very well with those in the UK albeit by international comparison the UK standards are, at best, modest.

The same good story really for GCSEs, because good results compared with the UK, but with  
1505 the caution that other countries do better. There has been a calculated campaign, in my view, to undermine the Grammar School's excellent reputation, and there have been some pretty snide comments made about the school. They would be comments which if we had made them about the high schools would have caused an uproar and cries of shame. (**Several Members:** Hear, hear.)

1510 There is some anecdotal evidence that some Grammar School students are not pushed as hard as they should be, but the exam results tell a story of success. Around 3% of each Grammar School cohort do not make the academic progress expected of them when selected at 11, but I am told by the school senior management that such failures are often the result of ill health or difficult family circumstances, and they rarely result from students being out of his or her depths.  
1515 The Grammar School, disturbingly, has a capacity of 600 but currently has 168 unfilled places, a shortfall of 28%, which I believe is the result of a policy decision and not just of a demographic dip. As for the high schools around 54% of Guernsey's Year 7 cohort attend the three schools, around 30% of them will gain entry into Year 12 at the Sixth Form Centre where they do well, albeit statistically they will be more vulnerable to missing the Year 13 than their colleagues who  
1520 progress via the Grammar School. The remainder will leave either into employment or the College of Further Education.

I applaud the head teachers at each of these high schools for their leadership in guiding the schools up a steady rise in standards. Their contribution and that of their counterparts at other secondary schools, ensure that around 60% of the typical Guernsey year's cohort will be given  
1525 access at 16 or 17 to A-level or International Baccalaureate studies at the Sixth Form Centre and at the two colleges Elizabeth and Ladies'. If there are shortcomings at the high schools I believe they are not of their making. I refer to the issue of spare capacity, 161 places at La Mare de Carteret, 147 at Les Beaucamps, 24 at St Sampson, so that in total our States' secondary schools, including the Grammar, have an unused capacity of some 500 places for pupils aged 11 to 16 (**A Member:**  
1530 Hear, hear.) and another concern, and again it is not the fault of the high schools themselves, I refer to the gold standard of five GCSEs A\* to C including English and Maths, by which we insist on judging our schools, and which I have come to view as outdated and of little relevance to the demands of the 21st century. (**Several Members:** Hear, hear.)

1535 The context of my concern about the secondary school curriculum requires mention of the College of Further Education. I have been a regular visitor to the College over the past 20 years and I have seen it advance under some excellent leadership, despite in many ways being treated as the Cinderella of our educational establishments.

I have four concerns about the College: the process of delegating autonomy from Grange Road House to the College has been glacial. This has resulted in premature loss of an inspirational college principal.

Secondly, the College, as we know, is split over several sites and its concentration at a new site as Les Ozouets is long overdue.

1545 Thirdly, over the years, I have met so many students at the College of Further Education who at 16 and 17 were just starting years of study for the first time. When asked why they had not done so earlier, the stock answer was that their choice was not available at their high school or grammar school and instead they were dragged through a poor curriculum, for much of which they were not well suited, and for which they had little enthusiasm.

1550 My fourth concern is that out of the typical annual intake into the College of Further Education of around 300, the most recent intake 62 or just over 20% arrived from the High Schools at Level 1 instead of the standard Level 2. Now this makes nonsense of the claim that the least able students are pulled up by the most able students in a mixed ability environment. Now this theory, which I heard one teacher refer to as having been scientifically proved beyond all doubt, is further discredited by the fact that the College of Further Education, to its credit, has an 88% success rate in bringing these students up to Level 2 by focusing on them as an identified group.

1555 In my assessment, the College of Further Education serves the Island well, despite its relative neglect by previous Education boards. If the promised process of granting more autonomy in the form of incorporation had been speeded up the College could better respond to the challenge of furnishing Guernsey's diverse employers with an annual stream of appropriately trained and qualified young men and women. A role which, in my view, makes it every bit as important as any of the other schools and colleges.

I do apologise for the length of this but it needs to be said.

1565 I think, having analysed the Guernsey scene, I need to juxtapose it with others. I will use two relevant examples of comprehensive secondary education, and three or four examples of selective systems. As Deputy Yerby reminded us towards the end of the debate of the P&R Plan, in all matters, and I hope I have paraphrased it correctly, in all matters we should look elsewhere for other examples of doing things, finding out why some are better or worse so that we can learn from others where appropriate. That applies here.

1570 Looking at the UK, I think the UK education achievements should be judged against three measures: one of those is of educational standards, the other is its contribution, or otherwise, to social mobility, and the other is in terms of providing an appropriately skilled workforce for a modern economy.

1575 Now, I am not going to say an awful lot about the educational standards in the United Kingdom. I suspect some of my colleagues may well do, and there is always some confusion in terms of the OECD PISA rankings. Now I notice that in the March debate earlier this year the previous Education board were quite happy to quote the PISA rankings when it suited their argument, but the moment it was used to show how poorly the United Kingdom had performed, there were cries of foul that there was a certain amount of massaging of test bases, and so on going on, and it was inappropriate to judge the United Kingdom educational standards by the PISA rankings.

1580 Now, I am just a thick old soldier, I do not know any better than anybody else how valid the OECD PISA rankings are, but I cannot see why the OECD should have it in for the UK in particular, and their latest report published in January this year was extremely damning, placing the United Kingdom teenagers at the bottom of a league of 23 European countries. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) Now, that may or may not be true. I have to say, it also said at the same time that the

1585 grandparents of those kids were the best educated in Europe – of course, they were educated by the selective system –, because that made me feel quite good.

I am not going to pass a definitive verdict, but I think the important thing to say is whether the United Kingdom educational achievements have been made, whether it is a success or a failure, you cannot blame the grammar school. We have had 50 years of comprehensive education in the  
1590 United Kingdom, 90% of children there are educated through the comprehensive system. Less than 5% are educated at grammar school, slightly more than 5% I think at the public schools. So, if there is glory or dishonour it belongs to the comprehensive system, and we have to judge it on its achievements. Some of the comments on it have been damning and, of course, another turning factor is, of course, the spellbinding hypocrisy of a lot of those who on one hand say how marvellous the system is and then they ignore it. I am referring here to those who most strongly  
1595 advocate the comprehensive system such as, do you remember Tony Crosland who was Education Secretary who pledged to destroy every grammar school in this country – he put it slightly more strongly than that. (*Laughter*) Yes, he sent his children to private school. So did Harold Wilson, James Callaghan, Shirley Williams, and they are still at it, choosing public schools and grammar  
1600 schools. Diane Abbott, Baroness Chakrabarti, Keith Vaz, Harriet Harman, Seamus Milne – that is Jeremy Corbyn’s chief spin doctor, but to his credit not Corbyn himself – Tony Blair, David Cameron, Michael Gove, and it is not only the political elite. The darlings of the media are also engaged with this. It is a ‘do as I say, not do as I do’, though, isn’t it. (**Several Members:** Hear, hear.) Jon Snow, Channel 4, Polly Toynbee of the *Guardian*, to a man and woman they deny  
1605 hypocrisy, saying that any parent would do the best for their children, and they are right, both in their judgement that a comprehensive school was not the best for their children, and in the decisions they made therefrom. Do I blame them? Of course not. Do I respect their insincere ideological endorsement of the comprehensive system? No, I do not.

What do we conclude from this tale? I am reluctant to make judgements about the educational  
1610 achievements in the UK because I believe cultural and social factors also contribute to the state that it is in, but, as I have said, it is plainly undeniable that 50 years of comprehensive secondary education in the UK has not proved an unequivocal success. I said we should judge it also on social mobility, and school work force. I do not know how reliable the UK Social Mobility Commission is but for what it is worth their recent report reveals that social mobility in the UK has  
1615 gone backwards over the decades of comprehensive education. The Commission warns that a return to grammar schools will not solve that problem. I agree, of course it will not. It might help at the margins, like it did for me and some of my working class chums, but deep cultural and social factors are at play in this field. But by the same token, this regression in social mobility cannot be blamed on grammar schools. If any Deputy sees salvation in the form of closing the Grammar  
1620 School here they need to ask why half a century of comprehensive schools in the UK has led to the very opposite of salvation.

Why in 2016 are white working class males by far the least likely to progress to A-level studies, far less to university, via the comprehensive school? And come to that, in Guernsey, why after seven years of comprehensive primary education from the ages of 4 to 11 are so few places taken  
1625 at the Grammar School by students from social housing? A good question, but it certainly is not the fault of the Grammar School.

I now come to the record of 50 years of comprehensive education in the delivery of the diversely skilled young work force. It is a shameful record, but it does serve one purpose, that of exposing the binary argument that this Assembly is engaged in today, and which has obsessed  
1630 the British political class since time immemorial. It exposes it for what it is, namely the wrong argument to be having. The appropriate argument should be about what follows either selection or non-selection. As far as the relationship between secondary education and the needs of the economy is concerned, the glaringly obvious deficiency lies in the lack of a sufficiently diverse range of academic, technical and vocational studies to match the UK’s need for an appropriately  
1635 skilled young work force. British children have never been offered the technical education that young people elsewhere in Europe were getting. The result is a continuing shortage of



appropriate skilled labour, a huge dependence on the steady flow of skilled, better educated immigrants, and a trickling balance of payments deficit of around £30 billion.

1640 There are, of course, successful non-selective countries, and I acknowledge them. Finland is often quoted. Finland is quoted and it was repeatedly quoted by the anti-selectionists in the March debate. In the 2003 PISA rankings Finland ranked first in science and literacy and second in maths, and although it had dropped to fifth, sixth and twelfth by 2012, it was clearly doing well with an unselective system. But as Deputy Yerby urged we should seek to know why and how. Could success, for example, be due to the fact that full time compulsory education in Finland  
1645 starts at seven years of age compared with our four and five years. Just think of the cost savings in providing part time pre-school education during the years for which we provide full time primary education; or could it be because Finland gives huge autonomy to its schools, unlike here; or could it be that Finland recruits all its teachers from the top 10% of its graduates; or could it be that as soon as a child drops behind a personal tutor is assigned to him or her. Whatever the  
1650 reason for success the cost is great, for the last seven years Finland has run a budget deficit of an average 2.5% of GDP. If we had done the same our budget deficit for 2015 instead of a body jolting £25 million would have been close to a mind blowing £62 million. So, it is well done Finland, unlike the UK you have made comprehensive education work very well, and if Guernsey decides to go down the comprehensive route it would do well to follow your example rather than  
1655 that of the United Kingdom.

I am duty bound to mention some selective countries that do it well. Despite the objections, despite the fact that selection is not meant to work anywhere else on this planet. I start with the largest example and I will give you four, Germany, as a pro-selection Deputy I have been accused of just about every sin under the sun by the anti-selectionists out there, and every time I start to  
1660 think that I must be a pretty bad person I comfort myself in the knowledge that there are around 80 million Germans keeping such bad company with me. Having lived in Germany for many years, I was familiar with their education system, but I had to be certain, so I got in direct touch with the German Embassy in London and through them the Federal Education Authority in Berlin. I quote from the correspondence:

'From grades 1 through 4, that is age 6 to 10, children attend elementary school, *Grundschule*, where the subjects taught are the same for all. Then after the fourth grade at 10, they are separated, note please, not segregated, according to their academic ability and the wishes of their families, and they attend two different kinds of schools. *Regionalschule* or *Gymnasium*. The primary teachers recommend their students to a particular school, based on such things as academic achievement, self-confidence, and ability to work independently. However, in most states parents have the final say as to which school their child attends following the fourth grade.'

1665 I ought to point out that there are actually different types of *Regionalschule* so that many *Länder* or the states offer three or four choices, ranging from the highly academic *Gymnasium* to various types of technical and vocational schools, all linked in with an excellent traditional apprenticeship system.

Now, according to the anti-selectionists, Germany's selective system makes the country an out-of-date country, which relishes a cruel divisive and backward looking approach to educating its young people. Strange that Germany is regarded elsewhere as enlightened, economic, political and cultural powerhouse of Europe, (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) and a progressively liberal one at that, as demonstrated by its unique willingness to accept a million refugees from the world's troubled zones. Its selective secondary education system helped drive a divided Germany from its post-war ruins to its *Deutsche Wirtschaftswunder* that was the German economic miracle of the  
1675 1950's and 1960's, and it is serving the united Germany well to this day. It is true that a small minority of *Länder* experimented with comprehensives a few years ago, but subsequently reconsidered so that very few remain, and those are mainly in the former East Germany.

Now those opposed to anti-selection say, 'Well, Germany is far too big for us to compare ourselves and from which to take an example.' I can drop down the scale: Holland has a selective  
1680 system – a very successful country, and they replied to me along the following lines: there are four branches of secondary education, a report from primary school will advise which branch best suits

1685 the child. Children also undergo a test in their last primary school to assess their aptitude. It  
comprises 280 multi-choice questions, covering Dutch language, maths, comprehension, history,  
1690 geography, biology, and other subjects taught in this part of the curriculum. The results of the test  
and the recommendation, as well as pupils' and parents' own preferences, determine the type of  
curriculum the pupil should follow at secondary school. The school's recommendation usually  
outweighs the test result. The four branches of secondary education are broadly two types of  
technical vocation schools, one more basic than the other, and two versions of grammar-type  
schools.

1695 Now if that is still too big for those who are opposed to selection, Singapore at 5.6 million  
population, the rising star of the Far East, having to cope with the multi-lingual approach to  
education, with Chinese, Malay, Tamil, Eurasians and so on, do frightfully well. In the PISA rankings  
they are second, third and third. In my communication from them I was told that they do their  
selection at 12, but they start a year later at primary school, via a primary school leaving exam,  
which is a test based on the primary curriculum subjects, and then three or four streams of  
schools from the highly academic to highly technical and vocational, and this is what they say  
about their exam.

It is a useful check point to gauge the students' understanding of free concepts and where their academic strengths  
lie. It allows parents and teachers to guide students in choosing the appropriate academic programmes in secondary  
school which best suit their learning needs.

1700 Now, I have confronted some of the anti-selectionists with the evidence of Singapore, and one  
of their leading members said to me, 'Ah but they are a different culture.' I think that is  
patronising, and I think it also has vague hints of racism. (**A Member:** Shame!)

1705 My final example, and this may well be the most the most appropriate for us, is tiny little  
Liechtenstein, sandwiched between Austria and Switzerland. Like us, it has a rather oddball  
constitution. It is a principality, and like us it has few natural resources, it is tied to the Swiss  
currency. It is a third-country member of the EU customs area, and its economy is finance, tourism  
and light industry. It has a GDP of twice of ours, with a population of 37,000. Now Deputy  
Parkinson's eyes might light up at this stage if I have kept him still awake, but they have even got  
two niche universities in Lichtenstein: one is a private one catering for medicine and law; the other  
is a public one catering for architecture and business economics. This is what their Education  
1710 Minister wrote to me.

'Selection is made at 11 by a process that involves teachers' advice to the parents, based on their assessment of the  
child, and the child's results across the five years of primary education. If the parents do not agree the child may then  
take an examination. There are three types of secondary school, which differ by level: *Gymnasium* leading to university,  
*Realschule* and *Oberschule*, both allowing entry into apprenticeships. In 2008 a plebiscite was held which decisively  
rejected changing the system to comprehensive.

Members of the States, there is my analysis of where we are and where other countries are.

1715 It leads me very briefly to, I think, the only two ways ahead that we now have to resolve. I say  
only two ways ahead because can we please forget this nonsense that we can have a grammar  
school, having ditched selection. The normal concept of a grammar school without pupils is too  
farfetched for Guernsey, and it is one that I just cannot get my head around. Forget too, the fact  
that we are urged that if we go to comprehensive, it will not be an English model of  
comprehensive-ism, it will be our own. I do not accept this, I think it will be driven by the British  
education establishment, and implemented by them. It will be a comprehensive school in all but  
name if we call it something else.

1720 The two options, I think we have, if we go to comprehensive I do not think it will be a disaster,  
but realise the implication, the moment we decide that that is what we are going to do we put the  
Grammar School on death row. The staff morale there is already low; they are losing teachers. The  
depersonalisation of the school, it is slightly Orwellian actually, has already started. The  
photographs of children from previous years have been removed from the corridor walls. They

1725 have cancelled, without consultation, the traditional carol concert, but just think once we  
condemn the Grammar School to expiring in two or three years' time how difficult recruitment is  
going to be. How are you going to persuade decent teachers to go there, knowing the school is  
going to close in two, three, four years' time. We will have three all ability schools. I am quite sure  
they will be identical in curriculum, there will be setting. Now those of us who went to La Mare de  
1730 Carteret saw, and I was rather surprised to see this, that in most of the years, perhaps all of them,  
there are five sets for the setting subjects, maths, English and science. Now I would assume that  
there will be even more sets within a year if the Grammar School contingent reinforces the current  
high schools. That is extremely expensive in terms of staff, I hope that has been thought through.  
There is also a huge ability range in those subjects which are not setted. Some of us went into a  
1735 class for geography at La Mare de Carteret when we were there, and I admired the teacher there  
who was coping, trying to teach geography to a class of about 30 mixed ability.

I hope these schools will be autonomous, managing their own budget and teacher  
recruitment. I think that is what they have been promised, or they think they have been promised.  
Now, if that happens, a thoroughly good thing, but I think there is a danger in there also in that  
1740 we may well get a pecking order emerging for the quality of the schools. I think some head  
teachers will be better at managing their budgets and particularly recruiting good teachers, and  
once the word gets round that that school is number one, and that is number two, and that is  
number three, where does that leave the parents. Well, the parents will have no choice, will they?  
It will be a post code allocation of school. It is a sort of lottery, but you do not get to choose your  
1745 lottery ticket.

I think it is also going to cause a flight to the colleges, which are currently under capacity, and  
it may not just be pupils, it may also be staff. There may well be selection at 13 or 14. Well, I have  
got 14-year-old twin grandsons – the level of testosterone on them at 14 is so dense that you  
could bounce a cricket ball off it. They are not in a good position to make a decision about life,  
1750 but good luck to those who can extract it from them. Is there not a danger that if we park our  
youngsters at virtually an intermediate school for three years, they might tread water for three  
years rather than taking wing, and then if they want to specialise at the age of 14 how are they  
going to do it? Are they going to move school, or are teachers and students going to be moving  
round the Island looking for each other so that that can be done?

1755 Finally, a word on the tertiary college. The least effective of the three models of that level of  
education in the UK is the tertiary college, which merges a sixth form college with the college of  
further education, in the terms that we understand. The most efficient are the stand-alone sixth  
form college, which we cannot do because there are not the numbers, and second to that is the  
11-to-18 all-at-one-site teaching. That will be the best model. I think the way things are going  
1760 Guernsey is going to opt for least efficient and the least cost effective.

If we go for option two, the selective method, I hope that selection will be via any of the above  
mentioned examples that I have quoted. I accept that the 11-plus is past its sell-by date, I do not  
think it ever had a useful shelf life, but it has been used as a convenient bogeyman. The Grammar  
School, if it continues, I do hope it is used to capacity. I hope that the high schools that might  
1765 accompany it will have diverse curricula, offering choice as in other countries. And as for the Sixth  
Form Centre, if it survives as it is, I hope that its under capacity is fully used, and that it reinforces  
the benefits of 11 to 18 education.

Members of the States, I am sorry I have taken so long, but it needed to be said, as far as I was  
concerned, and I have said it. *(Applause)*

1770 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Prow and then Deputy Dudley-Owen.

**Deputy Prow:** Thank you, sir.

1775 Mr Bailiff, nothing is as important to the future of this Bailiwick as education. It is a  
fundamental for the future of our young people and all the population to lifelong learning. I

completely support the former Education Department's aim as set out in section 3.5 of the Appendix to the report before us, and I quote:

Our aim is to create an education system for the Bailiwick of Guernsey which will meet the challenges and demands of the 21st Century and provide our greatest asset, our people, with the knowledge, skills and tools to face a complex and challenging future with enthusiasm ...

1780 It goes on:

High quality education is central to the future of Guernsey, both economically and socially, and is essential for the wellbeing of [the Island].

That pretty much spells it out for me, as to what we want, a high quality education system for the Bailiwick of Guernsey.

1785 In my view, Guernsey has a unique system of education, which has generally served us extremely well over many years, indeed decades. It needs to be both nurtured, as well as developed to be the best it can be. Sir, I for one therefore welcome the opportunity provided by the Education, Sport & Culture Committee to make those decisions that are necessary to progress those aims outlined, and as quickly as possible.

1790 The content which strongly attracts me to this Proposition, as amended, are the directions in the following wording:

... that by no later than June 2017 the Committee... shall submit a policy letter or policy letters containing proposals for the future use of the education estate, including consideration of the La Mare de Carteret Schools' site and the College of Further Education, and... other proposals or proposals for variations to previous States' Resolutions which the Committee considers necessary for the delivery of selective admission to secondary schools.

1795 Sir, that is what we need to get on with. I believe it is highly relevant that right from the outset in Section 1.1 of this report before us that, and in fact it is in the second sentence, it rightly reminds us that we had a General Election in April this year. Perhaps we also need to reflect that the previous States left it until the last throes of that term to debate the future of education, and left that future still undecided in many key areas.

1800 I know this, because at that time I sat in the Public Gallery pondering upon whether I should put myself forward as a candidate. Well, I did, and I was successful, in a district which was very engaged in matters of education. It was a hot topic on the doorsteps.

1805 I believe passionately in democracy and I do worry in a Guernsey context that for some listening to the views of the electorate and the responses they uttered can be forgotten once elected. A general election is the opportunity to scrutinise what the candidates believe in and vote accordingly. But this is as much about selecting the candidates that best reflects your views, and just as important, giving opportunity for not voting for the ones that do not, and I thank Deputy Graham for perhaps outlining this to us in some detail.

1810 I therefore, listened to the message from the electorate, which was overwhelming in my experience, and entirely relevant to the Propositions before us today. We are debating a unique Bailiwick of Guernsey education system, not that of Hampshire or the Isle of Wight.

1815 Sir, I am not sure how this will help us, but as other Members have done in previous debates, I shall declare my interests, I am a product of Guernsey's education system, as was my wife, and my two children who are now attending university in the UK and studying very hard, or at least I hope they are. *(Laughter)* My late mum was a school teacher for very many years at St Martin's Primary. I have therefore experienced first-hand our unique system, as both a student and a parent. I therefore owe a huge debt of gratitude to the excellent teachers who had to struggle with the huge challenges several generations of the Prows and the Brouard families have presented to them. I refer to the Brouards to which I am connected, as I am sure the Brouard in this Assembly was a model student.

1820 Much has been said, and will be said about the stresses caused by the pressures of education  
upon all generations. In my experience the most stressful period for a large number of pupils is  
during secondary education, where facing GCSE examinations and then their A-level results, which  
will shape the destiny of preferred university or career path options. I believe this was borne out  
by the recent young person's survey. It is a huge challenge to modern life, and how we coach  
1825 students to minimise, and manage, such pressures is undoubtedly a massive challenge we, as a  
society, must not shirk. All pupils from quite a young age will strive to achieve and realise all  
eventual career options will depend on being able to demonstrate to a prospective employer in a  
competitive world, or to be selected for a chosen vocation, or to fulfil a career ambition. That is  
highly likely to require qualifications or a successful application, evidence of professional skills, or  
1830 a tradecraft, and to succeed in interview and selection process. Or perhaps demonstrate  
excellence at a sporting activity. That is the stark reality of the world in which we need to prepare  
our youngsters.

However, apart from what I have just said, I shall not further indulge in providing anecdotal  
experiences. I feel certain that in this debate such accounts will feature. Some probably aimed at  
1835 discrediting the proven track record of the current educational offering, and highlighting the  
obvious negatives of the current two paper 11-plus system, which, I for one, am not seeking to  
keep. All the issues and dilemmas of selection at 11 will be rightly aired, and the merits of  
affording different and appropriate educational choice opportunities at age 11, 13 and 14.

What I want to concentrate on, and I want the Education Committee to concentrate on, is  
1840 finding a non-compulsory, fair, transparent, non-judgmental selection system which has the  
exclusive aim to enable every Guernsey and Alderney pupil to gain the appropriate and very best  
education, geared to their individual needs and requirements. There are many alternatives to  
selection, such as a revised 11-plus, continuous teacher assessment, setting, streaming, a  
dedicated voluntary entrance exam, or a selection system based on application or various  
1845 combinations of all of these that I have mentioned. The Proposition clearly allows for those  
opportunities to be proposed if this is allowed to return to the States.

Turning to the pre-election debate, which Deputy Graham has also referred to, I have to say I  
did not get a warm glow. I heard far too many references to views of former UK Prime Ministers,  
Education Ministers, quotes from UK educationalists, and a fair amount of what, in my view, was  
1850 ideological UK-based party politics. References were made to social mobility, populism and other  
such terms. In my view we need to be very careful in our translation of the relevance of UK  
political rhetoric and dogma in a small island context, where we all live in very close proximity and  
where our friends and family are never too far away. What I do agree with is the reinforcement of  
the value of our teaching staff, lecturers, learning support assistants and other vital staff who  
1855 facilitate learning in order to educate, to innovate, and to continue to develop impact for the  
benefit of all learners.

Furthermore, I thank all those who have provided their views on all sides of this debate, and I  
completely respect all of their advice, and their reference material, which I have studied with  
interest – well, except perhaps for the tone of a few emails which, if written pupil to pupil, might  
1860 have been described as bullying in this day and age. That said, at the end of the day we have  
some excellent, talented and committed educational professionals serving our community.

Sir, so we are where we are, what is the choice before us? What is the Proposition before us  
really about? Let us be in absolutely no doubt. In my view, this is about whether or not we retain a  
grammar school, and to a very large degree the development of the four-school model. However,  
1865 this will be dressed up differently, as this debate unfolds.

If this Assembly rejects selection, then as sure as night follows day, the Grammar School is  
confined to history. Everything that has gone before falls like a pack of cards, including those with  
aspirations for progressive plans for a different type of school, or centre of excellence, with later  
age assessments and opportunities. Unfortunately, it will signal a revolution for a comprehensive  
1870 education system, based on historic UK ideology, and most likely delivered at two mega schools,  
in order to allow the setting of pupils effectively. The nature and composition of the Sixth Form

Centre will be thrown up in the air, an experiment where nobody actually really knows in practice what will happen. Clearly selection, whether at 11 or 14, needs review and further consideration, as does the current curriculum which is appropriate for the offering across all the different schools, and the method of school performance assessment. We must ensure that all children can receive the most appropriate and very best education which meets their individual needs. The La Mare de Carteret Schools desperately need to be rebuilt, the current two-paper 11-plus is not fit for purpose and prone to discredit through external coaching, and the perception of a pass or fail labelling must be eradicated. The very low rate of pupils from States' social housing attending a place at the Grammar School also needs urgent attention.

However, the Proposition before us allows for the only real opportunity for these challenges to be addressed. These are the issues, and I despair at the mantra which effectively says, 'I know how to cure all the ills with the local education system, we will close the Grammar School, yes, that does it. Without the Grammar School everything that needs to be resolved just vanishes, problem solved.' This, in my view, is complete and utter nonsense. Actually, the only certainty is that the Grammar School pupils are being very well served, with the performance in the top 1.5% in the UK. **(A Member: Hear, hear.)** We know this because we have all been availed of some of the facts from the Intermediate and Grammar Schools Association about our grammar school, an assessment criteria utilised by 6,500 schools in the UK called Progress 8 Measure.

They informed us that the Progress 8 Measure was introduced to be a fairer measure of students and school performance, and one that is based on student progress, and value added by the school, regardless of the students starting points. The measure is designed to encourage schools to offer a broad and balanced curriculum, with the focus on academic core up to GCSE Level, and to reward schools for the teaching of all their students by measuring performance across eight qualifications. Every increase in every grade that the student achieves will attract additional points in the performance tables.

It is useful at this point to summarise the difference between the traditional attainment measures and the Progress 8 measurement of value added. Currently the key statistics reported is that of the percentage of students in a cohort who achieved five GCSE passes at grade C or better – this is regardless of their starting point. Against this measure a school may take students expected to gain E and F grades who actually achieve D grades, but who will get no credit for doing so. Similarly, a school may have students expected to achieve A grades who actually only achieves C grades, and yet will not be penalised by this measure. Measured against this benchmark schools are incentivised to work intensively with those students who are D and C grades to ensure as many as possible achieve the arbitrary gold standard C grade, possibly to the detriment of other students. Progress 8 is a system of measurement that rewards all grade increases whether from an F to an E, a D to a C, or a B to an A, a much fairer system which incentivises schools to work with all students equally, regardless of their expected grades.

The benchmark or starting point for the calculation of Progress 8 is each pupil's end of Year 6, Key Stage 2 attainment, measured by national curriculum level. Since all States' school will have this data, it will also have the GCSE results data, it is possible for each States' school to calculate its Progress 8 score, if they have the right piece of software. The Progress 8 Measure includes each student's progress in English and maths, three subjects out of the sciences, languages, history or geography, plus three other GCSE equivalent subjects, as well as the IFS Certificate in Financial Education and CSI Level 2 Award in Fundamentals of Financial Services. It therefore takes direct account of the differences in exact curricula followed by each school.

The recent publication of the Grammar School's evidence of its truly outstanding Progress 8 school, which could place it in the top 1.5 of all UK secondary schools, proves its excellence beyond doubt. This, in some quarters, has not unsurprisingly been met with a desperate and concerted attempt to discredit Progress 8, and to dismiss the relevance to the other schools on the Island by those who oppose selection and those who are determined to see the Grammar School closed.

1925 Sir, there is for me an elephant in the room, which are the private colleges and States' grants, which to a large extent have escaped the debate and are placed in the 'too difficult' tray. The dilemmas portrayed in *Animal Farm* are apparent. The colleges are described as mixed ability, and are tolerated by some who would see the end of our Grammar School. Hello! They also take high ability students and create a choice to some by affordability, and how would the States' grants places be selected?

1930 Sir, as is probably apparent by now, I support the current four schools model, provided Education come back with fixes to resolve the issues outlined. For me this absolutely involves catering for the choices offered by the colleges. 'If it ain't broke, don't fix it', or in this case fix the broken elements, rebuild La Mare De Carteret School and retain the Grammar School.

1935 It is also clear to me that the local unique education combinations of choice which are on offer are clearly very attractive to those professionals and their families who come and fill our skills gaps.

1940 We are here to make a political decision on education for Guernsey and Alderney. It is for elected Deputies to make policy, and for the educationalists to provide advice, and support, for that political direction, whatever it might be. Those are our respective roles. If States' Members are of a view that they wish to retain the Grammar School there needs to be a reformed and well researched of some type of selection, whether at 11, or other opportunities given at 13, which mitigates the negative aspects I have outlined. But this will continue to enable a voluntary selection of those pupils and parents who seek the opportunity of the appropriate education model for all pupils, either the Grammar School or the other excellent high schools. Then the energy of all in the Committee, officers and educational professionals can be focused on making all the schools the very best that they can be, and to rebuild La Mare de Carteret School.

1945 Vote to retain not to destroy our Grammar School, I passionately ask this Assembly to support the proposition and vote *Pour*.

1950 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Dudley-Owen, I said I would call you next. I do not want you to feel hurried in your speech, would you rather speak after lunch, or ... ?

**Deputy Dudley-Owen:** Sir, I think that I can get it within 10 minutes.

1955 **The Bailiff:** Well that is a matter for you, I do not want you to feel rushed,

**Deputy Dudley-Owen:** No, that is fine.

**The Bailiff:** If you are happy to speak now, then I will call you next.

1960 **Deputy Dudley-Owen:** I would like to start by congratulating Deputy Tooley on her maiden speech, very rousing.

1965 Sir, I do not support the 11-plus selection system in its current form. I fully support all of the schools in our Island, the primaries, the Grammar School, the high schools and our private colleges, all of which are making very good progress, and benefiting from the input of many excellent teachers and sterling effort among students.

1970 Since being elected to the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture, and in dealing with the matter of changes to our education system, I have met with various educationalists and many professional teachers. I have also spoken to parents and students. My role within the Committee for Economic Development has also enabled me to hear the thoughts of many of Guernsey's business leaders across all sectors. I sit on the board for the GTA, lead the Digital Group and also Skills Guernsey. All of these organisations have education at their core and exposed me to differing views, research and ideas on the subject. Over the last six months I have benefited vastly from listening to, and learning from, the teachers who I have met with, as well as our officers at Education. I would like to thank all those who have taken the time to talk to me about their work

1975 and to explain how teaching techniques, and methods, have changed the classroom, especially in  
primary, beyond recognition since the times when we in this Chamber were at school. I have also  
experienced this first hand working with my own children, and when helping at their school over  
the years. I respect the teachers' views, as they are professionals who know their work well, and I  
1980 have spoken to those on both sides of the debate, and this has only served to enrich my views of  
how we can successfully evolve our current education offering.

Sir, in preparing for this debate I have spent a huge amount of time gathering together the  
information and research which I have come across, analysing all the views, then balancing these  
against the nuances and features of our unique system. I find that I have come full circle and  
disappointingly arrived back at the same point where I began this investigative journey back in  
1985 November 2015 when the consultation was first published by the previous Education board. I say  
disappointingly because I cannot emphasise enough how extremely hard I have found this  
decision to make. I came into the States with the view that change our current system to a non-  
selective mixed ability model was a high risk strategy with a high risk of failure. I had thought for a  
while that the move to a mixed ability system might enable us to move forward unfettered by  
1990 selection at 11, to design a system which will embrace more creative pedagogy and options for  
our children.

After much reflection and analysis though I have concluded two points. Firstly, and quite  
simply, that any education system requires some form of selection, whether this is by test,  
assessment, streaming or setting, it is all selection. Secondly in order to execute successful change  
1995 any process must be managed, and structured, and should, I believe, bring along the majority of  
stakeholders in agreement of adding confidence of the proposed change. Given the split of  
opinions in the community, which are also mirrored here in the Chamber, we have still not  
managed to convince a majority of the population that the removal of selection will achieve what  
we seek, which is the best educational outcomes for all our children.

I know that some of my fellow Deputies decry the use of doorstep experience in shaping  
opinion, but I cannot ignore that many in my district in the West, who I have spoken with during  
the Election, and since, want to keep the Grammar School, but want to modernise the selection  
process with suggestions for a further level of selection maybe at 13. Many would also like to  
enhance the options available to students, to provide an alternative to the academic focus that we  
2005 currently give, and to expand professional and technical educational opportunities from 14 years  
old. These seem sensible and valuable suggestions, but they do rely on a form of selection being  
retained within our education system.

I must admit that I did not really hear any support for a flat-structured comprehensive model,  
even from those not in support of selection. Only variations building on the system we already  
2010 have. I therefore have revised my position, and intend today to support the continuation of a form  
of selection at this time by ability and aptitude at 11.

We know that education reform and change stirs up controversy. This has not just been here  
locally in Guernsey, but is a thorny issue also being faced again in the UK. Chris Woodhead who  
was a Chief Inspector of Schools in Britain from 1994 to 2000 writing an article back in 2004 called  
2015 School Reform Hijacked, which I think is still relevant here 12 years later, stated that 'the top  
downward position of politically inspired education forms does not work.'

For many years now in Guernsey the community have resisted politically driven and  
ideologically based reform in education. I see that people are still resistant to this, and many have  
told me that they want to have a form which evolves our system not replaces it. Chris Woodhead  
2020 also stated in the same article that 'principals should be allowed to run their schools according to  
their own professional judgement and the wishes and aspirations of parents.'

Denis Mulkerrin told us the same in 2012, and these sentiments bring me on to the bigger  
picture, which I think we should be looking at. We have been bogged down here with an  
argument about selection or non-selection for over a year now. We are here the victim of the  
2025 politics of distraction. Distracting us from what, in my view, is the more important question which  
we should be asking. What do we want from our education system? There are many



improvements which deserve more of our time, and will create more robust policies which, I believe, are arguably more important, and have more obvious positive effects on educational outcomes. Policies which provide for more resources and structured support for early years' development and parenting, better consistency in recruitment of excellent staff, performance management structures to maintain excellence and development in teaching standards, or devolved authority for our local management for schools.

I have no ideological stance on selection, and have learnt over the months of the merits and downsides to both selective and non-selective models. I am a pragmatic person, and have approached this conundrum in a measured unemotional way. I query whether we would, in fact, ever really be able to achieve a truly mixed ability comprehensive system, which is also successful. The qualities which are required to deliver the successes which some comprehensives have attained in the UK rely heavily on the economies of scale, bringing together large numbers of pupils up to 1,000 being taught on one campus. They can offer a broader choice of subjects and can mix academic education with a full range of vocational subjects in one place, and teach to a consistently high standard. This is expensive, and requires a fundamental reworking of our educational estate, as well as maintaining a degree of selection by setting or streaming. We know that the infrastructure in Guernsey cannot support such large schools, nor do the community, including many teachers, want such large schools.

I am afraid that despite the binary choice we are given today one cannot deny that our education system has developed into a rather complex affair with interdependencies. The consequences of a seemingly simple choice are far reaching. We are not in a position of starting with a clean sheet to design a system from scratch, we have a mature developed educational history. Dr Rose-Marie Crossan, a local author, has written a fantastic book on the States and secondary education, and she tells us that taxpayers supported local education dates back centuries, we are told that the States of Guernsey has long valued education and uniquely supported learning before many countries even in Europe had established theirs, and the boys and girls Grammar School was established in the late 19th century.

Our education system is tightly woven into our cultural identity, and has evolved over hundreds of years. To unpick this system without careful consideration of the consequences for the future of the colleges; without careful consideration of the size of our educational estate, taking into account the gradual increase in our school age population to 2026 and its decline again; without careful consideration of the attraction of our educational offering to those looking to move to Guernsey and who are valued by our Island and economy; (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) without careful consideration to the financial value of educating each child and increase in cost to the taxpayer if we make the States' secondary school system an unattractive proposition. To unpick this system without taking into account these points is very high risk.

These are not straightforward issues and looking at the previous debate in March I note some comments made at this time. Deputy St Pier said the sums at stake are large. Former Deputy Perrot felt having considered educational reforms undertaken during the Thatcher years that we could expect to wait seven years to see any outcomes. I am not sure that we will see changes to the system reaping the successes which some hope for in the short term. Any reform must be precisely and carefully planned and phased.

Finally, another of our senior politicians who was resoundingly returned in this year's Election said in that debate, the case to do away with the Grammar School has not been made. I believe that there are still many in the community who feel the same. Many who remain unconvinced at this time that the removal of this school from our system will result in the perceived quick win of a better educational outcome for all.

Because of this and the risks of introducing a new system into Guernsey without the buy-in of the majority of the community, at this time, I intend to support the retention of a form of selection.

Before I end, I would like to assure Members today, that no matter what the outcome of this debate, I will work hard, with my fellow Committee members, to ensure that we deliver the directions of this Chamber.

2080 Sir, in the interests of disclosure I have three children, all of whom are at primary school, in the States' system currently.

**The Bailiff:** Can I say this question of what needs to be disclosed or not is something that I have discussed with the Law Officers, and we have considered carefully. There are topics that  
2085 come before the States where everybody has a general interest, taxation, alcohol duty, cigarette duty, and so on are a good example. Education, in our view, is one of those areas where everybody does have a general interest, and I am not aware that there is any need for anybody to disclose any direct or special interest in this debate. If anybody thinks they might have a direct or special interest, will they please discuss it with me or with the Procureur.

2090 I am not criticising you for having declared it, but I just want to make that position absolutely clear, that there is no requirement for people to do so under the Rules, as we interpret them, and as they have been interpreted for a number of years.

**Deputy Dudley-Owen:** May I just state why I did.

2095

**The Bailiff:** Yes, I am not criticising you.

**Deputy Dudley-Owen:** No, but there are many outside of this Chamber who seek to know what our interests are, and so it was not in accordance with the Rules, it was just for any listeners.

2100

**The Bailiff:** Thank you.

I had meant to say what I said at the start of the debate and I did not, but I am just, as I said I am not criticising you at all. There are some who may wish to do so, but there is absolutely no requirement under the Rules, as I interpret them on advice, that requires such disclosure.

2105

Thank you. We will rise and come back at 2.30 p.m.

*The Assembly adjourned at 12.35 p.m.  
and resumed its sitting at 2.30 p.m.*

### **Future Structure of Secondary Education in the Bailiwick – Debate continued**

**The Senior Deputy Greffier:** Deputy St Pier, do you wish to be *relevé*?

**Deputy St Pier:** Yes, please, sir.

2110

**The Bailiff:** Yes, Deputy St Pier, *relevé*.

We resume debate on the Education, Sport & Culture (*Laughter*) Report. That is where we are, on the future structure of secondary education in the Bailiwick, that is what I wanted to get right.

I am probably being asked if Members can remove their jackets, they may do. If they are so  
2115 warm that they wish to do so, they may.

Oh, nobody wishes to speak shall we go to the vote? Does anyone wish to speak?  
Deputy Paint.

**Deputy Paint:** First of all, I apologise, I was not expecting to speak so soon.

2120 First of all, sir, I would like to congratulate Deputy Graham for such an excellent speech. In the eight and a half years I have been in this States, I do not think I have heard a better one. Equally I would like to thank the head master and staff of the Notre Dame du Rosaire School for sending a letter to the all Deputies, with only three paragraphs in it, stating their opinion on it, which is, unfortunately, against what I believe. So that is the thanks I would like to give.

2125 Sir, I am not convinced that when the Education debate in March of this year was in the best interests of the population of Guernsey. What has been done by this is divided the Island into two or perhaps more parts.

We should be attempting, in this Assembly, to unite somehow this, and I cannot see this happening with selection of education, I mean no selection of education. (*Interjections*) I am pleased where you say my impediment in speech where others choose not to recognise it.

2130 No-one at all should be forced to do what they believe is right and take this right away. Deputy Langlois recently said, something like, we have to find the Holy Grail to replace 11-plus. This made me think quite deeply. Sir, there is no proof that the Holy Grail ever actually existed, or has ever been found. This may be an historical myth that never did exist, we do not know. The educational Holy Grail could be a figment of people's imagination and therefore just an experiment on our children's future, which I am not prepared to accept.

2135 What we should be doing is finding some way through this impasse between us all. There are ways to do it, and I will vote with the present Education Department to try and achieve that. There are some ways to go through it, but to remove selection completely is dividing our community, and we have to find some way to do it. So, I will be voting with Deputy Le Pelley.

2140 Thank you, sir.

**The Bailiff:** Anyone else?

Yes, Deputy Smithies.

2145

**Deputy Smithies:** Thank you, sir.

Two groups will be hugely disadvantaged by the removal of academic selection. Firstly, the part of the population which benefits most from academically selective state schools, and which cannot afford private schooling now, and never will, and never could.

2150 Secondly, those for whom the inevitable and inexorable rise in the cost of private schooling now means that they are also unable to afford school fees for their own children, even though their parents could afford to pay fees for them. A fact which will prove politically important in the years to come.

2155 Yet, both these groups are bound to contain a significant number of boys and girls who would benefit from an academic education, and will not get one without academic selection. The poorer members of our society will also contain a number of such children, whose hopes may be blighted very early on by poor home circumstances, or mistakes made in primary schools. An academically selective system will certainly help them more than a comprehensive system, but it will often not do so alone, or without other interventions. Individual teachers, or other non-family benefactors, spotting a talent and nurturing it, special help in primary school, even being entered for exams at all.

2160 The purpose of academic selection is not social engineering, or the alleviation of class distinction. It is the discovery and nurture of talent for the good of the community. What matters is how many boys and girls are educated to the full limits of their ability. In the UK the fullest development of the individual as the goal of the education system was repudiated a generation ago, it is completely incompatible with the equality of outcome which is the real goal which has led to the mess education is in in England.

2170 As far as closing the gap is concerned, an analogy could be illustrated, although I have cautioned about using analogies. If there are two pupils, one who can jog at 10 miles an hour and one who only makes five miles an hour, after one hour they will be five miles apart, and as time passes the gap increases. The policy for the fullest development of individual talents will,

inevitably, increase the gap over time not close it. Even if a hugely unequal allocation of resources coaches the five-mile-per-hour pupil to make it to seven miles an hour, the result will remain the same, an increasing gap. The smarter social engineers, of course, have spotted this, and have therefore approved of a system which puts shackles around the ankles of the 10-miles-an-hour child, much simpler, cheaper and readily controlled by appropriate weights of shackles. No way can they be allowed to go at 10 miles an hour. Five miles an hour is the Government-approved speed limit. Obviously, resource allocation needs to be increased yet further to make sure that every three-mile-an-hour child is accelerated to five miles an hour. Or just make everyone else wait while the others catch up, however long it takes. Fullest development of the individual, or equality of outcome. Plenty of ideologues do actually want the latter, but they will not like it being said.

The real beneficiaries of academic selection are the children of low and middle-income workers, people who will not be able to afford to pay for places in the colleges, but whose children might well possess talents valuable to the Island. A good private education is rapidly becoming unaffordable to all but the very rich. One of the reasons why the removal of the Grammar School makes this issue one of selection by cheque book.

To those who say that it is not possible to find a method to enable selection, I would point to a States' school system with selection by assessment and mutual agreement, which is being provided, and exists, in various forms in Germany, as highlighted in his excellent speech by Deputy Graham, along with several other examples.

Selection need be neither rigid nor totally final, based on long term performances observed by teachers, open to appeal, open to correction. There could be different types of school, academic, technical and vocational, and general. We have the facilities for this. I am not and I have never been rigid about the age of selection. Private schools in the UK select at the ages of 12 or 13, States' schools earlier, however, later selection such as is used in some of the Sixth Form colleges would not rescue the bright children from poor homes who do not do so well in non-selective secondaries. As evidenced by OFSTED's Chief Inspector, Sir Michael Wilshaw, a grammar school boy, who in fact is opposed to selection, but who said in relation to English schools quote:

The fate of the most able pupils in non-selective schools is particularly depressing. Some 60,000 youngsters who achieve the top levels at Key State 2 did not achieve an A or A\* in English and maths five years later. Indeed, only a quarter achieved a B grade. According to the Sutton Trust 7,000 children a year who were in the top 10 nationally at age 11 were not in the top 25 at GCSE five years later. These youngsters are drawn disproportionately from the white working class.

So by what mechanism do we select? I will quote from the Bew Report of 2011, an independent review of Key Stage 2 testing assessment accountability, commissioned by the Coalition Government in the UK:

Given that England's system of statutory assessment has evolved over the course of more than two decades, it may be helpful briefly to trace this history to understand how the current arrangements have been formed.

The 1988 Education Reform Act introduced the National Curriculum and required that there should be "*arrangements for assessing pupils at or near the end of each key stage for the purpose of ascertaining what they have achieved in relation to the attainment targets for that stage*". The initial design of these arrangements was developed by the Task Group on Assessment and Testing (TGAT), a panel of experts chaired by Professor Paul Black. They proposed a standard national system of assessment designed to be formative as well as summative covering all subjects (not just the core) with a single scale (the 10 level scale) for measuring pupil progress.

[...]

The first statutory assessments under the new National Curriculum took place in 1991, at the end of Key Stage 1. The number of Attainment Targets (each underpinned by a series of statements) meant that the assessments needed to cover a very considerable amount of information for each individual pupil. This caused significant workload issues ...

[...]

Criticisms of the statutory assessment system grew, prompting a boycott and a legal ruling that teachers should not be required to mark statutory assessments without additional pay. The consequent Dearing Review led to a number of changes to the underlying curriculum and, importantly, the introduction of external marking. This "*paradoxically took the system further from one of the original educational objectives ... that of the teachers' marking their own students' work and deriving useful feedback from the process*".

2205 Selection is evident in sporting ability, musical aptitude and artistic talent, so why not in  
academic ability?. But at the end of all this, I come back to one overriding imperative which will  
guide the way I vote on this issue, because my own inclination accords with what the electorate  
have told me they want. I have no hesitation in voting to overturn the decision of the last States,  
and support the reintroduction of selection and the retention of the Grammar School. I cannot  
believe that an overall improvement in outcome can be achieved by doing away with a school  
2210 which is producing such good results. Not at grades A to C, but at grade A\*. Aspire for  
intelligence, do not belittle it.

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Tindall.

2215 **Deputy Tindall:** Sir, the first question being asked today is: 'should we retain selection by  
ability at age 11?' Having read and spoken to many on this subject, I have not changed my mind  
as I believe it is outdated and unfair (**Several Members:** Hear, hear.) However, for some reason I  
understand that some of us here, sir, think we are voting for something which they believe is  
written between the lines; that it somehow retains the option of selection in one form or another.  
2220 In fact, the current Resolution is perhaps believed also to be so restrictive that it means the worst  
of all worlds, to some that is the UK comprehensive system, and I have to say, I also have that  
view – though I do not read this into the Resolution or the Proposition. I see only a simple choice  
between the much criticised and the limiting *status quo*, the 11-plus. Not anything else, because in  
my view, the 13-plus, or any other form of selection coming out of this is just not going to  
happen. Alternatively, we have an opportunity to introduce a system of education which could be  
2225 inclusive, innovative, and dare I say it, world leading. The extant Resolution in question replaced  
the current 11-plus with non-selective admission, which after much thoughtful consideration I  
support.

Sir, I thought it important that I explain the way I have come to my conclusion. I do not base it  
on any mandate, other than that I would use my skill and judgement in all aspects of my work as a  
2230 Deputy. I am not a parent, I have not had experience of Guernsey education, although, and some  
may find this rather surprising, I have had experience of an education system. However, I do not  
consider my experience relevant because of the length of time since I did the 11-plus. What I did  
do is listen to people. Those on the doorstep during the election, at various meetings with  
teachers and pupils, including a most varied and interesting chat only this week with school  
2235 pupils, and also with parents, and grandparents. I have read nearly all the emails we have had  
both for and against selection, and I apologise that I have not replied to each and every one. I also  
read a great deal, and did my own research.

Having done so I then decided how I would consider the problem. Having no vested interest,  
no emotional baggage, and no idealistic pressure – although I am a strong believer in equality of  
2240 inclusion – I decided to approach the question on the basis of what I would do if I was presenting  
the case for court, as I have done in Wills and Probate cases, where I was representing the unborn  
child. For to me, this is one group of people who are the vast majority and the most affected, and  
naturally silent. So, in that capacity I considered the arguments, starting with what we have at the  
moment, and as I have said that was easy. I found no evidence to support for continuation of the  
2245 11-plus. However, the proposition goes on, of course, uses the phrase 'selection by ability at age  
11 years', and bearing in mind that I have been informed that this does not preclude other forms  
of selection at other ages, I decided to consider other such forms of selection.

Both in the consultation in the March Billet at Appendix 2, right at the back, the options for  
selection were discussed. Deputy Graham went into such great detail, so I do not intend to  
2250 rehearse all the arguments, only my conclusions. None, to me indicate a sensible alternative that  
remove the problems currently faced. Also, no research indicates to me that there is a *panacea*  
out there for a great selection model, which for some reason no-one has found in all these  
decades, which is good enough to replace the 11-plus. I do stress the word great here, as that is  
key to me, so I cannot support selection.

2255 So, I then considered what it would mean if we reintroduce non-selective admission, and  
whether this Sword of Damocles of the UK comprehensive system is indeed hanging over our  
hands. I found that there are actually a wide variety of education systems which could easily be  
introduced, which could give a huge boost to the standard of education of all the Bailiwick's  
2260 children, including Alderney. I also thought hard about the argument that getting rid of selection  
means getting rid of the Grammar School, and the excellent academic opportunities it offers.  
Personally, despite my decision to support all-ability schools, I still want the best of both worlds,  
similarly to that of Deputy Graham and others. I do want to keep the Grammar, or rather what it  
represents, but I also want to give all future generations the best education anywhere, and not  
just children aged between 11 and 16, but everyone throughout our lives. (**A Member:** Hear,  
2265 hear.)

Some of you may consider this impossible, or unaffordable. I disagree. It is also possible  
without any form of selection. I started by trying to understand fully, also, why people want to  
keep the Grammar. I believe it is because it has great results in academic subjects, and to get  
great results they have great staff. That attainment is currently achieved by having 25% of the  
2270 students who are those that are good academically, and such a situation I am voting to be  
removed. So, then I considered what could be done to keep this asset. I believe we need to offer  
parents the quality of the Grammar without the need to disenfranchise three quarters of our  
pupils from the right to a great education. (**Several Members:** Hear, hear.) This means replicating  
the quality of the Grammar School education throughout our education system, which can be  
2275 accessed by all our pupils.

That led me to my second thought, do we want only quality education in academic subjects, or  
should we aim to have quality education in all subjects? By having, where we can, excellent  
facilities and teachers in academic and vocational subjects, and all those subjects in between,  
available to our students, we can offer the right education to get the best out of all of our future  
2280 generations, not just those who pass the 11-plus. Not just the lucky few who happen to be born  
with parents who can afford to, and want to, help their children from the day they are born to  
learn what they need to know to get on. Not everyone is lucky enough, like I was, to have a stable,  
loving family, which spent many hours, from as young as I can remember, playing word games,  
cards, and debating the events of the day. So, I want to offer great education to all, I want the  
2285 equality of quality.

Deputy Meerveld has put forward an example, and talks about the centre of excellence at the  
Grammar School. I would like to put forward another alternative, one that in my mind does not  
differentiate pupils by the physical building they go to, but by the subjects they excel in. I mention  
it not as a recommendation, but only as an example of what could possibly be done – and I am no  
2290 expert, but I would like to share this with you. I personally think there is one such way of doing  
this which would be embrative: the International Baccalaureate. I do not propose to rehearse the  
whole argument today, but I would like to put forward some highlights, to show the reasons.

Firstly, it is already being provided to all our sixth formers at the Grammar School, and there  
have been great results. But most importantly, it can be offered at all schools, including primary  
2295 schools. It is, as the name suggests, respected worldwide and can stretch the academic abilities of  
our children, whilst also providing students with the necessary knowledge and skills for all aspects  
of today and tomorrow's workforce. It is also most importantly, I think, not linked to the UK  
education system, but it does enable pupils to transfer to and from other educational systems,  
such as that in the UK and worldwide, because that is what it was designed for. Teachers, I am  
2300 reliably told, love it, because it does not rely on selection at 11. It fits in with the current new  
curriculum, and also, importantly, I think, it requires teachers' generally to upskill to provide the  
quality of teaching needed. It appeals to many teachers based in many places across the world,  
potentially, ensuring a wider pool, something I am sure would be not be unwelcome by parents,  
pupils and teachers alike. There are many teachers who are excellent, who need the support and  
2305 the tools to do their job. I believe the IB is a great way to do so, and I am informed that this  
option could be considered further, if the Proposition was unsuccessful. That would not only be

for over 11's, but also for primary schools, as I have explained. It may cost a little to roll out, but apparently not that much. Personally, I think improving our education would be money well spent anyway, and money recouped in the long run through our economy, and through savings in other areas.

2310

I would like to add one other thing that I have found, and I wish to comment on, having spoken to so many people. I understand that one thing common here in Guernsey is the bias shown towards job applicants depending on where they studied. I have heard some awful stories of labels being given to students at Guernsey schools, which remain with people even today. As well as making it immaterial which school a person attended because of the equal quality of our schools, let's also consider removing the ability to label our pupils. In many countries, you do not have to include your age on your CV, because of age discrimination laws. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) When considering our discrimination legislation, (*Laughter*) we should consider not only dealing with ageism, as Deputy Graham would no doubt approve, and Deputy Kuttelwascher, and the other forms of discrimination, but also ensure that the secondary at which a pupil studies does not perpetuate the discrimination. We should not discriminate for such base reasons. We should be judging people, all working people, no matter what age, gender, origin, or school attended, but by their results, by giving them an educational system which enables them to get the best results for every single one of the Bailiwick's children. Let's ensure the best opportunities are available for the future generation.

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I ask my colleagues to vote against this Proposition.

**Several Members:** Hear, hear. (*Applause*)

2330

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Fallaize.

**Deputy Fallaize:** Thank you, sir.

I take the point that Deputy Dudley-Owen made about public interest, or the interest of the public, in respect of our own children, and for that reason I can say both of my children are in the States' primary sector in all-ability schools, and I hope they will be in all-ability secondary schools in the States' sector.

2335

I also want to thank all of those people, on both sides of the debate, who have been in touch with Deputies, whether they are parents, or grandparents, or head teachers, or teachers past or present, or students, who have, in my experience, almost without exception conveyed their views courteously (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) and responsibly, and in a measured way, and who I think have added greatly to our consideration of the issues.

2340

We have heard already from some speakers who have put the view that they will vote in favour of the Proposition, they support selection at 11, but they disagree with the 11-plus. If they manage to get this Proposition through the States, I just say good luck to them, because on their shoulders will rest the search for, I was going to say the Holy Grail, but Deputy Paint has, I think, slightly misconstrued what Deputy Langlois was saying on the *BBC* the other day, so I will find another word. They will be searching for a *panacea*. (**A Member:** Muratti Vase) It is more elusive than a Muratti Vase. (*Laughter*) They will be searching for a form of selection at 11 which is fair, which cannot be tutored, which does not disadvantage children from poorer backgrounds, which does not disrupt learning in Year 6, and which accurately predicts a child's academic potential five or seven years into the future.

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Deputy Graham, this morning, shared with us some of his thoughts on what, I assume, he meant to imply with the acceptable forms of selection at 11. But most of them share the long list of flaws inherent in the 11-plus which have been criticised by most, though not all, of the pro-selection Deputies sitting here today. He was particularly excited by the German method of selection, but he told us, and I know this is true from the research that I have done, that the greater part of determining a child's secondary education in Germany is down to parental choice. There is some element of selection by ability, but a larger part of it is down to parental choice.

2355

2360 Now the Proposition before the States is to agree that selection by ability at 11 years shall continue. That is nothing like the German system. In any event in most international studies the ranking that Germany achieves is not dissimilar to the ranking achieved by the United Kingdom, which Deputy Graham has been so critical of.

2365 All of the selective systems, possibly with the exception of one, which Deputy Graham referred to this morning – well, he was talking about the means of selection, but the selective systems into which the means of selection select bear no resemblance at all to our selective system, which we are being asked to endorse, in this Proposition.

2370 The President of the Committee for Education, Sport & Culture, in league with Deputy Trott, has already, of course, led his own search for the *panacea*. They stood up before the States in March, and they told us that they had discovered exactly the right way to select at the age of 11. It was based on what they called continuous assessment. So eager were many Members who favour selection to cling on to the life raft they appeared to be offering that they persuaded 19 people to vote in favour of it. That was the solution to mend selection at 11. But now, a few months later, and after looking at the evidence, Deputy Le Pelley's own Committee say to the States that they have ruled out continuous assessment as a means of selecting to secondary schools. Indeed, after 2375 six months of studying this issue, Members of the Committee, who we are now told this morning favour by a majority selection, are unable to come up with any form of selection which addresses the flaws in the 11-plus which have been so criticised even by pro-selection Deputies.

2380 I think Deputy Prow, when he spoke this morning summed it up best on this point he said, 'I want to see the back of the 11-plus, possibly in favour of a revised 11-plus.' Members who vote in favour of this Proposition today should be in no doubt that there is a high probability that they are voting to retain the 11-plus, maybe with a few modifications here and there, but voting in favour of the 11-plus nonetheless.

2385 But in any event the main issue here is not the means of selection, the main issue is selection at 11 itself. I am looking forward to, because we have not heard it yet from pro-selection speakers. I want to know what the case is for selection. I want to hear sentences which start, the reason that we must select children at the age of 11, some into an academic stream and some into a non-academic stream is this. I hear the criticism there is about what the States resolved in March, but I do not hear a sound case for selection at 11.

2390 The concept of selection at 11 was crystallised first in the 1944 Education Act in the UK, which soon after that was copied in Guernsey, and it was accompanied at the time by a public information film, which advised that children fell into distinct classes, and this is what the public information film said:

There are pupils who will become our civil servants, administrators, and managers and these will come from the grammar schools. Then there are pupils who may be limited in their higher level mental skills but are good with manual tasks, and they will get an education suitable to their abilities through secondary modern schools.

2395 Now, it is not difficult to see why 70 years ago this seemed logical. Relatively few children were expected to stay at school beyond the age of 15, or even 14, and what was needed for the nation was a minority to be a professional class and a large number of manual workers, and labourers and clerical assistants for the great industries of the time. Now we do not have a society, or an economy, which remotely resembles the way that things were shaped 70 years ago, when selection at 11 was first introduced in a wide spread way, and yet our structure of secondary education clings to the assumptions on which selection at 11 was introduced, and the transfer 2400 from the primary phase to the secondary phase of education in Guernsey has scarcely altered at all since that immediate post-war period. So, we are left still dividing children at the age of 11 into the same two streams, what originated as the academic stream and the non-academic stream, with approximately 25% or 30% going into the academic stream and the remainder, the majority of children going into the non-academic stream.

2405 Sir, it is absurd to believe that a judgement which is even remotely reliable, or accurate, can be made of every 11-year-old in the Island to determine for the next five years whether that child is



2410 more suited to the academic stream or the non-academic stream. To extend the analogy which Deputy Tooley made this morning, in what I thought was an outstanding maiden speech (**Several Members:** Hear, hear.) it is like taking a child, a snapshot at the age of 10 or 11 in football trials, and after one or two tests, or coaching sessions, saying 'Right, you are going into the A team and you are going into the B team, and no matter how well you play, not matter how your abilities change over the years, no matter how your game develops in one way and not in another way, you must stay in the A stream for the next five years and you must stay in the B stream, or the A team or the B team, for the next five years.'

2415 We have had already today some mention, I cannot remember which speaker it was, of much more fluidity between the secondary modern schools and the Grammar School, children being able to move, but just think, how on earth is that going to work in practice? Are we going to keep places open at one school, or are we going to say to students at the Grammar School, 'Well look, after six months it is not quite working out, so you leave the Grammar School' and then six months later another batch leave the Grammar School, and two or three years after that another batch leave, and then a new batch come in from secondary moderns. The practical application of this idea of more fluidity between the secondary modern stream and the grammar stream is quite obviously nonsensical.

2425 The whole concept of selection at 11 relies on theories which date back to the 1920's, which have long since been discredited, and are based on work which was probably fraudulent, that a child's intelligence is fixed by the age of 10 or 11 and at that point it is possible to measure his or her potential for the next five years, and using that measurement it is possible to stream every child into one of two types of school. This fails to recognise that children develop at different paces in different subjects, moving up and down in relation to their peers, being stronger in some skills and weaker in others. Whatever method of selection at 11 is used, whatever method is used, is still requires taking a snapshot at any one time and saying you are suitable for a more academic education and you are not.

2435 In a way selection is not quite the right word, because, or not to describe our differences of opinion, because I do not oppose selection if it means that children are learning in classes with others of a similar ability, this is otherwise known as setting in a mixed ability environment. I might be in set one for maths ... No, actually definitely not! (*Laughter*) I might be in set one for English, and set four for maths, and set three for science, and over the years my maths might develop a bit, also unlikely, my English might deteriorate a bit, and I can move between the sets as my aptitude changes, but you can do that within one school. If you are separated into two streams and sent to different schools and you are different buildings you cannot do that. So setting is a form of selection, but it is a more flexible, and a more sophisticated, form of selection than streaming every child into one of two schools, which is what we are doing at the moment.

2440 I think the form of selection which is daft is to use a blunt and somewhat arbitrary tool, a one-off judgement, to say to child A – academic stream for five years; child B – non-academic stream for five years.

2450 Now, I do not think that is fair on the vast majority of children, but I also have rather more pragmatic concerns about the future of our economy. Because in the years ahead we do not need a small professional class, and then a large number of manual workers, we need a knowledge based economy. Quite obviously the dividing line between academic, and professional, and vocational is changing, the line in many industries is largely being erased. It cannot be healthy economically for us to continue placing arbitrary and unnecessary limits on the educational aspirations of two thirds of our young people.

2455 The case for selection at 11, which as I say I do not think has really been made but, hopefully, will be by somebody before the end of this debate, is meant to be about sending every child to the school most suited for their ability. That is the phrase we are meant to us, you do not pass or fail, you are sent to the school most appropriate for your ability. Well, let's see if that is true in practice. I want to share with the States data about the practical operation of selection at 11 in Guernsey. Before the 11-plus is sat all children in Year 6 are assessed in relation both to their

2460 capability and the likelihood of their being selected through the 11-plus for a place at the  
Grammar School or the colleges. In the past three years of those sitting the 11-plus, 565 were  
assessed by their schools as capable of coping at the Grammar School, or the colleges. Of those  
2465 565, more than 200 were selected by the 11-plus for secondary modern schools. In Guernsey  
today under our selective system at least 40% of children assessed by their schools as capable of  
coping with an academic education at the Grammar School, or the colleges, at least 40% end up  
being selected for secondary moderns, the original non-academic stream. Why on earth should  
these children be separated from each other at the age of 11? But that is what Members will be  
perpetuating if they vote in favour of this Proposition for selection at 11.

2470 More than 50% of our primary age children score above national averages in academic  
attainment, and at the age of 10 or 11 these children, whose academic attainment is above  
national average are divided more or less right down the middle, half are sent to an academic  
stream and half are sent to a non-academic stream. Sir, this is bordering on insanity. Selection at  
11 does not so much separate sheep from goats; it separates sheep from sheep, (**A Member:**  
Hear, hear.) and this is not a problem of the means of selection. This is a problem of selection at  
2475 11. This cannot be fixed by finding some alternative means of selection. It is a fundamental  
systemic enduring weakness in the concept of selection at 11. But that is what Members will be  
voting for if they approve this Proposition.

I also have figures for several recent years, broken down school by school, albeit it  
anonymised, so that nobody can identify one school from another, for the percentage of children  
2480 who sat the 11-plus and the percentage who were selected for the Grammar School, or a special  
place at the colleges. Now I share this with the States only because many of the proponents of  
selection claim that it provides equality of opportunity and judges a child's underlying aptitude  
and potential. If so, over a period of years' one would expect to see broadly similar figures across  
schools, but nothing could be further from the truth. Over a period of several years, and I repeat  
that I do not know which schools are which, child at school one has a one in two chance of sitting  
2485 the 11-plus and being selected; child at school two has a one in 10 chance of sitting the 11-plus  
and being selected; child at school three has a 40% chance of sitting the 11-plus and being  
selected; child at school four has a 15% chance of sitting the 11-plus and being selected. This is  
not equality of opportunity, this is inequality of opportunity, but that is what Members are  
perpetuating if they vote in favour of this Proposition.

2490 **Deputy Paint:** Sir – (*Inaudible*)

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Paint: Can you put your microphone on.

2495 **Deputy Paint:** Sir, I really have to question what the Deputy is saying, because if that is the  
case, there must be something corrupt in the way of actually allocating places to children.  
(*Laughter*) Could he please explain how this is? I do not know anybody in this Assembly that has  
actually been notified of this. Could he please explain that?

2500 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Fallaize.

**Deputy Fallaize:** Well, Deputy Paint makes a good point. I would not call it corrupt; I would  
call it flawed. It is a consequence of selection at 11. It is because selection at 11, whatever means  
are used, cannot provide a level playing field, it is so susceptible to social factors, familial factors,  
2505 environmental factors, and therefore it is incapable of making a reliable and accurate judgement  
of a child's underlying potential. It certainly is incapable of distinguishing the underlying ability of  
a child more suited to academic education from one apparently more suited to non-academic  
education. Sir, I think Deputy Paint makes a very good point, but it is an endemic weakness in  
selection.

2510 Deputy Prow said that it was all about the Grammar School, when he spoke this morning. I disagree. I think it partly about the students at the Grammar School, but I think this debate has to be about all students. This is not a debate about one school. This is a debate about the secondary education system, which leads me on to social mobility.

2515 Actually, before that I, actually, yes, before that I just want to talk, very briefly, about inequality between the sexes, because we know selection at 11 promotes terrible inequality between the sexes. Girls develop more quickly than boys, some people would say they stay more developed as well, (*Laughter*) (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) and because of this the 11-plus disproportionately favours girls. Last year in Year 7 and Year 8 at the Grammar School there were 98 girls and 66 boys – no doubt good news for the boys, but very bad news for the reliability of selection at 11. In  
2520 the last year I was at school, which was not all that long ago, there were 355 boys at the Grammar School and 494 girls, and that is not untypical. That is the scale of the inequality between the sexes, which selection at 11 will generate.

The only way of resolving that is to reserve half the places for the boys and half the places for the girls. But if you do that, you can just imagine how the people of Guernsey would feel that a  
2525 boy who scored, for argument's sake ... I do not know what the test scores are, a boy scores 110 and a girl scores 120 and the whole system is meant to reward academic attainment, but the boy gets a place at the Grammar School and the girl does not, even though he scored 10 points fewer, simply because he happens to be a boy, and we know the system that we have designed, selection at 11, has an inbuilt bias in favour of 50% of the population.

2530 So, social mobility. I think amongst all the arguments that are put for selection at 11 – and I have had a conversation about this with Deputy Ferbrache – I think, the arguments about social mobility are probably the most deeply held, and the most genuinely held. (**A Member:** yes.) In other words, the people who believe in selection at 11 for reasons of social mobility are, in a sense, the true believers. Now, I do respect them for that, but when compared with the evidence,  
2535 actually the arguments for social mobility are the weakest arguments of all for selection.

Turning for a moment to England and in particular to Kent and Medway, which famously is the largest continuous selective area left in England, we know that children from the poorest neighbourhoods have less than a 10% chance of getting in to a grammar school, and children from the most affluent neighbourhoods have better than a 50% chance of getting into a grammar  
2540 school. Which figures are remarkably similar to the figures I referred to earlier about academic selection through our primary schools. In terms of secondary school attainment in Kent and Medway children from poorer backgrounds lag further behind than they do across the nation as a whole, and children from wealthy backgrounds move further ahead than they do across the nation as a whole, and the losses at the bottom are much greater than the gains at the top. The  
2545 overwhelming body of evidence, I am afraid, shows the exact opposite of what Deputy Smithies just claimed. He quoted Sir Michael Wilshaw. The Chief Inspector of Schools, Sir Michael Wilshaw says: 'the notion that the poor stand to benefit from grammar schools strikes me as quite palpable tosh and nonsense.'

Now, you could say what has that got to do with Guernsey? But then one has to look at our  
2550 own data. Generally speaking in our selective system, if you took 50 children at random you could expect around 15 to be offered a place at the Grammar School, or the colleges, through the 11-plus, around about 15 out of 50, but not so for those children growing up in social or States' housing. Now the relevance of this, and I know there is some criticism of this because, of course, there are some families who would be considered in the least well-off brackets who are in the  
2555 private rental sector, that, of course, is acknowledged, but in percentage terms there are very, very few, we know that from social welfare statistics. We know that the vast, vast, majority of children in poorer backgrounds are living in States' housing. So, if you take 50 children at random, and you expect 15 or so of them to be selected through the 11-plus, if you apply the same test to children in States' housing, if you take 50 children in States' housing, you would expect one child in 50, not  
2560 one in three or four, one child in 50, to be offered a place at the Grammar School, or one of the colleges. In school Years 7 to 11 there are more than 500 children living in States' housing, and

there are 10 of them at the Grammar School. These are Deputy Smithies' low-income families who apparently stand to benefit most from selection at 11. And yet we are being asked to vote today for this Proposition, partly on the pretext of social mobility. This is not social mobility; this is a system which perpetuates social exclusion and social division.

2565 Then you add in the effect of coaching, and tutoring, for the 11-plus, which is now widespread and sustained. Now, the effects of that are perfectly obvious. It means that parents who can afford, yes I would agree, who will invest the time, but also who can invest the money in coaching, have a disproportionate advantage over and above the children from poorer backgrounds. Now, 2570 you cannot blame the parents. I am not in any way blaming parents, it is absolutely inevitable, it is a rational response to a selective system, that parents will, or many parents will, make the best efforts they can to get their children into the schools which are perceived to be the best. It is not the fault of parents; it is the fault of our selective system.

2575 One of the claims that is very popular amongst proponents of selection at 11, is that the performance of Guernsey's selective system is so good, as far as public exam results are concerned, that we should be fearful of making changes to it. Now, it is certainly true that at GCSE, and the so-called gold standard of five A\* to C, including English and maths, we do a little better than the UK national average. I do not see why that should be a barometer for us. The UK 2580 national average includes places with much more widespread economic and social deprivation than we, fortunately, experience in Guernsey, and it also includes a much higher proportion of students who do not have English as their first language, and we are only slightly above the UK national average. Now, if over a three-year period, 2013 to 2015 we compare ourselves with Hampshire, which, of course, is relatively close, and with whom we have many sporting links, and which has a population not entirely dissimilar to our own, in terms of demographics and 2585 economics, and which has a well-established comprehensive system of education, we find that there are 26 comprehensive schools with GCSE results better than we are achieving in Guernsey. It is no good looking only at the Grammar School, because you are only looking at the highest 25% of achievers, comprehensive schools are taking the full ability range, so if you are going to compare our results with comprehensive results, you have to take all our pupils into account. If 2590 you do that, for the last three years a rolling average shows there are 26 comprehensive schools in a single county doing better than our Bailiwick average. I will give way to Deputy Trott.

**Deputy Trott:** I am grateful, sir.

2595 Sir, with 30% of our children privately educated, how can it be that the top 25% are at the Grammar School?

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Fallaize.

2600 **Deputy Fallaize:** That is a completely irrelevant point. (*Laughter*) The point is that the 11-plus is selecting the top 25%, a relatively small number of them are special place holders at the colleges, and most of them are going to the Grammar School, so the Grammar School by definition in the States' sector, the Grammar School has the children at the top of the ability range, but it does not change the fact that across the Bailiwick average we would rank 27th amongst all the comprehensive schools in Hampshire.

2605 Now PISA, the programme for International Student Assessment, which Deputy Graham mentioned briefly in his speech, finds that most, not all but most, of the highest performing school systems in the world do not have selection at 11. In other words, they do not at the age of 11 stream their children into different institutions, one stream for academic education and one stream for non-academic education. The many studies carried out in the UK comparing selective 2610 and non-selective secondary school systems, demonstrate that there is no aggregate improvement in attainment in the areas which are selective. In other words, as a whole the children in selective areas are doing no better than in non-selective areas. There is no educational case for selection at 11.

2615 Yes, children from wealthier backgrounds are doing slightly better in selective areas than they  
are doing in all ability areas, and children from poorer backgrounds are doing very much worse in  
selective areas that they are doing in all ability areas, but across all children as a whole, there is no  
educational case for selection at 11. The great preponderance of evidence regarding all ability  
schools shows that the top 25% of students do just as well in an all ability school as they would  
2620 have in a grammar school, but most of the other students do better, and in some cases much  
better, than they would have done in a secondary modern. This was a point made in a letter to  
*The Press* by Denis Mulkerrin CBE yesterday, I think, and Members will recall that he was recruited  
by Deputy Trott, when he was the Chief Minister, to carry out a review of education in Guernsey,  
and his report has had quite a considerable influence on secondary education in Guernsey, and he  
was experienced as a head teacher for 22 years in the UK.

2625 In comprehensive Surrey 95% of schools are rated by OFSTED as good or outstanding. In  
selective Kent nearly a third of secondary moderns are rated as requiring improvement, or in  
special measures. Well, some Members say, 'Well, do not bother us with information about the  
UK, we do not want a UK system of education. This claim ignores the very large number of  
countries, other than the UK, which do not have selection at 11, presumably because it sounds so  
2630 much more provocative and frightening to create the impression of Guernsey, proud of our  
autonomy as we rightly are, fighting valiantly against the vulgar influences of the mainland.  
(*Laughter*) But the irony of their argument which, clearly, is not very well researched, is that while  
all ability schools are to be found all around the world, the 11-plus selective structure, which they  
support, is based almost totally on the UK's 1944 Education Act, and its creation in Guernsey was  
2635 led by civil servants who were, effectively, lent to the Island by the UK, who were acting under  
considerable influence from the UK Education Ministry.

I want to talk briefly, I hope, about passing and failing. These are words which we are not  
meant to use, but I use them deliberately. I failed the 11-plus, and I say I failed because that is  
exactly how it felt to a 10-year-old. For decades head teachers, and class teachers, and many  
2640 parents, have insisted to their children nobody passes or fails, each child is just simply selected for  
the most appropriate school for them. Of course, the only people who have never believed this  
nonsense are the children themselves, (*Laughter*) because children are not fools. They know that if  
they get above a certain score in a test, opportunities are opened to them which are denied those  
who get below a certain score in the test. Teachers in secondary modern schools are all too  
2645 familiar with trying to rebuild the confidence of children in Year 7, who feel knocked down having  
been separated from some of their friends and sent to a school which is based on the fact that  
they are not suited to an academic education. My parents did not talk about passing or failing the  
11-plus, but me and my friends did. My son and his friends do now in Year 5. Children, or at least  
far too many children, having a sense of passing or failing is just an inherent weakness of selection  
2650 at 11.

I have to say that my view of selection at 11 was formed long before I entered politics. I have  
told this story before. I was with a very good friend when we received our 11-plus results, I was  
selected for a non-academic education, and he passed the 11-plus and was a special place holder  
at the college. We were also together, bearing in mind that the original reason for selection at 11  
2655 was to sift out those children who were not suited to a sixth form education, and send them to  
secondary moderns. We, the friend and I, were also together on the day that we received our A-  
level results, and we got exactly the same grades. From that moment on, I thought how reliable  
can this 11-plus test possibly be? How many other children are there?

Now, I was fortunate because I was fee paid, and I make no bones about that. I totally  
2660 deprecate this argument that people who were, or are, fee paying should not vote to remove  
selection, because they are voting for all-ability schools in the States' sector which currently do  
not exist. Why should they be forced to send their children to States' schools in a selective system  
which they are trying to get rid of? (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) That argument just does not make  
any sense. But when you look ... one of the most instructive things with selection at 11 and data is  
2665 look at the results achieved by children who failed the 11-plus and are fee paid to the colleges.

Because these are children who are deemed not suited to an academic education. Now, how many children are there in secondary modern schools whose parents cannot afford to send them into private schools, which, incidentally, do have a much broader range of ability, who are actually capable of an academic education, but who we risk, not in absolutely every case, but who we risk writing off academically at the age of 11?

The professional advice is clear, and I do not think that we should follow professional advice slavishly, but I do think we should be guided by it. In two surveys of teachers' opinion, both with respectable turnouts, one organised by teachers, and one organised by the pro-selection Committee for Education, Sport & Culture, more than 70% of respondents wanted to see the end of selection at 11. We know that the head teachers of every States' primary and secondary school, every single one, have encouraged Deputies to be guided by the evidence and to end selection at 11. Now, some people say, 'Well, yes, but they are not local', as if their educational advice is somehow impaired by the fact that they were born somewhere other than Guernsey. But much as I regret having to play this game, I look back to 2001 when the States were also debating the 11-plus and there was a similar plea made on behalf of every head teacher bar one in the States' primary and secondary sector, a plea for Deputies to abolish the 11-plus, and I see names like Despres, Sebire, Falla, Brouard, Mahy, Bougourd, Le Cheminant. These names will be familiar to anybody interested in Guernsey ancestry, and if the 2016 names are not local enough for you, maybe those names are.

Sir, in conclusion, on any objective analysis, selection at 11 is educationally unnecessary; the judgements that it requires of 10- and 11-year-olds are notoriously unreliable; for too many children it limits aspiration; for too many children it leaves them with a damaging sense of failure; it damages social mobility; it divides 11-year-olds who are academically similar, and who have much more in common than divides them; and its abolition is supported by every single head teacher, the overwhelming majority of professional educators, and reams of empirical evidence; selection at 11 is an idea whose time has long since passed. I believe that in their heads, and in their hearts, most States' Members know this.

I implore Members to find the courage to vote against this Proposition, which is before the States, and to allow secondary education to move into an era where it can reflect the needs, hopes and aspirations, not of a minority of our children, but of all children. *(Applause)*

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Inder.

**Deputy Inder:** Yes, sir.

First of all congratulations to Deputy Tooley for her maiden speech.

I am going to talk about some stats as well, and I suspect some people have got a slightly different demographic profile to the more countrified parishes, and I know Deputy Matt Fallaize is going to be a hard act to follow, sir, but here I go.

In the recent by-election I knocked on the doors of 2,800 houses, of which 800 opened their door to me, some were quick, some slammed them on me, but nevertheless it was 800 (**A Member:** Sorry about that.) You weren't in. I suppose around 100 of the people that I spoke to spoke about education, and to be honest with you, I can actually see them, and I certainly will not name them, but only five of them, of the people that I spoke to, were four square behind the comprehensive proposal of the March extant. Now that is my experience.

Now, if I were to put the view of the parishioners into one handy sentence, it would be reasonable to tell you the people of the parish said to me, keep the Grammar School rebuild La Mare, but we know something is not quite right with the 11-plus in its current form. In fact, it was a very similar experience to Deputy Graham's, I believe. Now, before that is misconstrued by this Assembly, in any way, it was clear to me that the people I spoke to were not against selection *per se*, but would accept a different type of selection, or even a rehash of the 11-plus as it is.

I will say it again: something is not quite right about the 11-plus. This is not the same as get rid of selection, neither does it mean we want to end the grammar school system of education. That

is the unassuming, quiet, not normally disposed to making a scene, Vale voter expressing their feelings about the Grammar School. They wanted to keep the Grammar School.

2720 Now, prior to the by-election that I was involved in, some of the pro-comprehensive camp, quite vociferously, were suggesting that it was a referendum on selection, and they were quite sure I was going to lose. I did not. As it went, there were two very distinct candidates: Mr Gary Collins who expressly stated that he was four square behind the March Resolutions; and me, who recognised that the current 11-plus was not great, but wanted to see the Grammar School as an  
2725 academic centre of excellence retained. In that by-election, where voters went into that booth with one single vote for one candidate, 40% of the votes cast fell to me. That surely must be some kind of indication how the people of the Vale, anyway, are thinking. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) I am the most recent bellwether of this education debate.

2730 Now, what is the role of a Deputy? Is it to reflect the views of the people, or to reflect the views, in this case, of very many passionate people that have written to us to express their opinions? Probably a bit of both, sir. However, I remain unconvinced that a wholesale adoption of the English comprehensive model will translate to an Island where 30% are in private education – 30%, it is absolutely huge.

2735 Sir, it is worth informing this Assembly that many voters who are passionately *for* the retention of the Grammar School – those who do *not* get the same media attention, as we have seen over the past few weeks, with *The Guernsey Press*, and are *not* as organised as the pro-comprehensive lobby – have phoned me and emailed me, reminding me of my commitment; begging me to, sir. To them I say, I will not let them down today.

2740 The March debate, as far as I saw, was fairly rushed, the Education Department of the time went to the debate wanting to lose selection, and therefore the Grammar School, and left the debate, potentially, losing La Mare as well. That is unacceptable to me and it is certainly unacceptable to the people of the Vingtaine de l'Epine and that is GY6 to the rest of you.

2745 The less affluent in this Island, those that cannot afford to buy their way out of everything, are on the cusp of a three school model with huge class sizes, and bigger schools, and consequential anonymity. That is a risk. Not fair, not right, and not what the people of this Island want.

2750 The Education Department did not convince the people of this Island, there was not one killer line that persuaded the public that the idea of comprehensive system adopted in this Island would work. If it was, we would not be having this conversation today. You must understand that the idea of a comprehensive system in this Island has not been sold adequately to the public. That is a fact.

2755 The rout at the General Election two months later clearly demonstrated this. It does not matter how anyone wants to spin this, it is in the data. People who were pro the comprehensive model lost their seats, and many of those that survived did so with reduced votes. You will also be aware, won't you, that those that previously, and are currently, proposing to remove aspiration from the system, and to remove any hope of the lower paid getting scholarships to our top school, are the very same who have, and are, paying their children through the colleges? A grand hypocrisy if ever there was one. (**Several Members:** Hear, hear.) On their feet in the media, social and traditional, using such inflammatory language, such as segregation, social exclusion and similar emotive language, while they are happy to segregate, and exclude, via their wallets. Unfathomable  
2760 double standards. A policy for us but not for them, because they can buy their way out of everything.

2765 Let's dwell on this new language device that has crept into the debate. I am thankful for Deputy Fallaize for not using the word. We have seen it quite regularly, moving school has become separation, separation has become segregation. Now anyone of a certain age will know the real meaning of this highly emotive word. Segregation is what happened in Northern Ireland through the 20th century. It is what is happening in Palestine today, and as Deputy Hansmann Rouxel so eloquently spoke of in her maiden speech, it is what has happened in South Africa. 'No blacks, no dogs, no Irish' – that is real segregation.

2770 We are not segregating our children. Me with a child in Year 7, she could not wait to leave primary school and get away from some of her, and I will put it in inverted commas, 'friends'. She had been with them too long. This is not a word that my daughter recognises in any way. No tears, no child hanging on the barbed wire with puffy eyes pining for her former life. Could not wait to leave and transition into St Sampson's High. New friends, new exciting life in an unclaustrophobic, shiny new school. Fantastic, and she is loving it.

2775 Segregation is a language device, along with many of the others, which I just cannot be bothered to go through today, in this debate, to persuade and cajole through guilt and emotion. So, please can we all just stop it. (*Interjection*) By not rescinding the March Resolution we are expanding the aspirational gap between the richest and the poorest. You pay your way out, while we are consigned to a world of average.

2780 I am not a huge fan of the 11-plus as it is, I will not deny that, but I am a fan of the Grammar and I am a fan of aspiration. Aspiration for everyone, not for the few. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) Aspiration for the potential scholarship child from the poorer background that many of us are so keen to remove.

2785 Education could have come back with something different. They could have considered moving the 11-plus from Year 6 and setting a common entrance exam for the Grammar School, 11-plus gone. Common entrance exam for Year 6 and choice remains. But they have not. They could have come back, and still could come back, with a better option than the two-paper 11-plus. Something different, something better. It is all doable, it is not beyond the wit of man or woman. But that is not in front of us today.

2790 In the UK the comprehensive versus private education split is something like 94% to 6%, whereas in Guernsey the secondary versus college split is 70% to 30%. How is this going to work with so many of our kids in what is an affluent Island still in private colleges? The comprehensive ideal falls flat on its face at the first look at any comparative stats. A grand experiment. We have scared the public and ironically benefited the colleges. It is unbelievable what we have done over the last six months. The flight to colleges has been demonstrated through upturns in the open days and admissions applications. If the colleges were PLCs this would be the week to buy shares.

2795 There is no evidence that opting for the English model would change any outcomes in a Guernsey context. This is a Guernsey context where we have got a 70/30 split. There is opinion, there is absolutely opinion, but there is no evidence. No-one in this Assembly can say they know that a comprehensive system would work in the context of Guernsey. No-one actually knows.

2800 Here is what we actually know. We know that the Grammar School works and is producing excellent results, and we know that La Mare through a lot of adversity, intervention, and an amazing amount of work by the head and her staff have turned the school around incredibly. A super head if ever there was one, and I would like to thank her for her efforts, and her staff, at that school. Absolutely fantastic.

2805 I am not even sure anyone in this Assembly has spent their academic life in a comprehensive system. Is there anyone who really knows it will work, or has experience of it? Is there anyone here that has – ?

2810 **A Member:** Sir, I did.

**Deputy Inder:** One – well done.

**Another Member:** Sir, I did.

2815

**Deputy Inder:** Two, so that is two. Maybe I should have asked how many went to private colleges – a greater show of hands for sure.

I wish I had more choice today, sir, but I do not. There is one proposition to vote on, and it is not actually about selection. It is about the future of two fantastic schools, and the type of schools



2820 that we want for our children. This is a leap into the unknown, one that absolutely no-one in this room or profession can guarantee will work in a Guernsey context.

If today your decision is to close the Grammar School and if today the consequential effect will be the closure of La Mare, then God help us all. This Island will never forgive you.

Thank you.

2825

**Deputy Lester Queripel:** Sir, can I invoke Rule 26(1) please.

**The Bailiff:** So, 26(1) is that to guillotine the debate? I am not familiar with the new Rule numbers. This is:

'a Member who has not already spoken in the debate, otherwise... may at any time... request the Presiding Officer to close a debate on any matter... Neither the Member making that request nor any other Member may address the Meeting about it. Members who would be entitled to speak and who would intend to speak should the debate continue shall be invited by the Presiding Officer to stand in their places, and thereafter the Presiding Officer shall ask the Member making the request to close the debate whether he or she still so requests...

2830 I repeat that: Members who would be entitled to speak and who would intend to speak should the debate continue shall be invited by me to stand in your places, and thereafter I am to ask Deputy Lester Queripel whether he still requests that the debate be closed, and if he does still so request, then I put the said request to the vote and if the majority of the Members voting support it then – except that the President, Policy & Resources Committee shall be entitled to comment  
2835 on any financial implications, if he or she has not already done so – and subject to certain Rules, the debate shall be closed, and the matter shall be put to the vote.

So, will those Members who would be entitled to speak, and who would intend to speak should the debate continue, please stand in your places.

2840 Right, Deputy Lester Queripel, have you seen those standing? Do you still wish to put this to the vote?

**Deputy Queripel:** Sir, please, yes. *(Laughter)*

**The Bailiff:** In that case, I put to the vote –

2845

**Deputy Lester Queripel:** Can I have a recorded vote, sir, please. *(Interjections)*

**The Bailiff:** I put to the vote the request that the debate be closed.

2850 **The Senior Deputy Greffier:** This session, sir, the voting starts with Alderney.

*There was a recorded vote.*

**The Bailiff:** Well, I do not need to wait for the votes to be formally counted, I can declare that vote lost, and the debate will continue.

Who wishes to speak next in the debate? Yes. Deputy Yerby.

2855 **Deputy Yerby:** Thank you, sir.

Sir, it is a useful rule of thumb that if you are about to start a sentence 'with all due respect' you would be better to keep your mouth closed, because you are about to imply that the amount of respect for you is in the circumstances more or less zero. *(Laughter)* So, I heard those words come out of my own mouth, with horror, when I stood up earlier to challenge Deputy Graham. I  
2860 would like to put it on record that my respect for his character, and his politics, is sincere, although our views on the teaching establishment differ.

I think it is by definition reasonably difficult to be institutionalised in education. It is a profession after all which hands on to our children every day the values of curiosity, critical thinking, rigour and above all learning. I have also engaged with many of the schools, and many professionals within them, before and after the election. I have agreed, and differed, with many of those I have spoken to on many different subjects. I have engaged as candidly with those who support selection at 11 as those who do not, and I have gone into every conversation aware of, but open to, I hope, the risk that I might come out changed. My depth of educational understanding has grown, although it is still only superficial.

On the simple question before us today my position has been confirmed, but in many areas of educational policy I have learnt to see things from angles I would not have contemplated before, but without fail I have enjoyed our conversations, because these are not rote pre-programmed automata, they are highly creative thinkers, capable of intelligent analysis and argument. I cannot lightly disregard their almost unanimous view that we should abolish selection at 11, but I can assure Members that on almost every other question of education their views would be far more diverse.

So, I had intended not to speak today, but Deputy Graham has called me out, by citing my appeal to look at what works elsewhere. I am glad that he did so, I think that approach is vital to good policy making. But let's look at things scientifically. Deputy Graham evaluated the UK education system against four categories, educational standards, as measured by PISA; contribution to social mobility; the skills of the workforce measured by the country's reliance on migrant labour, and related to that the country's balance of payments, payments deficit. He used four entirely different categories when looking at Finland. The age at which compulsory education starts; the autonomy of the schools; the quality of the teachers; and the percentage of GDP spent on education. He did not use any of these categories to evaluate education in Germany or Holland. He used only the category of educational standards as measured by PISA to evaluate Singapore's education system. Finally, none of these categories were used to evaluate Liechtenstein, but a new one was added, the provision of access to apprenticeships through school. Unless we measure all countries education systems by the same yardstick, and unless we choose measures which matter to us, which reflect what we are trying to achieve through our education system, how can we make a fair comparison?

So digging a little further, here are some consistent comparisons. Based on PISA results showing trends in each country's performance in maths, science and reading, over the decade from 2003 to 2012, the UK has remained consistent; Finland's performance has trended slightly downwards in all categories – yes, downwards, sir; much as I grudge it, scientific evaluation requires honest presentation of the data! (*Laughter*) The Netherlands have remained consistent in reading and science, like the UK, but have trended downwards in mathematics; Germany have shown a slight upward trend in all three areas; Liechtenstein has remained constant; Singapore has shown an upward trend in all three areas in the last three years. For Singapore there is no data going back before 2009. As it happens though the trends for every country are very small. These are basically flat lines that are slightly tilted, not steep slopes. There are not enough obvious differences in performance between the six countries to draw any firm conclusion as to which system is more beneficial.

As for the skills of the workforce, considered in terms of reliance on migrant labour, I have had to pull together some figures from the OECD tables of population and foreign-born labour by country. The UK has a foreign-born population of 8.4 million, of whom 69.4% are employed – a total of 5.8 million persons in a country with a total population of 62.9 million. Germany has a foreign born population of 10.7 million, of whom 68.3% are in work, a total of 7.3 million in a country of 80.4 million persons. There are 2 million foreign-born people in the Netherlands, 61.8% of whom are employed, again 1.2 million in a country of 16.8 million. Finally, because we regrettably do not have comparable data for Singapore or Liechtenstein, Finland has a foreign born population of 300,000 of whom 60.7% are employed, 180,000 people in a country of 5.4 million.

2915 In other words the UK's foreign workforce makes up 9.2% of its population; Germany's makes  
up 9.0%; selective Holland's is 7%, and non-selective Finland's is just 3%. Maybe I could cheer for  
Finland, but I would rather say again, that this is too little data to make a fair comparison between  
different kinds of education system and the skills they equip children with.

2920 As for social mobility there are various ways of defining and measuring it. One used by the  
OECD is the link between one's parents' earnings and one's own earnings. If there is a close  
comparison between the two there is not much social mobility in the country. Your position in  
adult life depends on the wealth or poverty of the household you were born into. According to a  
2010 OECD report the earnings link between the generations is closest in the UK at 0.5. That is,  
among OECD countries, the United Kingdom – yes, non-selective United Kingdom – has the  
lowest rates of social mobility. But on the other hand, non-selective Finland has among the very  
2925 highest levels of social mobility at less than 0.2. Selective Germany, at a little more than 0.3 is  
almost equidistant between the two. Again, the data is simply not robust or consistent enough to  
allow us to come down in favour of either selective or non-selective education systems on this  
basis.

2930 Thankfully, I have not had the time to build a comparison based on countries investment in  
education as a percentage of GDP; or their balance of payments deficit, or their provision of  
access to apprenticeships, or the level of autonomy of the schools; or the quality of the teachers.  
Yet if I did, I am confident the results would prove to be equally inconclusive.

This repeats a theme apparent in all the research – I give way to Deputy Graham.

2935 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Graham.

**Deputy Graham:** I rise merely to be helpful, really, just to remind her that the point I was  
trying to make about social mobility was that I did not think, actually, that the education system  
was the crucial factor in it. I have never, ever claimed that social mobility is any better under one  
2940 system or the other. I was seeking to show that actually it makes, if anything, only a marginal  
difference. I have never tried to justify selection on those grounds. I merely mentioned the fact,  
pointed to the fact, that in Guernsey where we have seven years of comprehensive primary  
education it does not seem to produce social mobility in terms of entry into the selective system.  
So in a way she is preaching to the converted.

2945 **Deputy Yerby:** That is fair enough, my recall of Deputy Graham's position was that he set out  
the UK education system on three grounds, one of which was social mobility, and so that was the  
basis on which I attempted to compare the education system across all six countries.

2950 Nevertheless, on the basis of that comparison and all others, there are not strong differences  
in overall outcomes between selective and non-selective systems – whether between countries or  
between regions in a country.

2955 For that reason, I believe that if we were starting from a blank sheet of paper we would not  
build in selection, although I understand Deputy Graham's concern, shared by many teachers and  
families, about the disruption that may follow if we rearrange the current system. I will say that  
again. Selection adds no value academically above what a non-selective system provides. In fact,  
according to the OECD report on the latest set of PISA rankings, stratification in school systems,  
which is the result of policies like selecting students at a young age for different tracks or types of  
school, is negatively related to equity, and students in high stratified systems tend to be less  
motivated than those in less stratified systems. Neither does selection even do what it says on the  
2960 social mobility tin, as Deputy Graham just pointed out. As outlined by Deputy Fallaize, and despite  
what Deputy Smithies says, children in wealthier families benefit more from selection than  
children in poorer families. We have selection by wallet already, that is coaching, and we need to  
move away from that. (**Several Members:** Hear, hear.)

2965 Three points in closing. In response to Deputy Prow, I dislike selection; I do not dislike the  
Grammar School. There is much that is good there, which must not be lost in any transition to a

new system. (**Several Members:** Hear, hear.) For my part I would stay with four secondary schools, although I think I am in the minority there, but that is an argument for another day. Next year we will have a debate on the education estate, and we can have that battle then if we need it.

2970 Deputy Prow's repeated an assertion that has been emailed to all of us, the claim that people who want to see an end to selection, as I do, have been trying to discredit the Grammar's Progress 8 score, published recently. On the contrary, measures of progress are far more meaningful than measures of achievement, and I applaud the Grammar, and Ladies' College which also publishes its value added measures, using an approach common among independent schools in its annual report this autumn, for leading the way on that. Grammar's P8 methodology is not wholly robust  
2975 for precisely the reasons that Deputy Hansmann Rouxel outlined to us all. But saying that is not an attempt to discredit it, just a recognition of its limitations. It still paints a very positive picture of what the Grammar School is doing, which is to be celebrated, and I have absolutely no hesitation in putting that on record.

2980 In respond to a line of argument taken by both Deputy Prow and Deputy Dudley-Owen this morning, there was a suggestion that if we support the Proposition before us it will still be possible to develop revised forms of selection, including perhaps setting or streaming, removing the need for a once for all test at 11. I am with Deputy Graham here, today we must decisively conclude whether or not we support selection at 11. If Deputy Prow and Deputy Dudley-Owen sincerely believe that the right form of organising children's access to education at 11 might very  
2985 well be through setting or streaming, I would urge them to reject the Proposition. There is space for those views on this side of the argument.

But if Members vote to endorse the Proposition, I ask them to do so in the knowledge that a system more or less like the current one stays, at least for the next generation, with room for improvement, of course, but no change to the overall grand design. If the Proposition falls, and I  
2990 hope it does, the system goes.

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Dudley-Owen.

**Deputy Dudley-Owen:** Point of correction.

2995 I do not recall endorsing a particular form of selection during my speech.

**Deputy Yerby:** No, Deputy Dudley-Owen did not endorse a particular form of selection, but suggested that supporting the Proposition would allow various forms of selection to be considered. I am simply asking that if she feels that a form of selection closer to setting or  
3000 streaming than a test is likely to be the right way to go that she reject the Proposition.

But I said I was with Deputy Graham on this one, and like Deputy Graham, whatever we decide I will move on, and instead of fighting the same fight, will put my shoulder firmly behind ensuring that the system we have delivers the best quality and the greatest opportunity for all our children.

3005 Finally, I noted that both Deputy Dudley-Owen and Deputy Graham appear to favour schools having as much autonomy and independence as possible (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) If that is their argument, I agree with them wholeheartedly. But those who favour the independence of schools must trust the ability of their head teachers to lead them wisely, must they not? (*Laughter*) If we trust the judgement of head teachers to run their schools day to day, why do we not trust them when they tell us how they would like to receive their pupil intake in the first place? (**Several**  
3010 **Members:** Hear, hear.) (*Interjections*) When they tell us that it would be far better for pupils to enter secondary school for example by catchment than by the 11-plus, why should we not listen? (**Several Members:** Hear, hear.)

3015 I will finish where I started: the judgement of teachers, head teachers, and education professionals is not inconsequential. Not all, but the vast majority of them want us to put an end to selection. Because they want it so much, and have fought for it so hard, I have every confidence that they will work with us to make the transition as smooth as possible for all our children.

3020 If the Proposition falls today, I think that in a few years' time we will look back and be unable to understand why we held on to selection for so long. An inclusive system will feel so natural and so positive, and the results still being achieved by all our children will be so good that we will be surprised it took us so long to get there. I only hope we have the courage to do so.

*Not carried: – Pour 1, Contre 39, Ne vote pas 0, Absent 0*

POUR	CONTRE	NE VOTE PAS	ABSENT
Deputy Lester Queripel	Alderney Rep. Jean Alderney Rep. McKinley Deputy Ferbrache Deputy Kuttelwascher Deputy Tindall Deputy Brehaut Deputy Tooley Deputy Gollop Deputy Parkinson Deputy Le Clerc Deputy Leadbeater Deputy Mooney Deputy Trott Deputy Le Pelley Deputy Merrett Deputy St Pier Deputy Stephens Deputy Meerveld Deputy Fallaize Deputy Inder Deputy Lowe Deputy Laurie Queripel Deputy Smithies Deputy Hansmann Rouxel Deputy Graham Deputy Green Deputy Paint Deputy Dorey Deputy Le Tocq Deputy Brouard Deputy Dudley-Owen Deputy Yerby Deputy De Lisle Deputy Langlois Deputy Soulsby Deputy de Sausmarez Deputy Roffey Deputy Prow How Deputy Oliver	None	None

3025 **The Bailiff:** Members before I call the next speaker, I can announce the result of the voting on the guillotine motion (*Laughter*) for those who have been eagerly awaiting it. There was one vote in favour and 39 against. I formally declare it lost. (*Interjections*)

Does anybody else wish to speak before we go to the vote? No? Well, if there really is nobody wanting to speak, I will invite Deputy Le Pelley to close the debate.

Ah yes, Deputy Oliver.

3030

**Deputy Oliver:** (*Inaudible*) Sorry. I think one thing that we can all agree on is the fact that we need to make sure a strong system is in place to allow for every child to perform to their best ability. How we can do that can be done a number of ways. What worries me most is I have always been told to look at the whole project, not just short term, not long term, but joined-up thinking, so at the end, you end up with a final piece being a sequence of events which have not been made in isolation.

3035

Personally, I am a strong believer that selection is the way forward. I am not saying this because I am afraid of change. I think changes should be embraced, but please let us make the right type of change. After all we are dealing with our very precious children, and more

3040 importantly, their future. During any period of transition we need to make sure it does not diminish, or risk, the provision for any of our children. How our children will be educated has so many impacts on society and how the future will be sculptured.

In many respects Guernsey people, and the States' Members, have got a little bit confused, I think, and stopped looking at the whole picture. I have been in a comprehensive system, and a private system. Students thrive when in an environment that suits their needs, we should be not looking to create the best school but the best fitting schools for our students needs within the constraints of Guernsey and the limited resources.

I believe that before any decision is made we need to ask ourselves some questions. What will work in Guernsey? With a relatively small population, and a limited amount of schools, and classroom and space. In Guernsey approximately one third of our Island's students currently attend a grant aided college for their secondary education. This proportion of students privately educated is one of the highest in the world, and leaves approximately 400 students in each year group at the States' schools. Research shows in order to secure an all ability system it is likely to involve the closure of at least one school, because the optimum size for such schools is 600 to 900 pupils. That is what the research shows. In order that you have enough students to be able to either set them, or stream them, and whatever anybody says there will be an increased number of students privately educated as parents remove their children from the perceived risks of change. Far from creating an all-ability, this itself is going to cause problems. Which school do you effectively close, or do you decide not to rebuild?

I personally think, that with the all-ability model the only viable way, with our population, is to close a school. We have seen the destructiveness of closing schools that can do to our community with St Peter Port and St Andrews, and I would not vote for this.

This is about choice. It is not about dictating which schools people should go to, but what is the best for your child, or that child. I have received many emails who have been against selection and they have stated that they wish the 11-plus to be removed because of the stress and potential anxiety if they fail. I do not see this as failure, I see it as being in the right school for your ability. Plus I have always been told, never view your challenges as a disadvantage; it is far more important to realise your experiences, and face them, and overcome you adversities, which is actually one of your biggest advantages. You can have students with every advantage, but when somebody can fail an exam, they can lose it. There are much more important exams than the 11-plus. GCSEs, A-levels – you need to be prepared for those. Never, ever let a setback go to waste. I have always been told to learn from it, and grow. You do not want the first obstacle to potentially knock you off your feet. You can develop this as part of your learning at a younger age, then you will know how to handle this, you can be resilient, and pick yourself up and move on.

Looking at the whole picture again, yes, that joined-up thinking. Everyone should be considering what will work in Guernsey. No-one has actually mentioned about the funding of the fee granted schools. This all needs to be looked at, I know we will come back to that in June most probably, but it all makes part of what we choose now to how we go ahead.

I think many people have also missed a very important part of what creates good results, regardless of any model. How can we get smaller class sizes? It is the ability of the dedicated teachers, and a good teacher can do more for a child than any model can, whether this be in an all ability school or a selective school. The right funding needs to be given to those school for our children's own successes.

Yes, Guernsey depends on the skills and knowledge of our people and contributions that each of us make to this Island for economic success. Yes, we have constraints on the Island, but we also have a fantastic system as well.

I urge you all to think carefully and vote for selection but not in its current form, a new improved model.

3090 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Lester Queripel.

**Deputy Lester Queripel:** Thank you, sir.

Sir, I will start by informing my colleagues who may fear a long speech, I will do my utmost to bring this in in under seven minutes.

3095 Sir, I voted to dispense with the 11-plus during the debate in the previous Assembly. I see no reason whatsoever to change my mind. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) To me this whole issue is all about quality, equality, and inclusion. Three vital components that, in my view, we will be promoting if we vote to end selection at 11.

3100 As I said in my speech in that previous debate, anybody who tries to bully me, either outside this Chamber, or inside this Chamber is wasting their time. I have never in my whole life given in to a bully and I never will. Even though Deputy Paint and I are on opposite sides of the education issue itself, I stand alongside him on the whole issue of bullying. I do not need to be told, and I do not want to be told how to think, or how to vote. Nimbyism has no place in my world. I loathe and detest and will not abide bullying.

3105 The way I operate is I listen to both sides of an argument, I undertake my own research, and I make a judgement call that I think will benefit the majority of our community.

I think I heard Deputy Tooley say in her excellent speech this morning, I hope I did not misinterpret this, but I think she said that not a single candidate in an election is judged on their views on a single issue. Sir, that was not my experience when I was knocking on doors, because I was told by at least 20 parishioners that they would not vote for me if I continued to support dispensing with selection at 11. That was a clear indication to me that they were single issue voters. The reality is that that threat was a form of bullying, and I told those parishioners I was extremely concerned to hear that they were only going to vote for candidates who supported their views on one issue. I also told them I had no intention of changing my vote, my view on selection at 11, and then I walked away. I walked away fully accepting that I was going to lose votes, and I was not the only candidate who encountered that sort of approach by some parishioners, because I spoke to other candidates who were told the same thing.

3115 To clarify why I have no intention of changing my mind, I will not be changing my mind because there is nothing new to hear from the other side. We have heard it all, over and over and over again. I am pretty sure we have all made up our minds. I am speaking in the hope that perhaps I might be able to persuade someone who is still undecided, but I have not heard anything in this debate, even though we have had some excellent speeches, new. I have not heard anything new. No-one is saying anything new from either side. (**A Member:** That's true.) So, I am not going to be changing my view.

3125 To finish on the issue of bullying, sir, in my opinion for a politician to give in to bullies is dereliction of duty. So I urge my colleagues to make their own judgement call and not give in to bullies.

3130 Before I move on, I just want to apologise through the Chair, sir, to Deputy Tooley if I had misinterpreted what she said. I felt it important to relay that approach from some parishioners that some of the candidates encountered in St Peter Port North – they were told in no uncertain terms that their vote depended on one particular issue.

**Deputy Tooley:** Actually, sir, on balance if I may.

3135 **The Bailiff:** I don't know, it is –

**Deputy Lester Queripel:** I give way, sir.

3140 **The Bailiff:** Oh, you are giving way, thank you.  
Deputy Tooley.

**Deputy Tooley:** At no point did I suggest that there was not a single voter who would have voted on one issue, merely that collections of votes, and therefore a cohort of Deputies in a

3145 particular area would not have been returned on a single issue. Contrary to what a number of people, and not just you Deputy Queripel, have said, this was not a referendum, it was a General Election.

**Several Members:** Hear, hear.

3150 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Queripel.

**Deputy Lester Queripel:** Sir, I thank Deputy Tooley for that clarification.

3155 Sir, the rest of my speech will focus on views expressed by other people, views which I resonate with completely, the first being the view expressed by former Deputy Richard Conder. Now in response to a simple question I asked him last year, that question was: why is the present system of education here in Guernsey considered to be so dysfunctional by many of our fellow Islanders? The former Deputy Conder replied:

'Because it disadvantages so many of our children. The 11-plus condemns too many children to a life in which their potential is not realised, economic outputs from our local workforce are reduced, and social problems and social costs are perpetuated. Therefore dispensing with the 11-plus will offer far more opportunities for all of our children and will encourage and promote the inclusive society we so often speak of.'

A simply answer, sir, to a simple question. In my opinion, the former Deputy Conder laid out the whole issue in that reply.

3160 Moving on to the words of Mr Richard Wilkins, who travels the world staging workshops and seminars that seek to instil confidence in adults as well as children. Mr Wilkins has written several books on the subject, and I first met him at Les Cotils about 10 years ago when he staged a workshop. Deputy Gollop also attended the same workshop, I do not ever see Deputy Gollop as lacking in confidence, but I was at the time. Going to that workshop was extremely beneficial to me.

3165 Here is Mr Wilkins' take on the whole selection issue. He has entitled this piece 'The Human Race Story':

Grown-ups urge their children to win, so young and on the line,  
their hearts pounding, waiting for the starting sign,  
then all at once it is a go, little legs do their best,  
but the tape will only know one winner, yet still we put them to the test.  
It is sad to see children whose legs can't move so fast, because their effort is no less,  
and still they come in last.  
Grown-ups push their children, go and win first place,  
so when they become grown-ups they can run in the human race.  
Now it is time to change the rules, rewrite the human race story,  
encourage the fast to help the slow, and let kindness be the glory,  
because that is when the human race will be won.

3170 In closing, sir, I think it is safe to say the vast majority of children have goals and aspirations and dreams, they dream of what they want to be when they grow up. I see it as the duty of every adult to encourage and promote an inclusive society and help children to realise and attain those dreams. Sir, with that thought uppermost in my mind, I will end with the last three lines of a poem written by William Yeats, It is a poem entitled 'He Wishes for the Cloths of Heaven'. I apologise to colleagues, sir who in a previous Assembly would have already heard this, but I think it is worth repeating again, and also for the benefit of the newer Members of the Assembly. So those last three lines of that poem go like this:

3175 I, being poor, have only my dreams;  
I have spread my dreams under your feet;  
Tread softly because you tread on my dreams.



**The Bailiff:** Anyone else? No.

If nobody is going to stand up, then I really will invite Deputy Le Pelley to reply to the debate.  
Deputy Roffey.

**Deputy Roffey:** Thank you, sir.

I am hoping that my speech might spark a few others to get to their feet.

The first thing I want to say is that I am really glad – (*Interjection*) really glad that the Propositions have been amended to leave one very simple question. Do we want to do a complete U-turn on the States' decision of eight and half months ago and retain a selective secondary school system?

Now, in answering that question I have three main points that I want to make.

Number one, the utter pointlessness of separating children into different schools at age 11 in the 21st century. There simply is no reason whatsoever for doing it.

Number two, the utter impossibility of selecting children at age 11 in a way which is remotely correct in predicting those children's future academic potential.

Three, the oddity that so many people who claim to favour selection, want to turn their backs on a system which offers far more selection, carried out far more frequently, and in a far more sophisticated and flexible way. I say to Members now, I am passionately in favour of selection and lots of it, I just am not in favour of separation. Sir, those will be my main three points, but, sir, I do not guarantee that I will not throw in a few more along the way.

Let's start with the pointlessness of separating children into different schools at age 11, on the basis of very fallible attempts to estimate their future academic capability. Now, personally, I am not sure this was ever the right approach, but, as others have said, you could sort of see the logic of it back just after the Second World War. Back then, to use the terminology of the time, not terminology I would use, a small percentage of children were destined to grow up and work with their heads, while the vast majority would go on to work with their hands. So they needed to be taught, obviously, very different curricula.

The minority, the small minority, destined to become doctors, or lawyers, or diplomats, or managers, or priests were taught a very academic curriculum indeed. By comparison the masses, and it was the masses, destined to be labourers, or farm hands, or mechanics, or shop assistants, or factory workers, were taught a much, much less academic curriculum. Yes, of course, they still needed to be able to read and to reckon, and there was a fair bit of history and geography thrown in for good measure, but it was basically a very vocational based approach to education, and it made a degree of sense. The economy back then bore almost no resemblance to the one that we see today.

Now by the time I passed my 11-plus in the 1960's things had moved on. And like others I use the term 'passed' deliberately. 10 or 11 is much too young to judge a child's educational potential. They are not three-year-olds, nor are they stupid. They know full well that if they score above a certain mark in the 11-plus, they will have a choice of which school they go to. But if they score below that mark they will not have any choice, and that simply feels like passing or failing. I know children of some of the most supportive families imaginable, where the parents would never dream of using the P-word or the F-word, but when the child did not score highly enough to go to the Grammar School they felt acutely, acutely, that they had failed. They felt that they had been held in the balance and found wanting, and on a number of occasions they come up with remarks along the lines, telling their parents, 'Now I know I must be thick.' So much precious time is spent in our high schools rebuilding the self-esteem of these children and convincing them that they can succeed, that it is a crying shame. Literally a crying shame in very many cases. Yes, eventually most of them do dust themselves down and go on to achieve, but those wasted years of demotivation are criminal and so completely unnecessary.

I know that some people claim that far too much is made of the impact of failing your 11-plus. It is part of life you want to move the argument on to more substantial things about statistics, about educational outcomes. I just do not agree. I know many people in their 40's and 50's in this

3230 Island, even in their 60's and 70's, who still feel tarnished by the process. Even though, in many cases, they have gone on to have highly successful lives. I do not think, sir, we should just brush that negative impact aside.

Now maybe, just maybe, if such a destructive process was necessary to produce a first class education system, then the collateral damage it created could be justified. I am not really sure that  
3235 it could, but maybe it could. But the real point is that it simply is not necessary, so why do we do it? Why on earth do we do it?

But I am deviating slightly. I was saying by the time I took my 11-plus in the late 60's things had moved on. But there was still a huge difference in the curricula studied at the Grammar School and the secondary moderns. For a start we Grammar School kids took O-levels and they  
3240 took the Certificate of Secondary Education or CSEs, and the two were very different indeed. A very few of the highest achieving secondary modern kids transferred to the Grammar School at 16 and took their A-levels alongside us, but it was a tiny number. The vast majority went off to work in the tomatoes or whatever.

Contrast that with today. Those youngsters who are selected at age 10, very often it is age 10  
3245 actually, or 11, to go to the Grammar School study an incredibly similar curriculum to those that go to the high schools. Yes, there are differences, as has been pointed out by Deputy Tooley, and, actually those differences often add to the disadvantage of those that go to the high schools and then go on to do A-levels. But the curricula these days are very similar. They all take the same exams, GCSEs. The majority of students in our Sixth Form Centre, taking their A-levels, are those  
3250 who our marvellous 11-plus decided were not really suitable for a more academic education. It really is a complete nonsense.

The world has changed. The economy has changed. What we need from our education system has changed. We need absolutely all of children to maximise their latent academic ability if our economy is to compete in the modern world, but we cling on to a selective system more suited to  
3255 the 40's and 50's like some sort of comfort blanket, even when it patently has become an anachronism. Why? I do not know for sure, but in some cases, and this may be a divisive thing to say, but in some cases, I think that in our subconscious, despite all of our fine words about inclusiveness in every strategy we produce, and every vision document we spew out, some of us quite like separation.

Some families see the 11-plus, coupled with relatively cheap subsidised private education for those from well-to-do backgrounds who happen to fail the exam, as a way of ensuring that their children do not ever have to mix with the wrong sort of children. I do not claim that such an unattractive and bigoted view point is wide spread, but it definitely does exist, and it probably  
3260 always will until we break the mould. Just like xenophobia tends to be quite prevalent amongst communities who have never really been exposed to multi culturalism. If anybody thinks I am exaggerating these attitudes, let me tell you we had a similar debate back in 2001, and at that time there was a classroom discussion on the issue at the Grammar School, and the daughter of a friend of mine came away absolutely devastated by that discussion, because one of her classmates said, and I quote:  
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If they remove selection we will have to go to school with children from States' houses.

As you have probably guessed my friend's daughter lived in a States' house. The teacher did  
3270 nothing, by the way, to intervene. That teacher has still been lobbying for the retention of selection in the last few days. Now the fact that that rather snotty, and hurtful remark was made by a girl who did not even realise that she actually had a States' house resident in her class, was probably because these days that situation is ultra-rare. One of the main arguments in favour of  
3275 selection, this has been pointed out, has always been that it aids social mobility. Now, I accept that, I think back along there probably was some truth in that claim. But I do know that today it is a huge barrier to social mobility. The stats show that, the coaching industry shows that, we all know that in our heart of hearts. To create a block to social mobility in the way our current system does is not only morally unacceptable, but we simply cannot afford to do it with our modern and

3280 changing economy. We live in a world, Mr Bailiff, where the majority, not the minority, work with their heads. A world where we need to develop the academic abilities of all children if we are going to compete against other jurisdictions.

Nor should we be complacent. We have heard from Deputy Prow about our marvellous and unique education system. Well, it is not actually performing that well, and nor has it as long as I have actually looked at the stats. It is doing rather better than a few years ago, and all credit to our teachers, and head teachers, for achieving that progress. They have done well. But with all of our advantages, more money spent per pupil, far fewer pupils from extremely deprived communities, far, far fewer pupils for whom English is a second language, we should, by rights, be light years ahead of the UK, and we are not, so let's not flatter and deceive ourselves. We have only just crept above their national averages. In fact, we are well behind the best performing areas. Most of which are non-selective. Nor, as many people have said today, should we be really judging ourselves against the UK. We should be judging ourselves against the best performing education systems in the world, hardly any of which practice selection by school by compulsion at 11.

3295 I have noticed that Deputy Graham chose ones where there was a large degree of the ability for the pupils, and their parents, to opt for what type of school they had. Not one where if you did not get above a certain mark there was no choice. How much have we heard about choice over the last few weeks? I tell you what, for three quarters of our children our present system delivers zero choice, absolute zilch. So often we hear from Members that our decisions have to be evidence based, and yet when all of the evidence patently points towards changing our current system, some are happy to turn a blind eye to that evidence, because it does not suit their predetermined positions.

3300 Now, I am not surprised. This whole subject area has always been rife with double speak and hypocrisy. A number of people over the years have told me that selection is not about passing or failing; instead it is about selecting the school most suited for each pupil. And yet those same people when they find the system that we have, that they support, determines that their little Johnny or their little Mary is not remotely suited for a college education through a special place holder system, they reach for the cheque book and send them there anyway. Pure cant. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.)

3310 Some now point to the fact that Theresa May wants to lift the moratorium on grammar schools, even though I doubt she will achieve it, because there are many on her own side that oppose it. They say, 'My goodness, this is surely the wrong time to be moving the opposite direction to the United Kingdom!' and yet these are the very same people who just a year ago were constantly telling us not to follow the United Kingdom – 'the UK do not know what they are doing, we should break away and do something different.' I suppose it really is a case of 'when it suits'. Well, sir, they were right the first time.

3315 UK politics at present I find depressing, a choice between Jeremy Corbyn's Labour Party, who wants to return to the 1970's and refight the class war, and Theresa May's Tories who have been reading too much Enid Blyton (*Laughter*) and want to return to our Blyton-esque version of the 1950's where little Britain stood proudly alone and had little to do with the foreigners in Europe, and yes, everybody knew their place, and the selective education system helped to reinforce it. But I think I am digressing again. (*Laughter*) But nobody else wants to speak, so why shouldn't I? (*Laughter*)

3320 The next big reason for rejecting segregation at 11 is that even if it did serve some purpose, there is simply no way to determine a child's academic potential at age 10 or 11. It cannot be done, because children develop at different rates. All of the evidence shows it cannot be done. Not by the 11-plus; not by continuous selection; not by common entrance exam; or by astrology; or by the I Ching. It is impossible. As a result, and I think the I Ching might come closer to the 11-plus at times, but... As a result our current system badly lets down the late developer, but just as importantly, but far less often mentioned, it also really lets down the early developer, who flatters

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to deceive and finds himself, or herself, amongst a peer group where they are always going to really struggle for the next five years.

3335 Now, I have heard our Education President say that the answer is for those pupils to in his words 'move up a school, or 'move down a school' (*Interjection*) I have heard it and I wrote it down at the time. (*Interjection*) Move up a school or move down a school. What planet is he on? There is so much better an answer. It does not lie in scrapping selection, rather it lies in increasing selection but scrapping separation. Sir, I do not just want to see pupils selected once at age 10, or 11. I want them selected annually, I do not want to just see them selected on their overall ability, but on their ability subject by subject. I demand more selection, and I demand better selection.  
3340 (*Laughter*)

Let me make it clear, I do not remotely believe in all-ability classes. I do not think they favour the most gifted, who would be held back, or those who need the most help or encouragement. I think even the average pupil is disadvantaged as the poor teacher tries to pitch the lesson in a way that suits the entire ability range. To my view, and I am sorry if this upsets some, it is idealistic  
3345 nonsense. But the best around that is not to guess children's academic ability at 10 and send them to different schools. Rather, it is to set subject by subject, year by year. Why? Because the late developer can move up through the sets without the trauma of moving schools yet again, and losing old friends yet again. Perhaps even more importantly, the early developer can drop down a set without the trauma and the induced feeling of failure of moving a school.

3350 Of course, I am no tailor, nothing is perfect, I am sure dropping down a set might smart for a bit, at the time, but it does not separate you from your friends, it does not send you to a different school environment, and crucially it is completely reversible the following year. Equally, most pupils have different talents, and are far stronger in some subject areas than others. Now I know a few may be A students across the board, and a few may struggle in every subject, but the vast  
3355 majority of children are good at some things and not so talented at others. That is way annual setting by subject, with the all-ability schools, is so much better than a selective system which does try to sort Guernsey children into sheep and goats across the *piste* at age 10. It not only allows for different rates of development, but for children with different strengths and different weaknesses. So, if Members really believe in selection, as I do, then for Heaven's sake, let's do it  
3360 properly! Do not be so unambitious. Really go for selection, and do it well, and the best way to do that is by setting.

Now, one other point, and I know Deputy Graham has tried to knock this down, but I am going to return to it. Now, I do not often go to the doctor, I cannot afford it. But when I do, I certainly do not take their advice in a totally unquestioning way, but I do put a heck of a lot of reliance on it.  
3365 Why? Because of their years of training and experience in the area makes them far more qualified to understand what works, and what does not work, medically, than any lay person. Likewise I might say if I was a passenger on a merchant vessel I would not dream of barging onto the bridge and telling the master, or the pilot, to swing his course 3° to port, going on to say, 'oh yes you might be the expert, but I have no time for the views of experts – 3° to port, matey. It is what we  
3370 all think, but no, I have taken a poll score, and we all think you should go that way. We have not studied navigation, but what the heck!

So, when the overwhelming majority of our teachers, and all of our head teachers, tell us that ending segregation by school will lead to an improved education system, I wonder why some people feel they know so much better. Please, let's not.

3375 It was a very good speech, in many ways, by Deputy Graham, but some parts of it I found a little sad to be honest. The idea that people are only being appointed as head teachers because they were opposed to selection. (*Interjections*) Who is he accusing? I think, actually, I am wrong, do not all of our School Committee sit in on the choosing? They are a well-known bunch of commoners who want to make sure that – (*Laughter*) I give way, although he has spoken quite  
3380 long enough today, really. (*Laughter*)

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Graham.

**Deputy Graham:** I am grateful to Deputy Roffey for giving way.

3385 I do not mind him challenging what I said, I do not like him putting words in my mouth, which  
I did not say. I was very clear that saying that I was very confident in the capabilities of all those  
who are head of all of our 20 schools. I merely said, that in confidence to me, I had lost count of  
the number of teachers, currently teaching, who had said to me in confidence, that it was well-  
known within the teaching fraternity that not one single head teacher had been appointed  
recently who was not on side about selection. Now, if that is not correct, I apologise if I have  
3390 raised a red herring. I was merely reporting what was said to me. I was very quick to say, at the  
time, and I hope the Assembly will bear me out, that I was very careful to say that I did not  
personally connect with that and make a connection with the quality of the head teachers. I  
merely said, in conclusion to that, that it was a pity that if 25% of our teachers are pro-selection, it  
is a pity that not one of them has been appointed as a head teacher. That is all I was saying.

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**The Bailiff:** Deputy Roffey.

**Deputy Roffey:** The implication is that if you support selection you are not going to get  
appointed as a head teacher. I do not believe that conspiracy theory for one second. I give way  
yet again, yes.

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**The Bailiff:** Deputy Fallaize.

**Deputy Fallaize:** I am grateful to Deputy Roffey.

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I think that many people will infer from what Deputy Graham has said, even if he did not use  
the words, that it is not possible to be appointed as a head teacher in a local States' school unless  
you believe in the abolition of selection at 11. Now I do not think that can be left hanging. Deputy  
Le Pelley, as the President of the Committee, could immediately refute that by explaining that that  
question is not asked of candidates at interview. Does Deputy Roffey, who has kindly given way,  
agree with me that it would be very useful for Deputy Le Pelley to do that on behalf of his  
3410 Committee?

**The Bailiff:** Deputy Roffey.

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**Deputy Roffey:** To an extent I would, but I do hope that 90% of this Assembly would not  
believe, for a second, that people who actually support selection are being discriminated against  
in that way, and not being selected even if they are the best candidate. But yes, it would be useful  
to have that confirmed by the President of Education, Sport & Culture.

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**The Bailiff:** Deputy Le Pelley.

**Deputy le Pelley:** Then I will confirm it, sir. That question is never asked.  
Thank you.

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**Deputy Roffey:** Thank you, sir.

I am glad we have come to the obvious truth of the matter.

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I do not want to labour the point, but Deputy Graham also, sort of, suggested that anybody  
going into the sausage machine of teacher training colleges, or whatever they are called these  
days, because I think they are institutionalised comprehensive or some expression... they are  
obviously going to spew out teachers that are going to be supporting non-selection. Well, I can  
only say that the teachers that I have met in this Island are some of the most independently  
minded, and feisty, individuals that I have ever come across, and the idea that they would just  
slavishly follow an orthodoxy because it had been suggested during their training, I think, it really  
beggars's belief. **(Several Members:** Hear, hear.) He went on to say that okay, you might follow the

3435 treatment that a doctor prescribes for you, but you would not allow doctors to determine what  
you health system is. That is true. There are political considerations, and Deputy Soulsby will know  
that very well. She would not be able to afford the sort of health system that the medical  
profession prescribed, if they had their way, for the absolute best of everything. But I do say this,  
3440 that if the Board of Health & Social Care were told that every single one of their senior clinicians  
were united in their view that there was a way of working, that would not materially change the  
cost, but which would improve outcomes for patients, we would be astonished if their advice was  
not taken. But we dismiss our educational experts with a shrug. I find it downright insulting to  
them, personally. **(A Member: Hear, hear.)**

Nor do I actually buy into the view that okay that is the educationalists, but the majority of  
3445 ordinary people want selection. I do not think they do. That is simply not my experience. I have to  
say it was not the finding of the last scientific analysis of public opinion in this Island. Quite the  
opposite. That showed clearly that most Guernsey people oppose selection at their school at age  
11, and I am completely convinced that that is still the case. What I do respect, and I met many of  
them on the doorstep, I do respect that there is a sizeable majority who feel passionately the  
3450 other way. Just a word about doorsteps for a second. Unless people are superman or superwoman  
a lot of their canvassing is going to be done during the daytime rather than the evenings, or  
weekends, and not a lot of people are going to be in, because most men and most women work.  
So you meet a certain demographic, and that demographic, I absolutely defend their opinion is  
just as important as everybody else's, but you do not tend to get a proper cross-section of  
3455 opinion in Guernsey today; you tend to get a cross-section of what opinion was 20 or 30 years  
ago. I think if you actually went to the offices and spoke today's, 20, 30, 40 year olds I think you  
would find it would skew the results very differently.

A couple of other points I just want to pick up. Deputy Inder thought the fact that a lot of  
people went to the private colleges would make it more difficult to create all ability schools. Well,  
3460 why? If it was the top 30% by ability that went to the colleges, yes, it would. But it is not. Look at  
Elizabeth College a huge ability range. So, yes, if they take 30% across a large ability range it  
leaves the other 70% across an equally large ability range, where you can create all ability schools.  
No problem whatsoever.

Just before I sit down I want to reflect for a moment or two on process. Because, Mr Bailiff,  
3465 frankly, as a Member of this Assembly, I have found the way the States have handled the whole  
education issue over the last eight months to be so embarrassing as to be completely cringe-  
worthy. I think if we are not very careful how we handle it from now on, then our reputation as an  
Assembly will be in complete tatters, and rightly so. Just over eight months ago, in fact it was  
exactly eight and a half months ago, this Assembly made some controversial clear decisions over  
3470 the future of secondary education. The Education Department then wrote to the parents of all six  
and seven year olds informing them they would no longer be expected, or their children would no  
longer be expected to take the 11-plus, as selection would no longer exist when they reached that  
age. Those letters explained how they would be allocated places in the secondary schools in  
future by feeder schools. I know it brought huge relief to many, and some apparent certainty was  
3475 provided. But of course, it was only apparent certainty, because of the appalling timing, and I  
agree with Deputy Le Pelley, the appalling timing of the decision just before an election. It really  
should have been taken a year or so earlier, but that now cannot be helped. Sir, we can blame the  
old Assembly for the awful timing of that vote. But for the saga which has followed over the last  
six months, we have only ourselves to blame.

What has happened since? Well, first we elected an Education President whose big idea was  
3480 selection by continuous assessment, an idea that, as I understand it, both he and his Committee,  
all of his Committee, have now dismissed as a complete non-starter. Next, we go to his hand-  
picked Committee unopposed, a Committee which I have no doubt was on day one largely in  
favour of selection, but they are, in the main, an intelligent and open-minded bunch, and like  
3485 most bright people, once they had looked at the issue in depth for any length of time, I was going  
to say the majority, concluded – it was when I came in this morning, because that is what I read in

the Billet, and at the time of writing the Billet, anyway –the majority had concluded that there was simply no way to select by academic ability at age 10 or 11; quite right.

3490 So, more than eight months on from the previous decision, the whole caboodle has simply been dumped back before this Assembly for a fresh decision, without even the benefit of a recommendation from the Committee over how to vote on their own policy letter. Although they were clear in the text of the policy letter that if there were a recommendation it would be by a majority, at time of writing, to reject the proposal before us now following the amendments.

3495 Mr Bailiff, I am glad the Committee, in response to P&R's letter of comment, amended their own Propositions, or got asked to amend their own Propositions, because the delays, to my mind, under the old Proposition 1(a) were simply unacceptable. The decision to move to a non-selective secondary system was taken by the last Assembly, we have four years, is it four years and two months, or four years and three months, or whatever, if we cannot deliver that decision inside this Assembly, and make it another election issue in 2020, then what an indictment on us as a  
3500 Government. Years more of uncertainty and distress, another election dominated by education. Years more of trying against the odds to recruit teachers to a system whose future is unclear. We really did not want to inflict so much self-harm, and it would have been utterly appalling to inflict it on children, parents, grandparents, teachers and the wider society.

3505 So, I would suggest that tomorrow, or Friday or whenever, if this Assembly backs a non-selective future for secondary education, we simply crack on and provide some certainty for our Island.

Now, I have spoken with senior officers at Education. No that is not true, I have exchanged emails with the senior officers at Education, almost feels the same thing these days, who have confirmed that the original timetable is still completely doable. Yes, at first it would have to be  
3510 within the existing school estate, but so what, the two issues are entirely separate. How you select the schools, and then modernising the schools. Two totally different things.

If, on the other hand, if the majority of this Assembly favours reverting to selection, then I ask you, how on earth does the new Proposition created by the amendment take us forward? It does not even tell us what form of selection would be used. Now, we know the vast majority of  
3515 successful candidates at the General Election, that is us in this room, were clear to our electorate during the campaign, overwhelmingly, whatever our views on selection, we were opposed to continuing with the 11-plus. We have heard that again today. But what else have we heard today? Oh, I am in favour of selection but by some other form of selection. What kind of cocked hat is that? Our new Education Committee has looked in depth at this very issue for the past six months,  
3520 and they have not come up with another good way to select at 10 or 11. It is true they have managed to dismiss some ways, the majority, perhaps not the majority, have seemingly decided there simply is no good way. Even the minority, the one of two cannot agree over how to do it! It is not good enough.

If they want us to flip-flop as a Government and go back to selection, then for Heaven's sake  
3525 have the decency to show us how it can be done! They have not. They do not, because they cannot. Can you, Members – sorry, through you, sir. Can Members, Mr President? The vast majority of them said at their hustings, when this issue came up, that they were against the 11-plus. Some of them said, some of you said, that you supported selection in another way. Now, I respect that. You are wrong, but I respect your right to be wrong. *(Laughter)*

3530 What I would have zero respect for is this Assembly voting for selection utterly blind, without a clue how that selection would work. We sometimes talk about bad government, but somebody write this down, because we have the potential for a text-book example coming up over the next day or two.

I ask you, pass this Resolution and what happens next? What does happen next? Presumably  
3535 the Education Committee has another stab at finding an acceptable way to select at 10 or 11, and if they cannot find one, if they can find one, which I very much doubt, actually, who would help them? I presume they have already tapped in to the expertise within the Department, and that has not worked, next stage go out to other educational experts in Guernsey, maybe the head teachers,

ask them perhaps how it should be done? I do not think that would be very fruitful. Maybe they  
3540 can go to Singapore, I don't know. (*Laughter*) But they try and find another way of doing it and  
then they bring it back to this Assembly.

Even if there has been a vote in principle for selection, we are not going to all agree with the  
way it is going to be done – cue another huge educational debate, with a month's build up with  
huge lobbying by everybody on every side, and another three days of debate in here. Quite  
3545 possibly, because the devil would be in the detail, having marginally voted for selection, the type  
of selection will not appeal and therefore we will swing the other way again. What winding path  
are we starting to go down? What does that do to parents, grandparents, children and teachers?  
Sir, playing the political hokey-cokey on issues like Sunday trading or paid parking is bad enough,  
I think the Island can just about live with that. In fact, they are sometimes quite amused by it. It  
3550 gives them a good excuse to slag off the States down at the public bar. But do it with our  
education system and we really will not be forgiven. Our reputation will be completely shot, and  
rightly so.

So for the sake of our Island, both now, and in the future, we really must reject this  
Proposition, and get on with building a better system of education, and forget slavishly following  
3555 the UK. There is nothing in the Proposition that says that. We have never done it. When we had a  
selective system, as we do now, we were different in many ways to the UK, and so can we be with  
a non-selective system. If we get on and build a better education system, I think, personally, we  
will be 30 years too late, but better late than never. And it will not be never, it won't be. I think the  
change to a non-selective system is absolutely inevitable, and sometime in the next decade. It is  
3560 just a question of whether we do it now, cleanly and resolutely, or after a long messy, destructive  
saga of flip flopping this way and that.

Members be decisive, seize the moment, or you will regret it for years as this whole sorry saga  
rumbles on.

3565 **A Member:** Hear, hear. (*Applause*)

**The Bailiff:** Perhaps we will finish tonight. There is nobody standing, unless somebody stands  
now, I will call on Deputy Le Pelley to reply to the debate. There is nobody, no, right – Deputy St  
Pier.

3570 **Deputy St Pier:** Thank you, sir.

Sir, on the 11th November this year, Armistice Day, I visited La Mare, and it was actually the  
first visit since the last debate in March. It was a visit I was due to make in the summer term and it  
had been postponed. I spent quite a long time in the common room, and I think it is fair to  
3575 describe the meeting as difficult. I think it is probably one of the toughest meetings I have had. I  
received a fairly frosty reception, but I should emphasise that the staff team who were there were  
extremely courteous and polite to me.

I understand, I am not criticising at all the reception I received, because I completely  
understand why I received it. Because in March I spoke in the education debate, at that time, three  
3580 days after Education Scotland had published a report on the performance of the La Mare School  
and that indicated that overall it was a very good report, and rated the school as very good in five  
out of the six areas of Education Scotland's framework. So my comments in that debate were, I  
think it is fair to say, very painfully received, and the phrase that was used when I was there on  
11th November was that it was a body blow, and I acknowledge that, and I do acknowledge that,  
3585 and I took the opportunity to explain why I had made the comments that I had done so in the  
context of that debate.

But today, sir we are in a different debate. I think there are two things which struck me about  
that meeting on 11th November. The first thing was the enormous passion, pride and  
commitment which that staff group showed in their school and their community. I want to  
3590 acknowledge just a few of the statistics that have been shared with me about the progress which



that school has made. It this year had the best headline results with five or more GCSEs in English and maths, an improvement of 13½% and indeed 7½% above its target. It is the fourth year in a row where 100% of the children leaving have done so with one qualification which is above the 93.9% federation average. In English progress is above the UK national average, with 68% making exceptional progress. Those are just a few statistics. There are a whole range more, but I just picked out a number of those, because I think it is worth acknowledging that.

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But the second thing which struck me, very, very strongly, was the unanimous agreement of all of those present, that selection at 11 should, and must, be ended. That view was given completely selflessly, without consideration, any consideration at all, to the impact of that decision on the individual positions, or careers, of the teachers that had that view, and that for me was immensely persuasive evidence of what the right decision is in this debate.

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So, I just want to very briefly respond to some of the comments made in the debate so far, or to provide some commentary on them.

I thought Deputy Tindall's speech, sir, was superb. I thought it was highly analytical and well argued, and I think in particular she made some very strong arguments about the role of the International Baccalaureate, for example, and I think that should be acknowledged.

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Deputy Fallaize, sir, this brought a smile to my face because during the debate on the Policy & Resource Plan a couple of weeks ago, Deputy Ferbrache said that he did not much like evangelicals, and then in the context of this debate, Deputy Fallaize described Deputy Ferbrache as a true believer in the social mobility. *(Laughter)* So, perhaps, he is a little evangelical about it, sir, that made me smile. I think the main point I wanted to draw out of Deputy Fallaize's comments was, he laid down the challenge for somebody to explain to him, to justify why there should be selection at 11. Now many Members still have not spoken, and I am sure there will be some more speeches, sir, despite... we shall see. But nobody yet has met that challenge, and they will have difficulty doing so, I would suggest, sir, as perhaps we heard from Deputy Roffey's also excellent speech.

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Deputy Yerby's speech also, I thought, at quite short notice, managed to pull out some excellent statistics on the social mobility, and other measures, and in particular in relation to the international comparisons, and the difficulty with which conclusions could be drawn, and, of course, in particular, made the point that selection adds no value.

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Then Deputy Oliver in her closing remarks in her speech said that we should vote for a new improved form of selection at 11. But that is not on offer. That is not on offer. Even if I wanted to do it, I cannot do it.

Then, finally, sir, Deputy Roffey had a clarion call for more selection in the context of setting with all ability schools, and I absolutely agree with that comment, sir, and so I will be voting against the Proposition.

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**The Bailiff:** Anyone else? Deputy De Lisle.

**Deputy De Lisle:** Sir, if I can say a few words, with regard to what has been taking place.

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I certainly do not want to be part of destroying an educational system, sir, where all schools are doing so well.

I am a very strong supporter of the high schools, and they are doing an absolutely remarkable job, and I think that it is unfair, to hear some of the comments today, that have been geared against those schools, and the work that they are doing. Perhaps, indirectly, but it has come across fairly clearly.

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What we have heard in the last two speakers, actually, is for radical, quite radical proposals, for the introduction of a comprehensive secondary education system, but no real idea given to us in terms of what that particular system is going to do for us, and how it is going to be implemented, and exactly what the output will be, and the fallout.

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We have got to remember that at the current time, economically, we are in a fairly unstable situation, what with the UK, Europe, the forthcoming US situation, together with the fact that, of

course, our transportation issues have not been resolved. So, we are dealing with a very delicate economy, and a stable and successful education system is key to building investment confidence, and economic success, in Guernsey, and destroying that through revolutionary change, with no  
3645 real programme attached to that, other than that of comprehensives in England perhaps, well what do they do, what are they? We are not given any clear view forward at all. It could all undermine our economy even more so, than the current uncertainty. So we are building uncertainty on top of uncertainty which I do not think is a good way to go.

3650 I did say that all schools are doing so well, and that is absolutely true. The past year was another record year with 62% of students attaining the gold standard of 5 or more GCSEs, or level 2 equivalent qualifications including English and maths, at grade C or above. While in England the pass rate has dropped below the 2015 57% level. The high school results showed marked progress, again, on last year's, with 45.5% of La Mare, 48% of Beaucamps, 40% at St Sampson's  
3655 achieving the gold standard. A remarkable attainment in those schools, and something that we have to congratulate the schools for, and a far cry from the 11.5% at La Mare in 2011, before competition was introduced with the release of individual high school results. It all shows the strength of the Island's current public school system, envied by many in the UK. Our success, up on last year's 57% favours retaining the *status quo* in my opinion. Proof that our education system  
3660 is working well.

I do not want any of our schools to close. It is not just about the Grammar School, it the high schools also, and the quality of education afforded the young people of high school. The promises to build La Mare de Carteret, and the impact on the colleges that few people have referred to. There has been no consideration of their future, the danger of higher fees, them  
3665 becoming elitist and denying young people that choice if they wish to take that up.

Sir, I would like to also make a few additional points because I feel, as a result of teaching in England, here in Guernsey, and also in Canada, that the choice of education is already limited in Guernsey. We do not have the breadth and the scope here. True, we are a very small Island and we have to be grateful for what we have, but we do not have the choice that I have been able to  
3670 afford to my children overseas.

To close the Grammar School, sir, or to close any of the secondary high schools, would restrict parental choice even further, and I do not think that is the way we should be going into the future.

The other point I would like to make is that comprehensive education has not been a success in England, many have failed, nor is it fair to all. I can assure you of that, as a result of having  
3675 taught within the comprehensive system. With comprehensive education there is only the choice for parents with private schools. Many comprehensives in England have been replaced now by free schools and academies, in fact, half of England's secondary schools are academies, or in the process of becoming academies.

The other problem with comprehensives from my experience teaching in a large comprehensive, for a number of years, we did very well in sending students to university, we sent  
3680 them to Oxford, Cambridge, all the London universities, and everybody enjoyed teaching the A and B sets, but the skills required in dealing with the ten other sets, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, etc. many teachers were not trained for that, for those people, and if we go for a non-selective comprehensive, this will give teachers and parents a problem in retraining. Many will not stay, many teachers will not stay, others will need supplementary training, others will not bother. There  
3685 is an issue there. I always found, in my experience that the lowest sets did better in the high schools where the teachers were geared up to push those students and, from my own point of view, I would sooner have a child in the top set in one of our high schools rather than in the third fourth or lower set in a comprehensive school, because the emphasis in those schools is on the A and B's, and the difficulties for teachers are very often in working from those students than to students in the C, D, E, F, G, H, I, and more sets.  
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I do not think it is good enough either to say, as has been said, and I think it is very important to realise that as soon as children go into a comprehensive school they are set, and setting takes

3695 place at 11-plus no matter what. So, that is going to be a fact of life, no matter what system we introduce.

I think we have to get back to the point, we are going through difficult circumstances at the current time, is this time for revolutionary change in education, because I feel that a number of people come here to Guernsey because of the stable and successful education system, and the scope with which the system provides a small community, which they feel is key to building confidence, and economic success, in their companies and their future.

3700 So, I would be very careful before destroying an education system where all schools are doing so well, in an economic climate that is extremely uncertain.

Thank you, sir.

3705 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Brehaut.

**Deputy Brehaut:** Thank you, very much, sir.

3710 Just listening to Deputy De Lisle, once again, not many speakers have made the case for the reintroduction of the 11-plus, and listening to Deputy De Lisle people would believe that the 11-plus was still in place, when the previous Assembly, as we know, resolved to remove it, and again, I stress, that nobody has made the case, as yet, for the reintroduction.

I will declare an interest, I have a child at a special needs school, and I have a child at one of the colleges.

3715 I just wanted to go back, wind the clock back just a little. I am a child of social housing. My father, in turn, was the child of social housing and probably the family on both sides were social housing tenants, or States' house tenants. I mention that because it is in the discussion that we are having here today. If I look back at my father's experience, if some of you are old enough to remember a programme in the 1970's, it was called, I think, '*On the Move*', it was one of the fantastic BBC initiatives, one of those programmes where it was encouraging adults who were illiterate, adults who could barely read and write, it was encouraging them to come forward to participate in the programme, and the premise of the programme or the subject matter was this, a removals van was going up and down the country, one of the guys in the back of the van was literate and had to explain to his colleague where to go, what addresses, which parcels, which piece of furniture was for which family, and, of course, the programme very slowly spelled out on the screen for people who were struggling with reading. It was broken down for them in that way.

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3730 Now, the reason I remember that programme is that in the 1970's at the Les Genats Estate that I lived on at the time, a huge number of people came forward to do the courses at the college. At the, whatever it was then, whatever night class, or whatever facility was open to them. Because there was such a large number of people, working class people, who were barely literate and numerate, a huge amount of people overlook that, and these people, of course, were told at the time, 'Don't worry, you can go into greenhouses; you can do manual work; you can cut hedges; you can sweep the roads; you can repair the roads. If you have not really got an education don't worry, there is a job out there for you somewhere.'

3735 Now, that was, of course, education in the sort of 1940's and 1950's. If you fast forward to my education in the 1970's at Beaucamps, I made such an impression there they decided eventually to demolish the school. For some reason, I believe there was a blue plaque, but that too was removed. But if you go back to the child of a social housing tenant, States' house tenant, final year of Beaucamps before the sixth form, just a tap on the shoulder, 'Will you be coming back next year? Do you think you will be coming back? Because, you know, the Island always needs lorry drivers, the Island will always need van drivers, the Island will always need people to cut the roads – cut the *hedges* and sweep the roads ... ' (*Laughter*) Believe you me, I got to E&I, and boy, do we cut the roads, I can tell you!

3740 But the point is that generation, another generation later, and the problems, actually, were still there. The problems were still visible. So, I am surprised when I was elected, and people say, 'Okay

3745 you are making an argument against social mobility, hey look at you!' – but come on guys, it took me 53 years, and it should not take anybody that long!

But when I went to the CFE, I gave a talk to some of the children in there, some of the young students, and I asked one of the tutors at the time, one of the teachers, 'How do I pitch this? What is the audience I am about to speak to?', and the teacher said to me, the lecturer, she said, 'I need to tell you Barry, the children you are about to speak to are never likely to leave Guernsey.' And I thought, what, do they have chronic seasickness conditions? (*Laughter*) Is it the air pressure in aircraft, the cabin pressure that does for them? (*Interjections and laughter*) We jest about the poor standard of education, don't we? But the issues for them were particularly real, they are another generation, and predominantly I make this point: States' house, social housing tenants, again, had managed to somehow scrape through the education process. So, how can we really, with a straight face, talk about social mobility? How can we really talk about social mobility when plainly the evidence is that from one generation to the next, people simply have not been reached by a method that people stand by, and believe, and that those families are elevated?

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3765 Now, what is not fully understood about the 11-plus in the context, and do not get out your hankie and violin necessarily, but when you are ... I know, I see it in kids these days, I feel for them. When you are in a certain type of accommodation, predominantly, States' housing or social housing, you feel one removed, you feel apart from, you feel discriminated against, your parents are struggling, the family struggle, and the people around you are struggling, and do you know, on top of it all you have got that damn 11-plus exam, which actually says to you, 'Yes you are right, you are not equal, you are not equivalent, you are not as good as, you will not be selected to go on to a different type of education.'

3770 So, it is not just the 11-plus in isolation; it is the message that the 11-plus sends to families that really are struggling, and children that have real potential, and that potential recognised when Anne Marie Carrie came over from the UK, Child Social Work Specialist and she said, I think, in a meeting and Deputy St Pier was there, she said 'Why have got this problem with your indigenous Guernsey families? Every file I pull out is a Brehaut, a Brouard or a Le Patourel, a Le Page, you name it, why can you not reach these Guernsey families?' and nobody ... We still cannot get to these families that we need to get to.

3775 Let's face facts, Guernsey is still emerging from a Poor Law culture. I was an Overseer of the Poor, we had the Victorian Poor Laws, and Guernsey is still coming out, in many regards, just coming out into the light in educational terms.

The key words in learning should be, not separation, not different, not negative determination, or not fail or pass, we do not need to use the language such as that.

3780 Now, we have spoken a great deal about what we call selection. I just want to point, because of my son's interest, to the determination process, because in education we like, society likes putting people in pigeon holes and boxes. Now, I know my spine is not a rod of iron, when I drop my son at the end of the road, his first day to school at Le Murier, I put him onto that school bus and I have to tell you, it broke my heart. Etty came back in the evening, he said, 'Dad, I got on the school bus and was chatting to everybody and nobody spoke to me – all the way to the school, dad, nobody said a word to me.' I thought, 'That can't be right', so I emailed and rang the school next day, and the teacher said to me, 'Oh no, Barry, on that morning the children on your son's bus were non-verbal.'

3790 So, Deputy Richard Graham said, he thought he had been to Le Murier and Le Murier is appropriate. Now, I do not know what 'appropriate' means. In an explanation from Deputy Graham he said to me that its proximity to St Sampson's means the children move across between Le Murier and St Sampson's and it is the super highway that ... well, I am sorry, it does not. It is not a super highway. It is not even a green lane. It is nothing ... I am sorry, we would be kidding ourselves to believe that we are reaching that group of children, and we are not.

3795 Why is it that my son participates in a play, takes the lead role, interacts socially, but put them in the school environment and it is not felt appropriate that there should be the cross-fertilisation between Le Murier and what we know to be mainstream education? That bothers me.

3800 Now, with regard to election promises, and Deputy Robert Sillars was mentioned, a former  
Deputy. It is a quote we have all seen, it is a *cliché*, it is used a lot, a politician looks to the next  
election, a statesman looks to the next generation, and that is exactly what Robert Sillars did, and  
3805 other people. Look at Peter Gillson's letter in *The Press* recently, he came into this Assembly solidly  
supportive of the 11-plus, and at times would make arguments in its defence, his experience  
having been given the evidence, like Deputy Robert Sillars, they both moved, and with some  
courage, I have to say, to be opponents of the 11-plus. Now, I think he is not in the Assembly at  
the moment, but Deputy Inder, yesterday took part in the ... I beg your pardon, he is in the  
Assembly, he is at the back of the room.

We went to the forum a couple of days ago with the youth ... sorry, it is not the Youth  
Commission, it is the Youth Forum, (*Interjection*) Commission – thank you, Deputy Leadbeater.  
Now, what surprised, I think, most of us is you do have preconceived ideas about what children  
3810 from Ladies' College may say, what children from the Grammar, what children from Le Murier, or  
the Elizabeth College may say. But speaking to the Elizabeth College student and I said 'I am  
going in to a debate. What would you advise me to say to colleagues during debate?' and he said,  
'Look, why don't you take some of your political colleagues, take them to the UK show them a  
comprehensive? I know they work, they need to know the comprehensive works,' and these are  
3815 children who have been through the system, who do not like being separated out, and although  
enjoying a full education they are going to value and appreciate in later life, they still believe that  
they are participating in a model which is flawed.

I have to say I was also a little disappointed with comments made by Deputy Graham with  
regard to the lobbying by teachers. Now, take this from me, please, when I stood in the last  
election, because people say, my manifesto said, the States resolved to remove the 11-plus, and I  
3820 support that decision, and that is what I said. Let's say that in the last election I think every  
possible ... whether it was a planning decision, whether it was the Road Transport Strategy, there  
are a thousand and one reasons in there for people not to vote for me, and what I would say,  
anyone here in a four-year term, when you go back to the electorate after four years, it is a little  
more difficult, like some of us that have gone back for a second, and third, and fourth time, you  
3825 do not expect to be topping the poll by the end of that term. So, I think, even with that message  
in there, that if you elect me, I will support the abolition of the 11-plus, I was returned to this  
Assembly. So, however, you want to carve up that where the public are with regard to selection. I  
think Deputy Lester Queripel made an excellent point, which is that it is a mistake to vote for  
politicians on one single issue.

3830 Generally, Deputy Graham referred to the Police Force, and we have got good officers, I am  
assuming some of them came from comprehensives, I think it is fair we can assume that. I do not  
know I have never been in intensive care unit, and the A&E when people come round from  
anaesthetic, and they have got tubes up their noses and in their arms, they do not shout to the  
person at the end of the bed, 'Hey you, which rubbish comprehensive did you come from to  
3835 enable you to come over here and save my life?' That conversation just is not going to take place.  
We should not be so, so, critical of a comprehensive system, when this Island actually does so  
very, very well out of it.

I just wanted to refer briefly to Deputy Dudley-Owen, who referred to this book, and she may  
be unwittingly ... unintentionally she suggested reading it, perhaps, if you wanted to be persuaded  
3840 to rally round in support of the 11-plus, and clearly that is not the case if you read it in its entirety.  
But I just wanted to... because we tend to talk about, when we talk about the 11-plus, Deputy  
Ferbrache has not spoken yet, he may talk to us a little bit about his experience in the 1950's and  
1960's but even if we go back – (*Laughter*) No offence intended, I am sure, look I was around in  
the 1960's – wait a minute, just...

3845 I just wanted to read from the States' Education 1560-1970 by Rose-Marie Crossan. It says in  
here, it refers to a previous report and it says:

'That report published in the early 1950's which questioned the reliability of selection at 11, and in 1957 a further such  
report was published which seems also to have evoked a response in Guernsey. The report commissioned by the

National Foundation of Education Research revealed that a 12% margin of error in selection procedures, and there was rather a 12% margin in selection procedures, and an estimated 70,000 English and Welsh children were being annually miss-selected at the 11-plus.'

So that period we refer to when the Grammar was at its peak, when the Grammar was at its best, actually, a huge number of people were being miss-selected and going to the wrong place. That is back in 1957.

3850 The Grammar is a fantastic school. I do not know if we could have a T-shirt that could be printed that says, 'No more 11-plus but keep the Grammar', because I think that is where we are. Some Members in this Assembly seem to be saying an odd thing, they do not support the 11-plus, they will never support the 11-plus, they know it is redundant, then they refer to a system that they want, that is not in front of them today. If you read the amendment, the alternative is  
3855 not there for it.

I just wanted to close, perhaps, in saying that with regard to representations by all teachers. Now, I know, as we all do, as a parent, when you take your children to primary school that first day, and when you let your child go through those doors, male or female, the impact it has on you, when you let your child go into that whole new environment, hoping that no monsters grab  
3860 them while they are on the way, hoping they are not crying their eyes out, as you drive away, or walk away. No they are not, they do not miss you for a minute, but that whole trust thing that you give them over to the primary setting – what a shame it is that the representation from that primary setting, by the teachers, has been presented as some communist lobby, some damn trade unionist trying to get hold of us, and trying to rattle our cages. Well, I will not be rattled with  
3865 people who want to pester me in that me.

I have absolute belief that the 11-plus is the wrong way forward. That is evidenced by all primary teachers, by teachers at the secondary schools, La Mare, Les Beaucamps. No-one involved who believes in, and has invested their lifetime and energy in education, wants to progress with it. Now we will hear, I am sure, because I understand – I am not too good at brinkmanship; that is  
3870 why I am speaking now – that there will be a lot of others who want to time their speeches, so I am sure we are going to have what will feel like a groundswell of support for the colleges ... sorry, I beg your pardon, for the 11-plus, and incidentally, the colleges. I would urge you not to be persuaded by that. Leave the 11-plus where it belongs, in the past. I want Members of Economic Development to drive this Island, drive this community forward, and give the children, give the  
3875 young people, the skills that they need. Do not overturn the decision that was made in March, and please do not reintroduce the 11-plus, which will be such a retrograde step.

Thank you, sir.

**The Bailiff:** We will rise now, and resume tomorrow morning at 9.30 a.m.

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*The Assembly adjourned at 5.39 p.m.*