OFFICIAL REPORT
AITHISG OIFIGEIL

Meeting of the Parliament

Wednesday 28 January 2026

Session 6

The Scottish Parliament
Pàrlamaid na h-Alba

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Scottish Parliament

Wednesday 28 January 2026

[The Deputy Presiding Officer opened the meeting at 14:00]

Business Motion

The Deputy Presiding Officer (Annabelle Ewing): Good afternoon. The first item of business is consideration of business motion S6M-20599, in the name of Graeme Dey, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau, on changes to business. I invite Graeme Dey to move the motion.

Motion moved,

That the Parliament agrees to the following revisions to the programme of business for Wednesday 28 January 2026—

after	
followed by	Scottish Labour Party Debate: The Role of Political Decision Making in NHS Scandals
insert	
followed by	First Minister's Statement: Update on the MV Bella-1
delete	
9.30 pm	Decision Time
and insert	
10.00 pm	Decision Time—[*Graeme Dey*.]

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I call Russell Findlay.

14:00

Russell Findlay (West Scotland) (Con): We strongly oppose the Scottish National Party's attempt to change today's business motion. This Parliament has a wide range of powers and responsibilities, covering hospitals and general practitioners, schools and universities, police and prisons, roads and public transport. That is what Holyrood should be talking about, and it is what MSPs are paid to do. Those are the issues that people care about. However, John Swinney has spotted an opportunity for grievance and grandstanding—two of his favourite things—and a chance to cosplay as a world statesman while meddling in matters that are not his domain.

I welcome the United Kingdom-US military operation to stop a sanction-busting oil tanker. Such vessels flout sanctions that have been imposed against evil regimes. Oil that is transported by that global ghost fleet literally fuels Putin's slaughter of innocent Ukrainians. Their illicit cargo bankrolls the Ayatollahs, who are murdering brave Iranians in the streets.

I do not know the exact details of the court action in question. I do not need to. Let due process play out. If the sanction-busting Russian skipper of a ghost fleet ship has some kind of legal grievance, that is his business. We should be focused on what we are paid to do—not least addressing the vast backlog of legislation that is being rushed through Parliament, with weeks until dissolution. Just last night, some MSPs said that they were unable to speak fully to certain amendments due to a lack of time. That is a recipe for yet more bad legislation from the Government.

Parliament's time is precious and finite. The SNP Government frequently resists attempts to speak about serious issues for which it is responsible. We saw that recently with the scandal of the Cabinet Secretary for Justice and Home Affairs misrepresenting an expert on grooming gangs. We are seeing it again right now with the SNP's bizarre court case in which it is fighting to keep men in women's prisons.

The SNP has failed Scotland. Our public services are getting worse and taxes are going up, but John Swinney wants to waste Parliament's time to score political points on behalf of a seized Russian oil tanker. We say, "No, John Swinney—get on with the bloody day job."

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Mr Findlay, I ask you to reflect on the use of the adjective that you just used. It is not really what we would expect from such an august person as yourself. You might wish to reflect on that.

I call Graeme Dey to respond on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau.

14:03

The Minister for Parliamentary Business and Veterans (Graeme Dey): It is clear that self-awareness is not a gift that has been bestowed on Russell Findlay when he accuses anyone of grandstanding.

The purpose of the amended business motion is to provide time for a statement by the First Minister to update the Scottish Parliament on the Bella 1. There has been, and there continues to be, significant public interest in the MV Bella 1, which is currently in the Moray Firth, in the wellbeing of the crew and in communications and information sharing between the Scottish and UK Governments.

Over the past few days, there has been considerable activity in relation to the Bella 1, and it is therefore right that time is taken to update Parliament and to set out the timeline of that engagement. The First Minister intends to update

Parliament on the position of the crew, on communications with the UK Government and on the legal proceedings that have been heard in the Scottish courts this week—and, of course, to answer questions from members. I anticipate that those questions would engage subjects such as how the Scottish legal system was involved, the fact that the vessel was sitting in Scottish waters and the fact that 26 of the crew were taken ashore in Scotland.

An element of those legal proceedings is still live, which will limit a part of what the First Minister is able to say. However, given the rapid pace of developments, our view is that the Parliament should be updated today. [*Interruption*.]

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Members, let us hear the minister. [*Interruption.*] Mr Ross, let us hear the minister. We have a lot—[*Interruption.*] We have an awful lot of business to conduct this afternoon, including portfolio questions. The more time that we spend on this bit, the less time we will have on selecting supplementary questions.

I call the minister.

Graeme Dey: I had concluded, Presiding Officer.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that motion S6M-20599, in the name of Graeme Dey, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau, on changes to business, be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

There will be a short suspension to allow members to access the digital voting system.

14:05

Meeting suspended.

14:12

On resuming—

The Deputy Presiding Officer: We come to the vote on motion S6M-20599, in the name of Graeme Dey, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau. Members should cast their votes now.

The vote is closed.

Tess White (North East Scotland) (Con): On a point of order, Deputy Presiding Officer. I would have voted no.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Your vote will be recorded.

The Cabinet Secretary for Housing (Màiri McAllan): On a point of order, Deputy Presiding Officer. I would have voted yes.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Your vote will be recorded.

For

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)

Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 78, Against 25, Abstentions 0.

Motion agreed to,

That the Parliament agrees to the following revisions to the programme of business for Wednesday 28 January 2026—

after	
followed by	Scottish Labour Party Debate: The Role of Political Decision Making in NHS Scandals
insert	
followed by	First Minister's Statement: Update on the MV Bella-1
delete	
9.30 pm	Decision Time
and insert	
10.00 pm	Decision Time

Portfolio Question Time

Constitution, External Affairs and Culture, and Parliamentary Business

14:14

The Deputy Presiding Officer (Annabelle Ewing): The next item of business is portfolio questions. The first portfolio this afternoon is constitution, external affairs and culture, and parliamentary business.

I ask those members who are leaving the chamber to do so quietly.

Outdoor Arts, Circus and Spectacle Sector (Support)

1. **Fulton MacGregor (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP):** To ask the Scottish Government what support it provides to the outdoor arts, circus and spectacle sector. (S6O-05419)

The Cabinet Secretary for Constitution, External Affairs and Culture (Angus Robertson): Creative Scotland supports nine organisations with an outdoor arts, circus and spectacle background through its multiyear funding programme, with funding that will total almost £4 million over the three-year period of the awards. Six of those organisations had not received core funding from Creative Scotland previously. That result has been made possible by record levels of funding being provided by the Scottish Government for multiyear funding. The Scottish Government support increased the multiyear funding budget by £20 million in 2025-26, and a further £20 million increase is planned in the draft budget for 2026-27, taking the total to £74 million.

Fulton MacGregor: Earlier this month, I sponsored an event at the Parliament alongside Articulation to mark the publication of "Beyond the Stage: Understanding the Benefits of Outdoor Arts, Circus and Spectacle in Scotland", which is Scotland's first-ever report on outdoor arts, circus and spectacle. Among other things, the report notes that, as Creative Scotland does not recognise outdoor arts, circus and spectacle as distinct art forms, artists are often forced to apply under generic categories, resulting in misaligned support and making it difficult to track or understand investment in the sector.

Does the cabinet secretary agree that formal recognition of outdoor arts, circus and spectacle in Scotland would greatly support artists and cultural events, as well as helping to deliver on the culture

and international culture strategies for 2024 to 2030?

Angus Robertson: I welcome the contributions that outdoor arts, circus and spectacle make to Scotland's culture sector and I recognise the challenges and opportunities that those distinct art forms face. Our culture strategy celebrates the diversity and excellence of cultures in Scotland, and the Scottish Government will continue to work with Creative Scotland and stakeholders to ensure that we can best support our mutual goals for the culture sector. If Fulton MacGregor would like to follow up after this question session on the specifics that he raised in his supplementary question, I would be happy to enter correspondence with him.

Constitution, External Affairs and Culture Portfolio Funding (Value for Money)

2. **Tess White (North East Scotland) (Con):** To ask the Scottish Government how it ensures value for money when allocating funding within the Constitution, External Affairs and Culture portfolio. (S6O-05420)

The Cabinet Secretary for Constitution, External Affairs and Culture (Angus Robertson): The constitution, external affairs and culture portfolio received £415.8 million in the Scottish Government draft budget for 2026-27. That represents a £36.1 million increase in funding compared with the current financial year. Funding is allocated based on principles of best value and is allocated to existing, recurring and new projects. Decisions on draft budget allocations are made by the Scottish ministers, based on advice provided by policy officials and in discussion with special advisers.

Tess White: The Government's tax and spending plans show that funding for international and European relations will rise by 29.3 per cent. Two years ago, it rose by 12 per cent. During that time, in the north-east, Angus has lost its award-winning Gateway to the Glens museum, Dundee Rep has been reeling after the council cut its funding and Gardyne Theatre recently made its staff redundant. Aberdeen has closed six libraries with, doubtless, more to come. Why is the culture secretary wasting so much money on his jet-set Walter Mitty lifestyle when the core of his job—the one that is expected by taxpayers—is being eroded after years of Scottish National Party cuts?

Angus Robertson: I am genuinely surprised that Tess White is not aware that the increase in the external affairs advice and policy budget reflects the inward transfer of budgets from areas outwith the portfolio for teams working on population and migration and international climate change.

Scotland's international network does a lot of work to promote Scotland's culture internationally. I am sorry that there is an ever-growing number of voices among Tess White's party that seek to reduce that work. Her predecessor on the front bench used to call for an increase in Scotland's international network. It is a sad day when the Conservative Party, which set up Scotland's first international office, chooses to downgrade that network.

Alasdair Allan (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP): It is grimly amusing to hear a Tory use the words "value for money", "funding" and "external affairs" in the same sentence. Scotland still awaits from the Tories some contrition for the travesty of Brexit. Will the Scottish Government say what funding Scotland has lost out on since Brexit was forced on us?

Angus Robertson: Brexit has been an unmitigated economic and social disaster. Its red tape has increased costs to businesses and hit Scotland's trade with our largest international export market, which is the European Union. Recent research estimates that, in 2023, the United Kingdom suffered a 2.5 per cent hit to gross domestic product as a result of Brexit, which is forecast to increase to 5.7 per cent by 2035. In Scotland, it equates to a cut in public revenues of around £2.3 billion in 2023 alone. I will take no lessons from the Tories on external affairs.

Summer of Sport 2026 (Cultural Legacy Benefits)

3. **Brian Whittle (South Scotland) (Con):** To ask the Scottish Government what discussions the Cabinet Secretary for Constitution, External Affairs and Culture has had with ministerial colleagues regarding how to ensure that Scotland maximises the cultural legacy benefits of the 2026 summer of sport. (S6O-05421)

The Cabinet Secretary for Constitution, External Affairs and Culture (Angus Robertson): The Scottish Government is drawing on the successful cultural legacy of the 2014 Commonwealth games to inform its approach to Glasgow 2026. In 2014, culture was embedded as a core part of the games, helping to widen participation, showcase Scotland internationally and strengthen the cultural sector.

For 2026, the Government will seek to ensure that that governance and planning are in place from an early stage in order to maximise long-term public benefit. I have already had meetings with ministerial colleagues to discuss maximising the impact of, and the legacy from, the Commonwealth games, and I look forward to those discussions continuing over the coming months.

Brian Whittle: I think that the cabinet secretary agrees with me that sport is culture. In 2014, the Commonwealth games showed Scotland and Glasgow in the very best light, but when that caravan packed up and left, the 2014 legacy—contrary to what the cabinet secretary seems to think—left a lot to be desired. For example, this time round, the Scotstoun stadium venue is the jewel in the crown, but right next door to it, the hockey centre that was developed for 2014 is crumbling and is no longer being used properly. Hockey around Scotland is now becoming simply islands of hockey.

How will we learn from that? How will we ensure that the same mistakes are not made again and that the cultural legacy of the 2026 games is a success?

Angus Robertson: First, I acknowledge Brian Whittle's expertise and commitment to sport and culture in this context.

I assure him that a lot of effort was put into making sure that the legacy benefits, not only from 2014 but from events such as the UCI cycling world championships, endure into the years ahead. He said that the legacy has been less than what was desired. I make a genuine offer to him that, leading up to the forthcoming Commonwealth games in Glasgow, he might share with me and my colleagues, in discussions in the months ahead, some areas on which he thinks that we should focus in order to ensure that we have the best possible games. I make that offer to members of all parties, because we want to ensure that we do it right.

Paul McLennan (East Lothian) (SNP): I welcome the Scottish Government's £40 million investment in the summer of sport, which will provide thousands of young people with the opportunity to get involved in sports and learn to swim this summer. Can the cabinet secretary say any more about the Scottish Government's work to commemorate this year of national events?

Angus Robertson: Sport and physical activity are among the most powerful ways to support physical, mental and social wellbeing. Our summer of sport programme in 2026 will provide opportunities for every child and young person in Scotland to take part in free, accessible sporting activity. The programme aims to inspire lifelong participation and help Scotland to become a healthier, more connected nation.

National Performing Companies

4. **Liam Kerr (North East Scotland) (Con):** To ask the Scottish Government what its position is on whether the five national performing companies are essential infrastructure investment and whether the funding that it provides to them is sufficient. (S6O-05422)

The Cabinet Secretary for Constitution, External Affairs and Culture (Angus Robertson): I recognise the important role that the national performing companies play in the cultural infrastructure of Scotland. We will continue to fund the internationally acclaimed work of our national performing companies in 2026-27, with a view to providing them with additional funding in future financial years as part of the commitment towards an additional £100 million. That funding builds on the uplift of £1 million in funding across our five national performing companies in 2025-26, and an additional £700,000 of funding in 2024-25. That investment takes their core funding to the highest level since 2011-12.

Liam Kerr: I am grateful for that answer, but independent analysis shows that, for every £1 that the Scottish Government invests in the Royal Scottish National Orchestra, it returns more than £4 to the economy and nearly £3 in wellbeing benefits. An additional £3 million would provide almost £14 million of economic impact. However, the RSNO has a salary bill of more than £5 million, which is more than the Government provides, and it was forced to make redundancies last year. Does the cabinet secretary accept that the proposed cut to the RSNO's budget does not make economic sense and risks severe damage to one of Scotland's leading cultural institutions?

Angus Robertson: I do not accept Mr Kerr's characterisation. I am a great supporter of the RSNO and I acknowledge the benefit of the investment and the return on it for Scotland's cultural sector and the economy more generally.

Mr Kerr would be standing on firmer ground in his support for cultural organisations in Scotland if he had voted for the biggest single increase in culture funding since devolution and Covid. I recall that Mr Kerr voted against that, so he is not on very strong ground now calling—[*Interruption*.] I invite Mr Kerr to vote for this year's budget, which sees a further increase for culture funding.

Kenneth Gibson (Cunninghame North) (SNP): Can the cabinet secretary advise why, at a time of steady, above-inflation growth in Scotland's cultural budget, the five national performing companies are still expected to operate on more or less a flat cash settlement that is similar to that of 15 years ago? What impact does he believe that that has on the staff of those companies, who are expected to survive and perform to an excellent standard, often peripatetically, on modest salaries?

Angus Robertson: The budget that is before the Parliament sets out that there will be further increases to our national performing companies

over the period of the spending review. Last year, they shared an uplift of £1 million, which followed an uplift of £700,000 in the previous year. That is a 9.4 per cent uplift since 2023-24. That takes their funding to almost £25 million, which is shared across the five national performing companies. Scottish Opera will receive £8.65 million in this year's budget, Scottish Ballet will receive £4.7 million, and the National Theatre of Scotland will receive £4.5 million.

For context, Creative Scotland's multiyear funding for 2026-27 is £74 million, which is shared among 263 organisations. The largest amount of the funding that goes to performing arts companies through that route is allocated to Dundee Rep and Scottish Dance Theatre, which receive £2.86 million, while the Royal Lyceum Theatre receives £1.7 million and the Citizens Theatre receives £1.6 million.

Neil Bibby (West Scotland) (Lab): The national performing companies are one of our most important cultural exports, performing in the other United Kingdom nations and internationally in some of the world's most renowned concert halls. The real-terms cuts to four of the five organisations in the draft budget will limit their ability to do that. Surely it is the cabinet secretary's role to help to promote Scotland's culture abroad. Is it that he does not realise the immense value of the companies to Scotland's international reputation, or is he happy to blame Shona Robison for jeopardising our status as a major player on the world stage?

Angus Robertson: We are 70 per cent of the way towards delivering our record uplift in post-Covid funding for the arts, which was opposed and voted against by the Conservatives and on which Neil Bibby abstained. I look forward to delivering the £100 million increase in Scotland's culture budget, and the national performing companies are at the forefront of my mind in that. I would have thought that Neil Bibby would understand that the increase in this year's budget is contributing to the delivery of multiyear funding, which the Government is proud to deliver.

I look forward to continuing to support the national performing companies and I have them at the forefront of my thoughts for the remainder of the uplift for the culture and arts budget. I invite Neil Bibby to vote for that, rather than abstaining.

Patrick Harvie (Glasgow) (Green): It is not just that the companies are expected to operate on budgets that are equivalent to what they received 15 years ago; it is also the fact that they are not being given clarity by the Scottish Government. It is simply too vague to say that they might expect something in future years. Does the cabinet secretary understand that the vagueness will force those companies to make urgent decisions that will see Scotland lose some of its cultural infrastructure? Will he please offer them some concrete clarity about the funding trajectory that they can rely on in the immediate term?

Angus Robertson: I can give Mr Harvie that assurance. Those conversations have already been had with the national performing companies. We are in the process of delivering the biggest uplift in culture and arts funding in the history of devolution, outwith the Covid period. I am trying to do that as quickly as possible, and we are 70 per cent of the way there. The national performing companies understand that my thinking in terms of the last 30 per cent is very much focused on them in the years ahead. I agree that they would wish to have as much clarity about that as possible, and that is what I want to give them.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I call Rachael Hamilton for question 5.

Rachael Hamilton (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con): To ask the Scottish Government—

Is my microphone on?

The Deputy Presiding Officer: It is now. Could you start again from the beginning of the question?

Rachael Hamilton: Presiding Officer, I would just draw your attention to the fact that the microphones have been working inconsistently at the start of every question.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: We will look into that. Please ask your question.

Scottish Prison Service Policy for Management of Transgender People in Custody (Judicial Review)

5. **Rachael Hamilton (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con):** To ask the Scottish Government whether it will propose the scheduling of time for a ministerial statement on the written case for the Scottish ministers and Lord Advocate in the judicial review of the Scottish Prison Service policy for the management of transgender people in custody, including how many times women's rights are mentioned. (S6O-05423)

The Minister for Parliamentary Business and Veterans (Graeme Dey): It is the Scottish Government's long-held position that it is inappropriate for Scottish ministers to comment or engage in comments in respect of live litigation. That is the case in the chamber and in the media. The Scottish Government has an obligation to uphold the independence of the judiciary. We do not ever want the Government to be seen as interfering in the work of our independent courts. The court is the appropriate forum for such

discussions, which ensures that proper respect is afforded to the judiciary and to litigants.

Rachael Hamilton: The public deserve answers, not the Scottish National Party's defensive drivel yet again. We have already had an answer from the Supreme Court on the definition of biological sex. Does the minister not know that the Scottish ministers set the policy for the Scottish Prison Service, which delivers it?

Female prisoners who are already victims of male violence and abuse are being retraumatised, silenced and gaslighted by this Government. Is the Government stalling on bringing forward a statement because the First Minister does not know what a woman is or because the Government is still working out the distinction between a mother taking her young son into a changing room and a violent rapist being housed with vulnerable female prisoners?

Graeme Dey: I have laid out very clearly what is motivating the position that the Government has taken and I have explained the reasons for it. I do not think that there is anything further to add to that. I am certainly not going to be dragged into an argument as articulated by Rachael Hamilton in those terms. These are serious matters.

Douglas Ross (Highlands and Islands) (Con): The minister is on another planet. He says that he cannot discuss the issue because of an on-going legal case. The question is about information that the SNP put into the public domain, because the First Minister wanted the public to be better informed. Given that the SNP is going to court to continue to be allowed to house dangerous male prisoners in the female prison estate, I ask the minister this very simple question: did every cabinet secretary and Government minister agree with the written arguments that were presented in court, including the fact that they made absolutely no mention at all of women's safety?

Graeme Dey: I have already laid out the Scottish Government's position on the matter, but, harking back to yesterday, I am struck by the Conservatives' position—

Douglas Ross: Just answer the question.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Mr Ross.

Graeme Dey: I am old enough—perhaps depressingly old enough—to remember when the Tories presented themselves as the party of law and order, yet, yesterday, I faced calls from members on those benches to not give due regard to the risk of the Government committing contempt of court, and, today, I am being challenged to disrespect a set of live legal proceedings by facilitating a parliamentary statement on the matter in parallel to those proceedings.

National Performing Companies (Audiences)

6. **John Mason (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind):** To ask the Scottish Government what information it holds on the diversity and socioeconomic background of audiences attending performances by the national performing companies. (S6O-05424)

The Cabinet Secretary for Constitution, External Affairs and Culture (Angus Robertson): Scotland's five national performing companies are required to develop a broad and diverse audience base as part of their grant conditions. The national performing companies published a joint social impact report in 2023. I would be happy to send the member a copy of that report.

One in 10 of all tickets sold to national performing company events were issued to those living in the most deprived areas of Scotland, and 43 per cent of the national performing companies' audiences live outside large urban areas, including rural communities and those in the Highlands and Islands communities.

John Mason: I accept that all of the companies go out into communities, but I am more interested in who is coming to the main events. I asked about that at the Finance and Public Administration Committee. Scottish Ballet could not really answer, and Scottish Opera has since sent me a helpful map that shows that, predominantly, its audiences come from the west end of Glasgow and up into Bearsden and from the south side of Glasgow out into East Renfrewshire. Is the cabinet secretary satisfied that we are reaching as wide an audience as we should be?

Angus Robertson: We should always strive to widen that audience—I am at one with John Mason on that. From the conversations that I have had with the national performing companies, I know that they are committed to that as well.

I am interested in the range of information that Mr Mason has. Perhaps he does not have all the information, but I have given a commitment to share the information that I have. If, as a result of seeing that, he identifies areas where we might be able to pursue a better understanding and get better statistics in order to pursue our shared objective, I would be happy to take the matter forward with him.

Arctic Circle Assembly

7. **Gordon MacDonald (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP):** To ask the Scottish Government what recent engagement it has had with the Arctic Circle assembly. (S6O-05425)

The Cabinet Secretary for Constitution, External Affairs and Culture (Angus Robertson): The Scottish Government was represented by officials from the Nordic international office at the Arctic Circle assembly in October 2025, who engaged with international stakeholders on a number of issues, including climate change, science and innovation, and rural economic development. That has enabled the Scottish Government to strengthen existing collaborations and gain valuable new insights into a region that has a rapidly changing geopolitical environment.

The Scottish Government has had ministerial or official representation at every Arctic Circle assembly since 2016.

Gordon MacDonald: Given that Scotland is the world's most northerly non-Arctic nation, what steps is the Scottish Government taking to place Scotland as a link between the Arctic region and the wider world, particularly as a European gateway to the Arctic?

Angus Robertson: "Arctic Connections: Scotland's Arctic Policy Framework", which was launched in 2019, strengthens our co-operation with Arctic and sub-Arctic nations by promoting knowledge exchange on shared challenges such as climate change, community resilience and sustainable economic development. The framework highlights areas where Scottish expertise aligns with Arctic priorities. It is currently under evaluation, with the recommendations due in February.

To enhance Scotland's role as a European gateway to the Arctic, the Scottish Government works closely with Arctic, Nordic and Baltic partners and ensures Scottish participation in key Arctic conferences.

We also seek to attract Arctic events to Scotland to broaden civic engagement. That work is supported by the Scottish Arctic Network, which is a network of researchers, and by the Scottish Government offices in Copenhagen, Ottawa and Washington DC, which help to maintain and deepen Scotland's Arctic relationships.

United States Consul General (Meetings)

8. **Richard Leonard (Central Scotland) (Lab):** To ask the Scottish Government when it last met the United States consul general in Edinburgh to discuss Scotland's international strategy. (S6O-05426)

The Cabinet Secretary for Constitution, External Affairs and Culture (Angus Robertson): Scottish Government ministers and officials have regular meetings with the US consul general and US consulate staff as part of our on-going bilateral engagement with the United States. I most recently spoke with Kathryn Porter at a parliamentary event to mark the US semiquincentennial. We have not had any specific meetings to discuss the Scottish Government's international strategy, which was published in January 2024; however, ministerial and senior official-level engagements with United States partners often include discussions on Scotland's approach to international issues.

Richard Leonard: The siege of Venezuela, the seizure of its President and the recolonisation of its oil fields; the continuing siege of Cuba and the threat to its sovereignty; and the threat to Greenland and the robbery of its mineral wealth—is this not naked aggression? Is this not raw imperialism? Are they not illegal actions of Donald Trump—actions that all democratic Governments should unequivocally and unconditionally condemn?

Angus Robertson: Mr Leonard knows that the First Minister has put the position of the Scottish Government on a number of those questions on the record.

I add that it is important at the present time to appreciate the sanctions regime that is supported by the international community against Vladimir Putin's Russia, which is using trade in oil to fuel its conflict against Ukraine. We support the United Kingdom Government's position and the international position in supporting Ukraine and in supporting sanctions.

On some of Mr Leonard's other questions, he will be aware that the First Minister is giving a statement later today, and I encourage Mr Leonard to be present in the chamber to hear what the First Minister has to say.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: That concludes portfolio question time on constitution, external affairs and culture, and parliamentary business. Of the eight members who sought to ask a supplementary question, I apologise to the two whom I was unable to call as I needed to protect the rest of the afternoon's business. There will be a short pause before we move on to the next item of business.

Justice and Home Affairs

The Deputy Presiding Officer (Liam McArthur): The next portfolio is justice and home affairs. I remind members that, due to the amount of business that we need to get through this afternoon and evening, I would appreciate brevity in questions and responses.

Budget 2026-27 (Community Justice Services)

1. **Willie Coffey (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP):** To ask the Scottish Government

how its draft budget 2026-27 will support community justice services. (S6O-05427)

The Cabinet Secretary for Justice and Home Affairs (Angela Constance): The draft budget for 2026-27 includes a £10 million increase for community justice services. That will take total funding to a record £169 million, building on the £25 million of additional investment that has been made over the past two years. That uplift reflects the Scottish Government's commitment to strengthening community justice, reinforcing front-line capacity and ensuring that services across Scotland are well supported.

The increased resources will help to expand effective alternatives to custody, including diversion and community sentences, which can help to reduce reoffending. The sustained investment highlights the central role of community justice in rehabilitation, prevention and the delivery of justice in Scotland.

Willie Coffey: I am pleased to note the additional funding that will support those services. Can the cabinet secretary outline how the investment is reducing reoffending, particularly in my constituency?

Angela Constance: Community payback orders are robust community sentences that not only make people pay back to the community but take a tailored approach by targeting the needs of individuals and addressing the underlying causes of their offending behaviour. The latest statistics show another increase in the use of CPOs, with a successful completion rate of 71 per cent. The evidence demonstrates that community services are more effective in reducing reoffending than short-term prison sentences. I hope that that reassures Mr Coffey and his constituents.

Liam Kerr (North East Scotland) (Con): Although the increase to the community justice budget is welcome, the reoffending rate remains stubbornly high at 27 per cent. What assessment can the cabinet secretary point to that examines where the shortfalls in historical funding were most missed? When are the increased sums projected to show an improvement in the reoffending rate?

Angela Constance: I am pleased that Mr Kerr recognises the increased investment. This is the third year in a row under my tenure in which there has been increased investment, which totals £35 million. I am pleased that the bulk of the £169 million of funding—£148 million—will be invested in justice social work. There is a plethora of information that speaks to the importance of justice social work in supervising community payback orders, which leads to their success.

Katy Clark (West Scotland) (Lab): Only 2 per cent of the total funding that has been allocated for justice and home affairs has been assigned to community justice. Out of that, only 10 per cent has been allocated to third-sector organisations that deliver front-line services. Local authorities provide a significant proportion of community justice. However, their budgets have been cut by about 50 per cent in real terms since 2010, and they say that they are not able to provide the range of services that are needed. Does the cabinet secretary believe that such levels of funding can deliver the shift to community justice that is needed across Scotland to reduce reoffending and tackle the root causes of crime?

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I will need quick questions and answers.

Angela Constance: Katy Clark makes a good point about the importance of sustained funding in community justice. That is what I have focused on and delivered. She may be interested to know that £95 million was invested in justice social work in 2016-17 and, as I have said, that figure has now increased to £148 million. That is an increase of more than 55 per cent.

Justice Services (Rural Areas)

2. **Finlay Carson (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con):** To ask the Scottish Government what assessment it has made of access to justice services in rural areas. (S6O-05428)

The Minister for Victims and Community Safety (Siobhian Brown): The Scottish Government is committed to ensuring access to justice in rural areas. The Scottish Legal Aid Board has recently undertaken a comprehensive analysis to collect evidence at a geographical level of the degree of civil legal aid activity that is taking place in order to find out where the gaps are. In saying that, we recognise that there are some challenges in relation to certain locations.

Through our on-going reform programme, we are considering targeted interventions, including grant funding and capacity building initiatives, to strengthen access to legal aid where it is most needed. The Regulation of Legal Services (Scotland) Act 2025 will also remove restrictions that prevent charities, law centres and citizens advice bodies from directly employing solicitors to provide certain legal services.

Finlay Carson: Even before Covid, Rape Crisis Scotland warned that survivors in Wigtownshire were waiting more than two years for justice. In Stranraer, things are only getting worse, with just one sheriff and no local jury trials. Victims and witnesses are having to travel 75 miles to Dumfries, often alone, just to give evidence.

The latest figures from the Scottish Courts and Tribunals Service confirm that the average wait for a sheriff summary evidence-led trial is now increasing further. Will the minister, as a matter of

urgency, examine whether reinstating jury trials in the town could help survivors in rural areas such as my constituency by speeding up matters and preventing that intolerable wait for justice?

Siobhian Brown: It would be for the Scottish Courts and Tribunals Service to make that decision.

Funding is provided through the Scottish Legal Aid Board to 16 projects in areas including Dumfries and Galloway to provide assistance and representation.

Jamie Hepburn (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP): Will the minister set out how improvements can be made to access to the legal aid system in rural Scotland through the uplift in funding to the justice portfolio, as proposed in the Scottish Government's budget?

Siobhian Brown: The Scottish Government is committed to improving the legal aid system across Scotland. The draft budget maintains the substantial increases in legal aid over recent years. I am pleased to advise Parliament that, today, regulations have been laid that will, if approved, provide a 13 per cent fee increase for legal aid solicitors' fees and fixed payments.

To further secure the future sustainability of the legal aid system, the independent fee review mechanism group that I committed to has been established. It has met, and I will update Parliament once the independent chair has been appointed.

The Scottish budget has also made provision to double the number of places for the legal aid traineeship fund from 20 to 40, to improve the sustainability and capacity of the legal profession.

Women's Custody Unit Estate (Occupancy and Operational Capacity)

3. **Rona Mackay (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP):** To ask the Scottish Government whether it will provide an update on the current occupancy levels and total operational capacity across the women's community custody unit estate. (S6O-05429)

The Cabinet Secretary for Justice and Home Affairs (Angela Constance): As of 22 January, 335 women are in custody, which represents 89 per cent of the total capacity of the Scottish Prison Service women's estate.

The Bella community custody unit is accommodating 13 women, which is 81 per cent of its design capacity, and the Lilias community custody unit is accommodating 16 women, which is 67 per cent of its design capacity.

The women who live in the community custody units have undergone robust risk and needs assessments and have been approved by a multidisciplinary team as part of the process to ensure their compatibility with such a unique living environment.

The CCUs, which are the first of their kind in the United Kingdom, drew on international best practice to deliver evidence-based and trauma-informed interventions for all women who live there.

Rona Mackay: Does the cabinet secretary agree that, for the majority of women, traditional incarceration is not the answer, and that those units spearhead a vital holistic approach to reintegration while mitigating the damaging and generational effects that prison can have on families and children?

Angela Constance: I agree that the success of the community custody units represents a bold and progressive change to how we support women and better prepare them for their return to the community. That success forms part of a holistic approach to caring for women and builds on the positive foundations laid by the bespoke women's national facility at His Majesty's Prison and Young Offenders Institution Stirling. Both are underpinned by the SPS strategy for women in custody, which promotes the recognition of the damaging impact of imprisonment of women on their families and children.

For Women Scotland (Meetings)

4. **Annabelle Ewing (Cowdenbeath) (SNP):** To ask the Scottish Government when the Cabinet Secretary for Justice and Home Affairs last met with For Women Scotland to discuss the protection of women's sex-based rights. (S6O-05430)

The Cabinet Secretary for Justice and Home Affairs (Angela Constance): The Cabinet Secretary for Social Justice has responsibility for equality and rights. Ms Somerville and the Minister for Equalities met For Women Scotland on 22 May 2025, following the United Kingdom Supreme Court judgment, which the Scottish Government has accepted. Officials have also met For Women Scotland to discuss the impact of the judgment. *[Angela Constance has corrected this contribution. See end of report.]*

I have not met For Women Scotland. As it is engaged in live litigation with the Scottish Government, a meeting at this time would not be appropriate.

Annabelle Ewing: I commend listening to all sides of a debate, as that would be the mark of an open and transparent Government, I would have thought.

On 25 June 2025, I asked the cabinet secretary when the UK Supreme Court ruling would be reflected in the protection of women in the prison estate. Some seven months later, that still has not happened, notwithstanding that the April 2025 ruling was, and remains, of immediate legal effect.

Given those further delays to the protection of women in the prison estate and the recent manoeuvrings to kick the can down the road in the case of Ash Regan's bill on the criminalisation of the purchase of sex, it grieves me to ask this, but why are those women's rights now so far down the pecking order of this Government?

Angela Constance: I consider Ms Ewing a colleague and, indeed, a friend. I hope that she knows that, both personally and professionally, I always take great care to listen to different views with respect and to carry that forward in my working and professional life.

As the member will be aware, the regulations to put biological sex into the hate crime framework were laid this morning. Of course, I dispute vigorously the suggestion that women's rights have fallen down the agenda for the Government. I accept that there is no monopoly of concern over the safety of women. My duties include the safety and security of all prisoners and of prison staff, and I have had to make a number of decisions to uphold the safety and wellbeing of prisoners and staff.

In terms of other matters—

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Very briefly, cabinet secretary.

Angela Constance: Yes, Presiding Officer—I appreciate that.

I cannot go into detail on the live litigation matters but, as the First Minister said, people can take from the fact that we have not changed prison guidance that we have concluded that it does not need to be changed in light of the Supreme Court judgment. The Government has to comply with all our legal requirements, but this is now a matter for the courts to opine on. As always, we follow the rule of law.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I need briefer responses.

Douglas Ross (Highlands and Islands) (Con): Given the answers this afternoon, I can see why the Scottish National Party does not want to be questioned on this issue.

In testimony, a female prisoner said that she had concerns about being housed with a biological male in the female prison estate. When that was raised, the Government shared it with the police without consulting the individual or the court. That has been described as an attempt to "silence" and "intimidate". Aidan O'Neill, who represents For Women Scotland, said that the SNP's actions amounted to an attempt to

"discipline and punish a woman for speaking out"

on gender issues. He is right, isn't he?

Angela Constance: I always think that it is a matter of great regret when one member has spoken of the need for a balanced and fair debate, yet we hear another member, who is entitled to his views and whom I respect, picking one side of an argument. It is of course—[*Interruption*.]

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Resume your seat, cabinet secretary.

I have allowed supplementaries on the issue. I ask Stephen Kerr, in particular, to refrain from shouting from a sedentary position.

Cabinet secretary, please be brief.

Angela Constance: It is important that the courts are enabled to proceed with their deliberations on the matter. The Government respects the opinions of every court decision and, as always, we seek to comply with all our legal duties.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I call Emma Roddick for question 5. [*Interruption*.]

We do not have an online connection with Ms Roddick. I will investigate that and advise members appropriately.

Cameron Barracks (Police Scotland Resources)

6. **Edward Mountain (Highlands and Islands) (Con):** To ask the Scottish Government what additional resources are being provided to Police Scotland in relation to asylum seekers being housed at Cameron barracks in Inverness. (S6O-05432)

The Cabinet Secretary for Justice and Home Affairs (Angela Constance): Police Scotland is engaged in a multi-agency planning group that is led by the Home Office. Any additional resources required for the proposed use of Cameron barracks are for the Home Office to determine, in collaboration with Police Scotland and other public service partners, to identify what further support might be needed.

Despite repeated Scottish Government requests, there remains a total lack of information from the Home Office. We have yet to be given any timeline for adopting the site, and I understand that the Home Office is still to confirm its final decision on whether Cameron barracks will be used.

Edward Mountain: My problem is not only that the Home Office is not talking to the cabinet

secretary; it is not talking to Police Scotland. Recently, I went on a visit to Inverness on a Friday evening and I saw at first hand how pushed officers there were. Three mobile patrols comprising six officers were in place to cover a huge area with a population of 82,000 people. Does the cabinet secretary really believe that Police Scotland has sufficient resources, considering that, to take a recent example, the extra time and cost to house asylum seekers in Crowborough is taxing the resources not only of local forces there but of people across the whole of England?

Angela Constance: I appreciate the member's frustration about the lack of communication from the Home Office. Each and every police officer in this country works hard, which is why, in our draft budget, the Government will invest more than £1.7 billion in policing.

It is a matter of regret that, if burdens are put on Police Scotland by Governments elsewhere, those are not accompanied by the necessary resources. It is also a matter of regret that Police Scotland has to deal with other decisions made by the United Kingdom Government, including its failure to pay for the recent visits of American VIPs, which means that we have been short-changed by more than £22 million.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I will take a brief supplementary question from Bill Kidd, but it must be in relation to Cameron barracks in Inverness.

Bill Kidd (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP): The answer to my question has just been covered in the cabinet secretary's response.

Prison Estate (Sex Segregation)

7. **Ruth Maguire (Cunninghame South) (SNP):** To ask the Scottish Government for what reason the prison estate is segregated by sex. (S6O-05433)

The Cabinet Secretary for Justice and Home Affairs (Angela Constance): The Scottish Prison Service is required to comply with relevant legislation and work towards international standards and norms to uphold the rights of all individuals while they are in custody. The prison rules, which are based on international standards, generally provide for the separation of men and women and are applied in such a way as to better support their individual needs while they are in custody.

Ruth Maguire: The legal submission published by the Scottish Government states:

"There is no general requirement in law that the sexes be segregated."

Does the Scottish Government still support single-sex spaces? If so, what assessment has the Scottish Government made of the risk that the legal arguments that it is advancing in court could ultimately result in a breakdown of the established conventions for providing female-only spaces for reasons of safety and dignity, and could require a fundamental reassessment of the Equality Act 2010?

Angela Constance: Prison rules in relation to establishments are set out in the Prisons and Young Offenders Institutions (Scotland) Rules 2011, which are rooted in the Prisons (Scotland) Act 1989. The member's question touches on rule 126, which relates to the separation of male and female prisoners. The interpretation and operation of rule 126 are matters that, in relation to the placement of trans prisoners, are key issues that are being debated and disputed as a result of the live litigation, which I cannot comment on further.

However, the reason that the Scottish Government published its note of argument and answers is that we recognise and appreciate the general public interest in the issue, particularly the circumstances of the case, and the interest in open justice. The documents are there to enable people who have an interest to follow the case. However, the case must be decided in the courts—that is the appropriate place for these debates.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I will take a couple of supplementaries. They will need to be brief, but the responses will need to be even briefer.

Sharon Dowey (South Scotland) (Con): I recently received a letter from Angela Constance, the justice secretary, in which she said two things: that the Scottish Government accepts the Supreme Court ruling and that the guidance for prisons

"does not need to be changed."

I will clarify that. The Scottish Government accepts the Supreme Court ruling on sex, but it also thinks that it is perfectly fine for male prisoners to be housed alongside vulnerable women. How can the Scottish Government justify holding that ludicrous position?

Angela Constance: To be brief, as Ms Dowey is a member of the Criminal Justice Committee, she will be well aware that the policy on which evidence was provided to the committee is, at its heart, all about the assessment of risk and needs of transgender prisoners and, indeed, of all prisoners, because there are particular requirements for the Scottish Prison Service and, therefore, for ministers to ensure the safety and wellbeing of all prisoners.

Pauline McNeill (Glasgow) (Lab): A study by the University of Glasgow showed that around a third of women who are serving prison sentences have had head injuries and that the vast majority have been subjected to domestic violence. Will the cabinet secretary outline why the Scottish Government, through its challenge, is subjecting vulnerable women to a very public court case, throwing open the arguments and essentially saying that it will no longer continue supporting the segregation of the prison estate by sex?

Angela Constance: Although I acknowledge and respect the research referenced by Ms McNeill, her characterisation of the Scottish Government's position is not one that I would adhere to.

Budget 2026-27 (Gender-based violence)

8. **Evelyn Tweed (Stirling) (SNP):** To ask the Scottish Government how its draft budget 2026-27 supports the prevention of gender-based violence. (S6O-05434)

The Minister for Victims and Community Safety (Siobhian Brown): We remain steadfast in our commitment to preventing and eradicating violence against women and girls and have allocated more than £30 million in 2026-27 to this vital work through the Scottish budget.

The funding will enable the delivering equally safe fund, the victim-centred approach fund and Scotland's domestic abuse and forced marriages helpline to continue to support vital work to prevent violence and support survivors of gender-based violence.

We will also allocate £2 million from our ending homelessness together fund to the national fund to leave, which supports women and children to leave abusive relationships and remain safe.

Evelyn Tweed: Rural gender-based violence services face different challenges. How does the draft budget support services that work in rural areas?

Siobhian Brown: Our equally safe strategy recognises that women in rural and island communities, and the specialist organisations that support them, can face particular challenges, and that abuse can be even more hidden there than in urban areas. We fund vital specialist support services in every local authority area across Scotland, including, and importantly, in our rural and island communities, through our delivering equally safe fund. From the £21.6 million that we have allocated for 2026-27, more than £5.4 million will go to projects that support women and girls in our most rural and island communities.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: That concludes portfolio question time on justice and home affairs.

Scottish Hospitals Inquiry

The Deputy Presiding Officer (Liam McArthur): The next item of business is a debate on motion S6M-20561, in the name of Anas Sarwar, on the role of political decision making in national health service scandals. I invite members who wish to participate to press their request-to-speak buttons.

15:04

Anas Sarwar (Glasgow) (Lab): More than a decade ago, the Queen Elizabeth university hospital opened before it was ready. It opened with contaminated water; that contamination infected patients and led to the deaths of at least two children. Weeks before the children's hospital opened, an internal report warned of a high risk of infection and, therefore, a high risk to life for immunocompromised patients. That warning was ignored. Children were forced to fight not only cancer but unseen danger inside the very walls that were meant to protect them. I believe that to be at least negligence but, more likely, criminal incompetence. Pressure was applied and the hospital opened anyway, with devastating consequences.

I want to put on record that I recognise the extraordinary work that happens at the hospital every single day and the fact that many NHS staff go above and beyond. However, that must be true for every patient and every family. One failure is one too many, and what happened is not simply one failure but, without question, the biggest scandal in the history of this Scottish Parliament.

Alex Cole-Hamilton (Edinburgh Western) (LD): Anas Sarwar is absolutely right to pay tribute to the hard-working staff at the QEUH. Does he recognise that several staff members have been affected by compromised water supplies and that staff sickness is a factor, too?

Anas Sarwar: I recognise that. I actually want to start by focusing on the staff and recognising the people who are often only described as the whistleblowers. They are, in fact, three inspiring and courageous women, who risked their careers and reputations to speak up and were met with bullying and attempts to silence them. Let me put on record, for the first time in the Parliament, my gratitude to Dr Penelope Redding, Dr Teresa Inkster and Dr Christine Peters. Let me say clearly and directly to them: thank you. You are owed an apology.

They are actually owed more than that. Not only do colleagues and families owe those doctors a debt of gratitude, I believe that this nation does too. For nearly 10 years, those women have been bullied and dismissed by the very organisation that

they were proud to serve. Had they been listened to, we would not be in the situation in which we are today. Even now, no chief executive or chair has met them—the only minister who met them was Jeane Freeman.

Crucially, the information that those doctors need to be assured that real change is taking place is still not being shared with them. With regard to their immediate concerns about the safety of that hospital, I clearly say that if they are not satisfied, I am not satisfied, and nobody in the Parliament and across the country should be satisfied either. Everything that they have warned about in the past 10 years has proven to be true, and everything that ministers and officials have said to refute it has proven to be untrue. Yet, today, we are again being asked to believe the same people who have lied to us for years and ignored those who have fought for the truth.

Those doctors are raising two urgent issues. First, we still do not have confirmation that the hospital has been fully validated—that means a deep and comprehensive check of every ward and unit to ensure that they meet the standards that patients and families have every right to expect. I therefore ask the health secretary a direct question. Has every ward and unit of the hospital been fully validated—yes or no?

If those doctors still do not know whether that hospital validation has taken place, it raises serious questions. Has any validation had independent verification? Why has that report, if it exists, not been shared with those doctors? Again, I ask whether the validation has been completed—yes or no? If it has, will the full validation of every ward and unit across the Queen Elizabeth university hospital be published? The Cabinet Secretary for Health and Social Care surely knows the answer.

Wow. The health secretary gives no response. That is utterly shameful and an abdication of the responsibility of the Government and the health secretary.

There has been a separate report specifically on the safety of the ventilation system—the so-called AECOM report—as poor ventilation is a risk not only to children but also to adults. Has the Government seen that report? Will it publish it, and will it allow that, too, to have independent verification?

The health secretary is still not answering. It is utterly shameful that the Government is refusing to say to people across the country whether the hospital, and every ward and every unit in it, have been validated and are therefore safe. We are getting no response.

Last week, John Swinney said that the Government first became aware of issues at the hospital in March 2018. That is simply not true. Under infection control procedures, when a healthcare infection incident assessment tool—HIIAT—red warning is issued, the health minister must be informed. A red warning was issued in June 2017. Was the then health secretary informed in June 2017—yes or no?

The cabinet secretary is not answering.

Has Neil Gray, as health secretary, been notified of any HIIAT red warnings since he has been health secretary? If he has, when and how many times has he been notified?

The health secretary is not answering. That is yet another abdication of responsibility from a health secretary who is paid by the public to keep them safe and run our national health service.

I go back to the opening of the hospital. A process exists. Jeane Freeman saw a report on the Edinburgh sick kids hospital and refused to allow it to open because she did not believe that it was safe. Why did Nicola Sturgeon, John Swinney and Shona Robison not do the same for the hospital in Glasgow?

We now know that an internal report that was issued just weeks before the children's hospital in Glasgow opened warned of a high risk of infection and therefore a high risk to life for immunocompromised patients, but that report was ignored and the hospital opened regardless. Who made the decision to ignore it? On what basis was the risk to life deemed acceptable? Who applied political pressure to get the hospital opened?

Again, I invite the health secretary to give a response. Yet again, he demonstrates that he is useless in office by sitting there looking blankly.

Last week, NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde said that pressure was applied for the hospital to open before it was ready. Five days later, late on Saturday night, it retracted that statement, knowing that the First Minister was to appear on television the next morning. That leaves me intrigued. Who applied the pressure for that statement to be retracted? Was it the same people who applied the pressure for the hospital to open too early?

We must know whether those who applied pressure and the ministers to whom the board was accountable had any indication of patient safety concerns.

Christine Grahame (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP): Will Anas Sarwar take an intervention?

Anas Sarwar: I will not, because if anyone should intervene and answer those direct questions, it should be the health secretary, whose job it is to know the answer to such questions.

That is why, alongside the demand to release the files, I am making a further demand today.

Christine Grahame: On a point of order, Presiding Officer. I hesitate to intervene in this way, but I have concerns about the fact that although the inquiry has yet to report, what I am hearing, to some extent, is a rerun of the evidence and the suggesting of other evidence. The whole point of the inquiry is to be wholly independent of any political nuances, suggestions or whatever.

I seek your guidance on whether you consider that Mr Sarwar is now stepping into an area that he should not step into.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Thank you for your point of order, Ms Grahame. Were I to believe that he was stepping into an area that he should not be stepping into, I would step in. I do not consider that to be the case.

Please continue, Mr Sarwar.

Anas Sarwar: I have been raising these issues for seven years and, for seven years, I have heard the same nonsense that Christine Grahame has just recounted.

I say to Scottish National Party members that hospital infections do not discriminate by political affiliation or by people's constitutional position. Such infections contaminate people, whether they are a yes voter or a no voter, an SNP voter or a Labour voter, or a supporter of no party at all, so SNP members should care about these issues as much as Labour members do.

Christine Grahame *rose—*

Anas Sarwar: We must know the truth behind the political decision making. The inquiry is vital and it must run its course, but new information has come to light in the past week, and no real scrutiny has taken place of the political decisions that were made before and after the hospital was opened. [*Interruption*.]

You do yourself a disservice, Ms Grahame, I must say, in your response.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Speak through the chair.

Anas Sarwar: Nicola Sturgeon, John Swinney and Shona Robison have not given testimony at the inquiry and have not been cross-examined. Without that, we will never have the full picture of what happened.

There is a further risk. If political decision making is not examined, ministers will attempt to use the final report of the inquiry as proof that the problems were contained entirely within the health board and could not have been prevented by Government intervention. That claim cannot be allowed to stand without proper scrutiny. Jeane Freeman has given evidence, and that is welcome, but she was appointed health secretary in 2019. We need those who were in office in 2015 to answer questions, too.

I will speak directly about the families, who are among the most remarkable people that I have ever met. I have the privilege of calling Kimberly Darroch a friend. Although the whistleblowers helped us to get to this point, we would not be where we are without the courage of the families who refused to stay silent. Kimberly has fought not because it will bring back her amazing daughter, Milly Main, but because she is determined that no other family should endure what she has endured. That takes unimaginable strength and courage. To Kimberly and to all the families: thank you. The dignity that you have shown has been extraordinary. You have fought for years to protect others, and you are the very best of Scotland.

I will turn to a couple of other issues. Although, understandably, much of the attention has been on the children, infections in adults have not been given the level of scrutiny that they deserve. Those families still do not have answers; there has been no independent oversight of their concerns; and they are being asked to trust the same system that has failed other families. If they believe that there is a link between infection and the loss of their loved ones, they deserve the truth and answers, just like any other family.

Finally, although attention has been focused on the water supply, there must also be full scrutiny of the ventilation system and its potential link to infection and risk to life.

When I say that this is the biggest scandal in the history of the Parliament, let me be clear about what has happened. Parents who should have been focused solely on supporting their child through cancer treatment were instead met with denial, delay and institutional self-protection. Whistleblowers were ignored, gaslit, lied to and punished for speaking out. Families were dismissed, patronised and made to feel as though they were making a fuss, when they just wanted answers about their children. Clinicians and staff who raised concerns were bullied and victimised by NHS managers, who are paid for by the public purse. Powerful institutions chose their reputations over their responsibility to patients.

The health board and SNP ministers denied, downplayed and delayed. They did not put patient safety first. They did not put families first. They closed ranks. This is not about the NHS front-line staff—nurses, doctors, cleaners and porters—who care with compassion and professionalism under immense pressure every day. They are not to blame. The failure lies with senior leadership and a culture of secrecy and poor governance, enabled by incompetent ministers who repeatedly

denied the scale of the problem and dismissed legitimate concerns. The public inquiry is vital and must run its course, but it cannot be used as a shield for secrecy or inaction on the issues that confront patients today.

That is why I am asking for the Parliament to vote for two things: first, the release of all ministerial and officials' communication and discussions relating to the Queen Elizabeth scandal, and the taking of steps to ensure that none of the vital files—be they WhatsApp messages or messages on personal servers—are systematically deleted, as we know the Government likes to do; secondly, a real investigation into political decision making, because people deserve to know what happened and ministers should be held to account.

Families deserve answers, accountability and justice. The direct questions that I posed to the Cabinet Secretary for Health and Social Care must be answered during the debate if the Government is to have a shred of credibility with the public.

I urge MSPs to put aside their political affiliation and do what is right by patients and families by voting for the motion.

I move,

That the Parliament condemns the culture of secrecy and cover-up that has hidden the truth from patients, families and campaigners and denied them justice in many NHS scandals in Scotland in recent years; recognises that, as the Scottish Hospitals Inquiry draws to a close, many serious questions remain regarding the decision-making process and the role of the Scottish Government; considers that political decision making should be considered by the inquiry, and calls for the Scottish Ministers to authorise the immediate full disclosure and preservation of all communications connected to the contaminated water and inadequate ventilation system and the premature opening of the Queen Elizabeth University Hospital, as well as any subsequent communications relating to the handling of the infection and its cover-up.

15:19

The Cabinet Secretary for Health and Social Care (Neil Gray): I am grateful for the opportunity to speak in the debate. The matters that are before us today go to the heart of public trust and patient safety, and I begin my speech by extending my deepest sympathies to every family who has lost a loved one and to every patient who has suffered harm or distress in connection with the issues that are being examined by the inquiry. No words spoken in the chamber can undo what they have endured, but it is essential that the Parliament acknowledges their pain, their courage and their determination to seek truth. Their persistence has been extraordinary. It is because of them that these matters are now subject to full independent scrutiny, with the determination that no other family has to suffer in the same way. I pay tribute to every single one of them.

NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde was responsible for the delivery and oversight of the Queen Elizabeth university hospital project. It was the largest hospital build in Scotland's history, and was designed to be a flagship for modern healthcare, serving patients for decades to come. However, when serious and deeply concerning allegations were brought to the Government's attention in 2018 about safety, construction standards and ventilation systems and the potential links to infection and patient harm, it became clear that those concerns could not be dealt with through internal reviews alone.

That is why the Scottish Government established a statutory public inquiry, to ensure that those affected could have their questions answered in a forum that is independent, rigorous and empowered by law. The Government's intention in doing so was clear and unequivocal—to uncover the full truth about what happened, why it happened and what lessons must be learned.

Before I turn to the substance of the motion, I note again to the chamber two important points of clarity. First, neither the Scottish ministers nor anyone in the chamber should prejudge the outcome of the inquiry or seek to influence the independent chair. That would be wholly inappropriate and, indeed, a breach of the very principles that are set out in the Inquiries Act 2005.

Secondly, the police and the Crown Office and Procurator Fiscal Service have independent responsibilities to investigate and prosecute as they see fit. There is a live, on-going police investigation into patient deaths. For that reason, I will not be commenting further on that particular matter.

I turn to the motion that was lodged by Mr Sarwar. I understand the motivation behind it. When something goes badly wrong in a project of this scale and significance, it is entirely reasonable to want every possible line of responsibility examined. However, although I recognise the concern that underpins the motion, I cannot support it, because it would be incompatible with the legal framework that governs the inquiry.

All statutory public inquiries in Scotland operate under the 2005 act, which was passed by Parliament. That act exists to protect the independence, integrity and credibility of inquiries. It gives inquiry chairs powerful legal tools—the power to compel witnesses, to require the production of documents, to take evidence on oath and to determine what evidence is relevant to their terms of reference. Those powers are not held by ministers but by the independent inquiry chair.

Any member who seeks to support the motion's attempt to influence the action of the chair is calling for the Government to act in a manner that is incompatible with that legislation, which, of course, we cannot do. The separation in the act is fundamental. It ensures that no Government, present or future, can direct, restrict or shape an inquiry to suit political convenience; it ensures that the search for truth is not compromised by external pressure; and it ensures that the families who have placed their trust in the process can have confidence that it is conducted without fear or favour.

To instruct or to attempt to instruct a statutory inquiry to examine particular categories of evidence after the inquiry has been established and is under way would be a breach of that framework. It would undermine the very independence that gives the inquiry its legitimacy. It is therefore not for Scottish ministers—or, indeed, for the Parliament—to decide what evidence Lord Brodie should or should not consider; that responsibility rests with him alone.

Jackie Baillie (Dumbarton) (Lab): I am grateful to the cabinet secretary for giving way. You were asked a question about validation of every section of the hospital. That is not about the inquiry; it is about now. You have a responsibility as cabinet secretary to provide assurance to the public.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Please speak through the chair.

Neil Gray: That is a matter for the inquiry. Lord Brodie has instructed independent evidence as to the hospital's current infrastructure. That evidence was provided by Mr Poplett, and it goes into the detail of the situation that is currently before the hospital. Therefore, that is a matter for the inquiry.

Anas Sarwar: Is it validated—yes or no?

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Mr Sarwar, you have had an opportunity to state your case. I would be grateful if you were not making interventions from a sedentary position.

Neil Gray: That is a matter for the inquiry to determine. There are live inquiries under way that must be allowed the respect to conclude their business before we make a conclusion on the evidence before us.

I give way, finally, to Daniel Johnson.

Daniel Johnson (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab): I am grateful, but the cabinet secretary is mistaken. There are questions about what happened, but the question that Ms Baillie put to him is: what is the current status of the hospital? Are those facilities validated and declared safe—yes or no?

Neil Gray: That is a matter for the inquiry. [*Interruption*.] I will come to this. It is a matter for Lord Brodie to determine the evidence that he seeks, relevant to the terms of reference. He has received evidence from independent experts—

Brian Whittle (South Scotland) (Con): Will the cabinet secretary give way?

Neil Gray: No, I will not. I am sorry, but I have given way for the final time.

Lord Brodie has taken independent evidence as to the current situation with the hospital. The Government has also sought assurance from Healthcare Improvement Scotland as to the current safety of the hospital, and it has set out its consideration of the current safety of the hospital, which gives us assurance as to its safety.

Lord Brodie and his team have led the inquiry in exactly the spirit that I have set out. The inquiry is not beholden to the Government, the health board or any political party. It is beholden only to the law, the evidence and the people affected by these events. Thousands of documents have been reviewed. Detailed technical evidence has been heard. Witnesses across the system—clinicians, engineers, managers, civil servants and ministers—have had their evidence examined. Serious and troubling issues have emerged, and I do not shy away from that. However, it is precisely because the issues are serious that it is so important that the inquiry is allowed to complete its work properly without interference or political direction.

The Scottish Government has complied fully with the inquiry. We have provided all evidence relevant to its terms of reference that has been requested. That includes ministerial communications, briefings, submissions, minutes of meetings, Cabinet papers and records, from the earliest conception of the hospital programme through the development of the business case, the construction phase and the approvals that followed. All ministerial decision making connected to the project has already been made available at the request of the inquiry. Those documents have been supplemented by testimony from senior officials and from former and current ministers. If Lord Brodie considers that further information, clarification or testimony is required, the Government will provide it—I can confirm that unequivocally today.

I turn to the substance of the Greens' amendment. I am sympathetic to the focus that has been placed on ensuring patient confidence in safety. In that regard, I asked Healthcare Improvement Scotland in March last year to conduct a further review of the progress made by NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde in meeting health and safety requirements and

recommendations, as set out in the action plan from the Queen Elizabeth university hospital assurance of infection prevention and control inspection of June 2022.

In addition, there was a focused inspection of the emergency department in July 2024 as part of the wider NHS GGC emergency department review, which resulted in a number of actions, which have also been addressed. HIS subsequently confirmed that it was reassured by the response to that review by NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde—assurance that has continued through a series of further inspections. Taking that commitment to patient safety further, the Scottish Government has introduced a patient safety charter as an additional part of the Patient Safety Commissioner for Scotland Act 2023, taking into account the concerns and experiences that resulted in the proposals for Milly's law.

It is hugely important that the work of the commissioner leads to honesty, learning and improvement, and it is for that reason that the Government will support the Greens' amendment today.

We cannot support the Conservatives' amendment, for the same reasons regarding political interference in the inquiries that I have set out in regard to Mr Sarwar's motion. However, I give Mr Whittle my assurance again that this Government is absolutely committed to transparency. I have been crystal clear with NHS boards about my expectations of protections for whistleblowers—I have set that out repeatedly to Mr Kerr when he has questioned me on the matter—and I am clear that any further issues raised by patients, families and whistleblowers beyond the inquiry will be listened to.

The final hearings have now concluded. We are at a critical point in the process. The families who have waited so long for answers deserve nothing less than a report that is careful, thorough and gets to the truth. However, we must not pre-empt the inquiry's work, nor should we undermine its authority. When the report is published, Scottish ministers will consider its conclusions with the seriousness that they demand. We will respond in full, and we will take action wherever it is required to ensure that lessons are learned and patient safety is strengthened.

I move amendment S6M-20561.1, to leave out from "condemns" to end and insert:

"pays tribute to the brave patients, families and whistleblowers who have campaigned tirelessly for justice in the Scottish Hospitals Inquiry; recognises the pain, trauma and grief faced by patients and their families at the heart of this inquiry, and notes that the inquiry was established in 2019 to ensure that every individual impacted is able to get the truth that they deserve; notes the fundamental importance of the independence of inquiries, which are enshrined in legislation, under the control of an independent chair, and which operate transparently, reaching conclusions that are not to be influenced by ministers or other vested interests, and agrees, therefore, that the independent Scottish Hospitals Inquiry Chair must be given the time and space to consider all the available evidence."

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I remind members that reacting to what is being said in the chamber is one thing, but I will not accept running commentaries on what is being said.

15:29

Brian Whittle (South Scotland) (Con): I do not want to be speaking in this debate, because it has come about because of failure—a failure that has led to men, women and children dying unnecessarily in a building built and run by an organisation whose foundational purpose is to heal.

I have to say how disappointed I am to see the lack of Scottish National Party Glasgow MSPs in the chamber.

For the vast majority of patients who have visited the Queen Elizabeth university hospital, their care has been as excellent as any that the NHS is able to deliver, and the outcomes have been as good as they would be in any hospital in Scotland. The staff who work in the Queen Elizabeth campus are as diligent and professional as any in the NHS, and their hard work should not be diminished. The fact that there are broken parts does not mean that the whole is broken.

When we speak of this failure, the last thing that any of us should want is anyone to cancel an appointment or avoid seeking help because, in speaking about the issue, we have given the impression that it is too dangerous for them to go. On that point, I go back to the cabinet secretary's response to Jackie Baillie. When she asked him a direct question—"Is the hospital now safe for patients?"—he was unable to answer it. How on earth can we expect patients to go to the hospital and feel safe?

Neil Gray: I have no doubt that the hospital is safe. The question that I was asked by Jackie Baillie was on something different, which is subject to the terms of the inquiry. That is why I could not answer it in full detail. But, yes, the hospital is safe.

Jackie Baillie: Would the member take an intervention from me?

Brian Whittle: I shall stay seated.

Jackie Baillie: Thank you. What the cabinet secretary described was not my question. I think that he is misinterpreting it. If he had paid attention to what was going on in the inquiry, he would

know that the general rooms in the hospital have not been validated.

Would you agree that it is his responsibility that the hospital should be safe?

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Again, through the chair.

I can give you the time back, Mr Whittle.

Brian Whittle: At the end of the day, the buck stops with the Scottish Government—it runs that public service.

I will choose my words carefully in this debate, but ministers should not mistake that caution for a lack of anger on my part or among members on the Conservative benches.

NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde, in its closing statement to the Scottish hospitals inquiry, said:

> "Pressure was applied to open the hospital on time and on budget, and it is now clear that the hospital opened too early. It was not ready."

Scottish Conservatives, as an Opposition party—and, to be frank, the Parliament—cannot, in all conscience, allow that statement to go by without comment or scrutiny. At the least, we would expect some urgent action.

We know that, in 2015, the then Cabinet Secretary for Health, Wellbeing and Sport, Shona Robison, told the Health and Sport Committee categorically that an independent audit of the hospital would be completed before its opening. We also know that that did not happen. Who has the gravitas to put pressure on a hospital to open before safety checks are complete? That list cannot be long.

What is really concerning is that the timing of the opening has been brought into question just before an election. The silence and obfuscation from the Scottish Government only serves to feed the growing disquiet and lack of trust.

At best, the Scottish Government is guilty of having a chronic lack of oversight or governance of the building and the delivery of such a significant construction. The worst-case scenario hardly bears thinking about. If the Scottish Government—as has been levelled at it—knew about, or was party to, the pressure that was brought to bear on a hospital to open without the audit that Shona Robison had said would take place, and which subsequently did not, just to help with an SNP election campaign, it, along with the NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde board, is guilty of gross negligence leading directly to the tragic deaths that we have all heard about. I sincerely hope that that is not the case.

That is why, given Nicola Sturgeon's position as Cabinet Secretary for Health and Wellbeing when building commenced, and given that she was First Minister when the hospital opened, we have to ask that she come to the chamber to give a statement and answer questions from colleagues, because Ms Sturgeon is uniquely placed to speak to the issue.

I believe that there is general agreement among members across the chamber that, when it comes to health and social care, we should not play politics. However, that willingness to put petty politics aside has to be grounded in an acceptance that, where there is a need for genuine scrutiny and challenge, the Government—and, indeed, the national health service—will participate meaningfully in that scrutiny and in that debate.

Time and again, when questions arise about a decision when a project does not go to plan or when a scandal rears its head, politicians, patients and the public all face the same brick wall. Then come the years of campaigning, which are met by everything from obfuscation to outright denial until, slowly, inch by creeping inch, the truth reveals itself. It should not be like that.

Of course, if the Scottish Government or health boards have a defence for the failings, they should make that clear, but getting to the truth should not be harder than getting blood from a stone. Allowing years to go by and millions of pounds to be spent on investigations before admitting the truth only compounds the original failure. Mistakes can happen for all kinds of reasons. Sometimes, those mistakes are impossible to see coming or are impossible to avoid. However, when they were seen coming, when they were avoidable and when there were consequences of poor decisions or poor planning, there must be accountability, responsibility and honesty.

In any organisation, the culture flows from the top down. Although the First Minister has criticised NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde's culture, he may wish to remember that his Government sits at the top of the whole of Scotland's healthcare system. If he wants to know how to change the NHS's culture, maybe he should start by looking a bit closer to home. By avoiding scrutiny in the latest scandals and by wrapping as much as possible into the latest inquiry, the Scottish Government seems hellbent on ensuring that the election has passed—hiding behind saying, "Let's wait for the inquiry"—before it needs to answer questions.

We all speak about keeping politics out of health, but, by taking the stance that the Government has, it is dragging politics into health, because we cannot be expected to let these catastrophic failures go unquestioned. That would be gross dereliction of duty and it would let down those who have been so badly affected by these failings. The priority must be to restore confidence

and trust for patients and staff alike. Silence will not cut it. We, on the Conservative benches, will not allow it.

I move amendment S6M-20561.2, to insert at end:

"; notes with concern the impact on patients, staff and others resulting from the ongoing questions about the safety of the Queen Elizabeth University Hospital; calls on the Scottish Government to provide clear and explicit guarantees to the public that any issues raised by patients, families and whistleblowers are listened to and fully investigated; believes that the repeated lack of candour by both NHS boards and the Scottish Government in respect of the Queen Elizabeth University Hospital and other scandals is unacceptable; further believes that this lack of openness has placed a greater burden on patients, families and NHS staff and contributed to a growing loss of public trust, and calls, therefore, on Nicola Sturgeon to request to make a personal statement, with questions and answers, to the Scottish Parliament, given her role as Cabinet Secretary for Health and First Minister during the construction and opening of the Queen Elizabeth University Hospital."

15:37

Gillian Mackay (Central Scotland) (Green): As others have, I begin by paying tribute to the tireless efforts of the families who have campaigned so hard to shine a light on what went wrong at the Queen Elizabeth university hospital. They have often faced shocking treatment and have been labelled as troublesome or difficult when they were just trying to get justice for their loved ones. The focus of my contribution will be on the impact on the families, the current and future patients and the staff who are working at the hospital, all of whom may be suffering extreme distress while the revelations about who knew what and when are made public.

Having to go through what the families have gone through, let alone seeing one's family stories and grief played out in public, is something that I am sure none of us can even imagine. Having to fight to have their voices heard and to go through a long public inquiry has also been traumatic. I cannot imagine how it must feel for them to be watching what is going on in the Parliament.

Clearly, things have gone wrong and there have been issues with water and ventilation, as well as issues around decision making. The question now is how we demand accountability and start to rebuild the trust that has been so horribly fractured by the episode. In order to understand the impact that the incidents have had on trust, we need to examine the testimonies of those who have been affected.

Cancer diagnoses are life-changing, traumatic events. Patients and their families should not have to worry about the safety of the hospital where they are being treated. NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde admitted in its closing submission:

"A patient diagnosed with such a condition, and the families supporting them must have confidence in the buildings and the systems within them. They should be able to devote all of their attention to their treatment, not concerns about the environment in which that treatment takes place."

Unfortunately, as we all know, that was not the case for some patients at the Queen Elizabeth university hospital. In a recent article on the BBC News website, one mum, whose daughter contracted an infection when she was little, said:

"A hospital is supposed to be your safe place where you go to ask for help".

She said that she still feels traumatised and lives in fear that her child will relapse and have to go back into hospital. As a parent, having a child admitted to hospital because they are unwell is frightening enough, but to have the weight of the fear of another infection hanging over you must be unbearable. Tragically, that mother and another mother whose child caught an infection say that they still live with survivor's guilt due to the fact that their children are alive while others died. No parent should have to carry that burden.

After having experienced such pain, fear and trauma, having then to campaign to get the truth about what happened to your child is unthinkable. We owe it to those families to get to the bottom of what happened, to not use this as a political football but to shine a light on the inquiry, pay heed to its findings and keep asking questions of the Government and the health board about how we can ensure that this never happens again.

Carol Mochan (South Scotland) (Lab): I thank the member for her speech and for mentioning the families in the way that she has. It is much appreciated.

Given what the member is saying, will she support our motion, in order to ensure that we get immediate disclosure of the information that we need?

Gillian Mackay: I confirm that we will support the motion at decision time.

Although extensive remedial work has been done to the building, people will have been frightened and worried by the series of headlines about infections. It is up to both NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde and the Scottish Government to reassure people that, when they are treated for a serious illness such as cancer, they will be safe. The poor communication between the health board and patients and their families has been a stand-out revelation during the inquiry. Likewise, clinical staff deserve to know that they are working in a safe environment, so that they can get on with the incredible work they do. Their efforts should not be hampered by working in a building that threatens their patients' safety. Frankly, they

should not have to worry about that. It is not their job to do so, and they have been failed too.

Whistleblowing staff have also been let down. One microbiologist said that she felt discouraged from speaking up at infection control meetings. Another senior doctor said that she was advised by a senior colleague to "pipe down" or she would find things hard professionally. She has previously said that she had been flagging concerns about the building since 2014 and was advised not to put anything in writing.

Staff need to know that, when they raise concerns, they will be listened to. Although NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde has accepted that its previous criticisms of the whistleblowers were neither helpful nor fair, it is clear that the whistleblowing system failed, and that will not be conducive to others coming forward with concerns in the future. The health board has a lot of work to do to assure staff that whistleblowers will be protected and, most importantly, taken seriously.

Much has been made of the fact that NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde has admitted that pressure was applied to open the hospital on time and on budget, and it is now clear that the hospital opened too early. The board has since clarified that there was internal pressure, but that begs the question of how we have reached the point that a health board feels so under pressure to deliver that it sacrifices patient safety for the sake of remaining on budget. What series of decisions were taken, and how can we prevent anything like that ever happening again?

The on-going inquiries should be allowed to conclude in their own time, and any conclusions need to be acted on quickly and comprehensively. However, before those recommendations are available, we need to ensure that anyone attending the hospital can be fully confident that they are safe. The Scottish Government and the Cabinet Secretary for Health and Social Care must lead the way on that.

I move amendment S6M-20561.3, to insert at end:

"; acknowledges that recent revelations surrounding the Queen Elizabeth University Hospital will have been distressing for patients, their families and staff; understands that this could create uncertainty and fear regarding the safety of Scotland's hospitals and negatively impact staff morale; recognises that patient privacy has to be given the greatest consideration in the publication of any materials, and calls for the Scottish Government to outline how it will urgently restore confidence into the services delivered by NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde."

15:43

Alex Cole-Hamilton (Edinburgh Western) (LD): I am grateful for the opportunity to speak in this important debate. I am also grateful to Anas Sarwar for making Opposition time available for the debate. However, it should not be left to Opposition parties to make time for it. As we have heard, the scandal has rumbled on for more than seven years. At every point and at every development, the Government should have recognised that it should bring the issues to Parliament and explain the decisions that were taken and the developments that resulted, and that it should give reassurance to patients and staff with regard to their safety.

Like everyone else, I want to begin by addressing the issue of the families who have been affected by this awful situation. They trusted our health system and rightly expected their loved ones to be treated with care in a safe environment. Not only have they had to endure incredible trauma and heartbreaking loss, but they have been forced to endure years of unanswered questions. They have had to fight not only for the truth but simply to be listened to, and they have been forced to campaign while grieving deaths that should never have happened.

We must also thank the staff whose bravery has been manifest today in the whistleblowing that we have heard about. We must recognise that they, too, have suffered ill effects due to the contaminated water supply at the Queen Elizabeth university hospital.

When it opened in 2015, the hospital was intended to be a flagship: a symbol of modern, world-class care and the jewel in the crown of our health service. Instead, it became the site of contaminated water systems, inadequate ventilation and fatal infections. Vulnerable children were exposed to avoidable risk—some lost their lives; others suffered harm that could and should have been prevented.

The Scottish hospitals inquiry has revealed not just a single failure but a catalogue of failures in the design of the hospital and in its construction, and in relation to infection control, governance and oversight. There were grave errors in decision making and then a failure—an abject failure—by the Government to take accountability.

There are serious questions to be answered here. As far back as March 2018, three children were being treated for infections that were likely linked to problems with the water supply at the hospital. In September that same year, child cancer patients were moved to a different ward—again, due to water supply problems.

We know that senior doctors at the hospital raised concerns about risks to patient safety, but they all fell on deaf ears. As a result, people died, including 10-year-old Milly Main, whose mother has since campaigned tirelessly for justice and answers. Today's motion rightly condemns the

culture of secrecy and cover-up that has characterised this scandal and too many other NHS scandals that have taken place under this Government. Time and again, families were kept in the dark, concerns were minimised and, crucially, warnings were not acted on. At the weekend, John Swinney admitted that, "It does look like" patients who acquired infections while being treated at the hospital, and their families, were lied to.

Too often, the instinct was to manage reputational risk rather than confront uncomfortable truths and own up to where mistakes were made. The inquiry has raised serious concerns about how information flowed, or failed to flow, among health boards, officials and ministers. Key questions still remain unanswered. Who knew? What did they know? Why was the hospital opened prematurely, despite the manifest safety concerns that we have all heard about today? Why have families had to fight for years for answers that they should have been given within days?

Those are not administrative questions; they are political ones. It is right that questions are asked of those who wielded power at the time, and that they are brought to account. If political pressure influenced the premature opening of the hospital, that must be examined. If communications were withheld, delayed or managed to control fallout, that must also be examined. If decisions were shaped by the optics of the situation rather than by patient safety, the Parliament and the public deserve to know why.

No Government should ever be allowed to hide behind the process when lives have been lost—not ever. Transparency is not optional; it is a moral obligation. That is why the Government must commit now to full disclosure of all communications and documents connected to the events at the hospital. Families should not have to fight through freedom of information requests and overcome legal barriers to get the truth about the events that resulted in the deaths of their loved ones. The families are not asking for sympathy or kind words; they are demanding real accountability and change, and they are right to do so.

We must learn from those failures so that they are never repeated. There must be independent oversight of hospital safety and design, and lines of accountability. There must be a culture in which whistleblowers and families are listened to and in which their concerns are treated with the respect and seriousness that they deserve, and then acted upon. It should go without saying that patient safety must always come before political reputation.

The families who have been affected by the failures at the hospital have shown extraordinary courage in their pursuit of the truth. The least that the Government owes them is transparency, accountability and a commitment to change, so that something like this is never, ever allowed to happen again.

The Deputy Presiding Officer (Annabelle Ewing): We now move to the open debate, with back-bench speeches of up to six minutes.

15:48

Carol Mochan (South Scotland) (Lab): Public trust in governance and decision making, whether at the local or national level, is crucial for our institutions and democracy. Transparency and accountability are equally as important. We in the Parliament would all agree that people who work in public service must strive to ensure that those values are upheld.

In 2015, the Queen Elizabeth university hospital campus opened its doors for the first time. It was celebrated as a super-hospital and welcomed as one of the most advanced healthcare facilities in the world, yet, 10 years later, this flagship hospital faces a serious scandal.

That is not only because the contamination of the hospital's water and ventilation system caused serious infection in child cancer patients and four deaths, but because of the subsequent secrecy, covering up and silencing of staff who tried to expose the truth. The cabinet secretary is shying away from answering questions that relate to the here and now. Families were gaslit, dismissed and denied the truth. We do not want that to happen again.

There are many failings that we can discuss in this debate—in leadership, accountability and transparency.

First, the board failed to listen to the families, doctors and whistleblowers who raised concerns from the beginning about problems with the water and ventilation system. The public inquiry heard first-hand accounts of management attempts to silence, threaten and belittle staff, and it is clear that whistleblowing procedures were not followed. The growing culture of ignoring staff and refusing to act on their concerns raises serious questions about management structures in and the leadership of our NHS.

It also raises concern about this SNP Government's oversight of our most valuable public asset. Problems with water systems were identified in 2015 and again in 2017, but the Scottish Government claims that it was first made aware of them in March 2018. However, as my colleague Anas Sarwar said, there are serious questions about whether that is true. We need some truth. Given that the Government says that it

was unaware of the issues in its brand-new super-hospital, it is clear that it failed to provide the oversight and effective leadership that was required.

Secondly, proper procedure failed and the hospital was opened before it was ready. The failure to carry out proper checks resulted in the premature opening of a facility that was not fit for purpose. Evidence to the inquiry shows that the risk of waterborne infection was foreseeable and that it had been raised but was not acted upon. That was a serious error in judgment.

The pressure to open the hospital on time and within budget, whether that came from within the hospital or above, must be heavily scrutinised. It is our job in the Parliament to scrutinise those issues. All those who were involved in decision making, be that operational or political, must be held to account—that is why we are discussing the issue in this debate. The culture of secrecy and cover-up must come to an end.

Thirdly, NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde failed to accept that the water and ventilation systems could be the cause of infections. It failed to admit serious errors in judgment, and it failed to take accountability. In doing so, it prevented transparency and withheld the truth from patients and families. Staff were neglected, families were ignored, and the public were denied the truth.

We are debating this issue today because the Queen Elizabeth university hospital was allowed to open before it should have. We must question that. Families were denied the truth about the role of the hospital in causing the infections and deaths of patients. The Scottish Government is refusing to take any accountability for the errors that were made under its watch. Accountability is what we must discuss, and the Scottish Government was accountable for what happened in our NHS.

I cannot begin to imagine the pain and trauma that those who are affected by the scandal have faced; they are brave to have spoken out. To lose a child to an avoidable death or to have them suffer a severe infection is one thing, but to be denied the truth about the true cause of their death or infection is quite another. Patients and families are angry, and they should be. What they seek now is truth and justice, and that is what they deserve.

I urge the Government to authorise the immediate and full disclosure and preservation of communications that relate to the contaminated water and inadequate ventilation systems and the premature opening of the hospital, as well as any further communications that relate to the issues that we are discussing. By not publishing those documents, we would risk abandoning transparency, diminishing the public's trust and repeating the same mistakes.

There were problems with the hospital from the very beginning. Long waiting times, staff vacancies and poor infrastructure. The SNP cannot deny its incompetence in overseeing the development and opening of a hospital that would go on to have so many problems.

If the Scottish Government has nothing to hide, it should prove it. Providing full transparency over this matter is the least that the Scottish Government can do for those whistleblowers and families, and it is the least that the patients, families and staff deserve.

15:55

Clare Haughey (Rutherglen) (SNP): I remind members of my entry in the register of members' interests, which shows that I hold a bank nurse contract with NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde.

I will begin, as others have, by expressing my deepest sympathies to all those who are grieving the loss of a loved one in the circumstances that we are discussing. Patients, families and whistleblowers have shown incredible tenacity and dignity as they have shared their testimony, campaigned tirelessly for justice and made every effort to ensure that the truth is determined.

A hospital should be a safe place where people seek not only medical help but reassurance, care and comfort throughout their treatment. Relatives should feel confident leaving their loved ones in the care of the NHS. That safe place can be provided only in a trusted environment. Patient safety is one of the Government's key priorities, and it is fundamental that the patients and families who use our hospitals are reassured that they are accessing safe clinical environments. As an MSP who has constituents who attend the Queen Elizabeth university hospital as patients as well as constituents who work there, it is critically important to me that they can have confidence in the ability of the hospital to operate safely.

NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde has rightly offered

"a sincere and unreserved apology"

to patients and families affected by the events under investigation in the hospitals inquiry. However, I know that, for many people, including colleagues across the chamber, that is simply not enough without thorough and comprehensive assurance.

It was reassuring to read the independent evidence of the expert Andrew Poplett, who provided evidence to Lord Brodie's inquiry in September last year. He concluded that the

hospital's current procedures for managing the water system are safe, suitable and currently extremely well managed. He also concluded that significant improvements have been made in the hospital's water system.

However, the fact remains that people have been badly let down in the past, and lessons must absolutely be learned as a result. Only robust investigation will get us answers to ensure that families get the truth that they want and need. That is precisely why the Scottish Government established a public inquiry, led by Lord Brodie, which I have every confidence will provide the scrutiny and the truth that is required by the families affected and by everyone else.

While the hospitals inquiry is under way, it is completely inappropriate for ministers to comment on or narrate what is going on around the issues that it is investigating. Not only would it be completely inappropriate for ministers to seek to intervene or suppress any inquiries, pre-empt their findings or do anything other than allow the process to continue, it would also be unlawful.

The inquiry is being held under the UK-wide Inquiries Act 2005, and I will take a moment to discuss that, as we are talking about a well-established piece of legislation. Before it came into force, at least 10 different pieces of legislation had been used to provide a statutory basis for inquiries in the UK. The 2005 act and the subsequent Inquiries (Scotland) Rules 2007 have a range of important provisions, including giving an inquiry's chair the power to compel the attendance of witnesses or the production of documents; allowing for evidence to be taken under oath; a statutory duty to secure public access to evidence and documents; and the ability for core participants to recover reasonable legal expenses, helping them to meaningfully participate in proceedings. For those reasons, the decision to establish the Scottish hospitals inquiry under the 2005 act was therefore a significant and important one.

Perhaps the key provision in the 2005 act is that the initial establishment of the terms of reference is the last point of ministerial input or influence before any inquiry concludes. Once that happens, inquiries are completely independent of ministers. That is written into the legislation for very good reason, and it is essential that they are able to operate in a truly independent manner.

When my Opposition colleagues lined up to welcome the then Cabinet Secretary for Health and Sport's intention to establish a statutory inquiry under the 2005 act, I remember Mr Sarwar in particular stressing that the inquiry had to be genuinely independent, and he was absolutely correct. However, the point should be very familiar to colleagues, as it has been clearly and repeatedly stated in the chamber, not least by the Cabinet Secretary for Health and Social Care, Neil Gray last March, when he made a statement on the hospitals inquiry's interim report.

Anas Sarwar: Does Clare Haughey recognise that reassuring the public about patient safety and what is happening in the hospital today does not contradict the role of the inquiry? Patients today have a right to know whether the ward and the units have been validated and are therefore safe. That does not contradict the investigations of the inquiry. It should be a basic requirement of Government to give that reassurance.

Clare Haughey: As I referenced earlier in my speech, Lord Brodie has already instructed someone to make inquiries about the safety of the hospital, and they reported that they felt that the safety of the hospital's water system was being maintained.

It is absolutely fundamental that inquiries can operate transparently and reach conclusions that are not influenced by ministers or any other type of vested interest.

When Lord Brodie spoke ahead of the first diet of hearings in the hospitals inquiry, he spoke first of patients and their families. He said that his first priority was to understand their experiences and to use that to inform subsequent lines of investigation. Therefore, I will finish as I began, by bringing my focus back to them. I sincerely hope that, when the inquiry's final conclusions and recommendations are published, the patients and their families can finally gain a sense of closure and of being heard, and that they feel as though their questions have been answered. For their sake, Lord Brodie must be given time and space to consider all the evidence, complete his work and get to the truth that they deserve.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I remind members that back-bench speeches are of up to six minutes and that there is no time in hand.

16:02

Davy Russell (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab): My heart is heavy as I think about the families affected who have had to endure this avoidable tragedy. The Queen Elizabeth university hospital was designed to be a flagship and should have hit the ground running, but it saddens me to say that it is now infamous—it is more like the Titanic.

Children and adults died. Many people caught serious infections, on top of the illnesses that they went into hospital with. Those people and their families put their trust in Scotland's health service but were badly let down, although not by the excellent and hard-working staff, I must say. It is a

tragedy. It is shameful and disgraceful, and it is inexcusable, as it could have been avoided. That is what happens when a Government applies pressure for political reasons and totally disregards a report that warned about the high risk of infection for vulnerable patients undergoing treatment. Let us face it—the individuals who died came into hospital to try to get better but, alas, that did not happen.

The way that I see it, one of three things happened. First, someone was aware of the report, received it, filed it and did nothing, in which case we are looking at a case of criminal negligence. The second possibility is that someone looked at the report, did not understand it and did nothing with it, in which case we are looking at a case of criminal incompetence, if there is such a thing—I am not quite sure, but the SNP hierarchy of the period will be hoping that there is not. The third possibility is that someone looked at the report and understood exactly what it said, which is that the most vulnerable were at risk, but pressed on with the opening of the hospital regardless of the consequences, because it suited the political aims of the Scottish Government at the time. In that case, we are looking at just plain criminality.

None of these things would have happened if the Government of the day had put the patients and the most vulnerable in society at the heart of its decisions. The old motto of "safety first" was certainly not considered or applied; it was replaced with secrecy, denial, untruths and misinformation. I suggest that the adage should instead be, "It wasn't me; it was a bad boy that done it and they ran away. If we were independent, we'd be all right."

The situation is part of a wider pattern of non-accountability from this SNP Government, which is currently being taken to court for not disseminating information that was requested by its own Information Commissioner, despite having more than 10,000 extra civil servants to process such things since the pandemic. We should sack them all and hire 10,000 new nurses.

The Cabinet Secretary for Justice and Home Affairs misled the Parliament but keeps her job because what she did was not quite severe enough—well, you can think what you want about that. I have a letter here from Shona Robison in which she claims that fiddling around with tax bands is not intended to fool anyone. Given that it is worth a mere nine pence a day to some of my constituents, is the Government actually having a laugh? That is not serious government—it is just keeping the dishes spinning and the hype going.

As the current Cabinet Secretary for Health and Social Care knows, every single one of my constituents knows that it is sometimes quicker to take a taxi to the emergency unit than to wait on an ambulance. He hides behind mutilated statistics that do not reflect the sorry state of NHS waiting lists. However, SNP members' weak arguments in defence of the situation are always put in a nice, plausible way. They do that to con the public, because they think that the public do not know any better. They are treating my fellow Scots with contempt. Is it not true that the standard SNP story is to manipulate circumstances and data and then announce that it is doing a good job? I think that they actually believe their own tripe—sorry, hype.

This Parliament was not created to be like the Russian Kremlin. My fellow Scots deserve better. If patients are misled on how long they can expect to wait to receive a hip replacement, shame on the Scottish Government. If sick children are put at risk because certain politicians want to have a bit of good press, shame on them. The people in this SNP cabal, who have no interest in accountability or in improving things for anyone other than themselves, should have a really good look at themselves, because history will not judge them kindly.

16:07

Annie Wells (Glasgow) (Con): Scotland is now confronting what many rightly regard to be one of the most serious healthcare failures in recent memory. After years of denial, NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde has now accepted that contaminated water systems at the Queen Elizabeth university hospital were, on the balance of probabilities, linked to serious infections in child cancer patients and to deaths. That admission did not come quickly, voluntarily or without a cost.

For years, families fought to have their experiences recognised. They did not ask for headlines or politics; they asked for honesty. Instead, they encountered delay, deflection and disbelief, while officials explored every possible explanation, except the one that was staring them in the face. Following closing submissions to the Scottish hospitals inquiry, the position has shifted dramatically. Although legal and political consequences will continue to unfold, our responsibility in the chamber is clear—to ensure transparency, accountability and justice for those who were failed.

For years, NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde insisted that there was no causal link between the hospital environment and patient infections. That position has now been abandoned. In its closing submissions, the board accepted that it is more likely than not that some bloodstream infections were connected to the hospital environment—particularly the water system; that infection rates fell only after remedial work was carried out in

2018; and that whistleblowers were not adequately listened to. Those are not minor concessions; they fundamentally alter the narrative.

The hospital opened to patients just 10 days before a general election. At that time, Nicola Sturgeon was First Minister, John Swinney was Deputy First Minister and Shona Robison was Cabinet Secretary for Health and Sport. For years, the SNP denied the problem and opposed a public inquiry into the hospital, before eventually U-turning. It ignored safety concerns and dismissed families who were grieving. Warnings were minimised and whistleblowers were called troublemakers rather than listened to.

Eighty-four child cancer patients were infected and at least two died. Police Scotland is now investigating multiple deaths that are linked to the QEUH campus. Those families deserve answers, not deflection, denial or silence. The SNP must be honest about who put pressure on NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde to open the hospital before it was safe to do so, what ministers knew and when they knew it.

This flagship Government project was a centrepiece of the SNP's 2015 general election campaign. Frankly, no one believes that ministers had zero role in overseeing it or in making decisions. If that was the case, that would be gross negligence. Those who were responsible, whether in the Government or the health board, must be held to account.

However, this is not only about the actions of ministers; it is about culture. We have heard repeated evidence of a defensive and closed management culture, of clinicians being discouraged from putting concerns in writing, of senior experts being dismissed and of parents being reassured while wards were quietly closed around them.

Families have described being misled and dismissed while children became seriously ill. The father of victim Molly Cuddihy said that the health board was "warned for years" about those issues. That is not a system learning from mistakes; it is a system protecting itself. That is why the motion matters.

We now know that the hospital opened before it was ready. We know that microbial risks were identified, yet patients were admitted regardless. The First Minister has acknowledged that there were cultural problems at the health board and that families appear to have been lied to. That is significant, but acknowledgement is not accountability. The health secretary has done nothing to hold those same health bosses accountable, and he has ignored our call to put the board into special measures.

That is why the call for full disclosure and the preservation of all relevant communications is essential, not optional. Communications relating to water contamination, ventilation failures, the opening of the hospital and the handling of infections must be released in full.

No organisation should be above scrutiny, no reputation should come before patient safety and no family should have to fight for years to be believed. The families are not seeking scapegoats—they want recognition, change and assurance that this will never happen again. The greatest injustice of all would be to allow such a failure to be repeated. That is why, given her role as the then health secretary and later as the then First Minister, Nicola Sturgeon should come forward and make a personal statement to the Parliament setting out what she knew, what she was advised of and what actions were taken under her leadership. That is what our amendment calls for, and it is what the victims want.

Kimberly Darroch, the mother of 10-year-old Milly Main, who died after contracting an infection while being treated for leukaemia in the hospital, said:

"I do believe that Nicola Sturgeon knows something. My message to her is to come forward and be honest."

I agree with Milly Main's mother, and that is why I urge every MSP to support our amendment. This Parliament owes them nothing less.

16:13

Emma Harper (South Scotland) (SNP): I, too, extend my deepest sympathies to the families who are involved.

I speak in support of the cabinet secretary's amendment, but I have to say that the fact that Labour has brought the motion today while Lord Brodie is considering the mass of material before him, with the ink on the final submissions and the statements barely dry, says a great deal about Labour's priorities and desperate political agenda. I do not think that it is in any way appropriate for this Parliament or members of it to seek to interfere or intervene in that independent inquiry.

Stephen Kerr (Central Scotland) (Con): Will the member give way?

Emma Harper: I do not think that I have time—I do not think that there is much time in hand.

The inquiry was set up under the Inquiries Act 2005, which is United Kingdom Government legislation. Last week in the chamber, our First Minister said:

"Lord Brodie must have the opportunity to consider and reflect on the evidence and to set out his conclusions."—[*Official Report*, 22 January 2026; c 13.]

I completely agree with that.

I must say, as someone who represents a constituent involved in campaigning for health services in my region, who was the target of fabricated and unauthorised quotes on a Labour Party leaflet—which, incidentally, was still being delivered through letterboxes last week, despite Labour's promise to withdraw it from circulation—

Jackie Baillie: Will the member take an intervention?

Emma Harper: No, I will not take any interventions. I think that you should apologise to the constituent.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Always speak through the chair, Ms Harper.

Emma Harper: We certainly want the independent inquiry, as set up by the SNP's health secretary at the time, to get to the truth of what happened at the Queen Elizabeth and at the Royal Hospital for Children and Young People. As the inquiry's remit states, that will ensure that

"any past mistakes are not repeated in future NHS infrastructure projects".

Without prejudicing that inquiry, I whole-heartedly welcome the acknowledgement before it by NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde that the board's response to and behaviour towards the whistleblowers who raised substantive and serious concerns were wholly unacceptable.

I am pleased that there has been a change in NHS GGC policies on how it responds to staff who raise issues of concern. I will not go into the specifics of what the inquiry has been looking at, but I encourage the Labour Party to consider the people who work on the front line in our health service and to see how it functions every hour of every day. If flaws, problems, challenges, issues, mistakes or miscalculations exist and impact on the delivery of a safe and patient-centred health service that serves our people, staff should and must be listened to; they should not be denigrated and ignored or have senior management question their professionalism.

I worked in the national health service and in healthcare in the USA for many years, as a registered nurse and clinical educator. I know that the plans and processes that are put in place can go wrong. What is meant to happen on paper is not always what happens in the real world of day-to-day healthcare. Through risk management processes, significant adverse event and near-miss reporting and root cause analysis review, steps are taken to put measures in place to identify, fix and learn from those issues. It is the staff who need to be the most respected and the most involved when it comes to that crucial function.

Without referring specifically to the on-going inquiry, I must say that, if a management team has found itself contacted by numerous whistleblowers on a single subject, it is clear that that team has badly managed its on-going relationship with staff, which should be at the core of the continuous improvement of our health service. That the end result of the breakdown of that relationship is, in the case of QEUH, an inquiry that has now lasted many years should be a lesson to every organisation in the country, but particularly in our health service, in how important listening to staff and whistleblowers is. It took courage and bravery for people such as Drs Redding, Peters and Inkster—health professionals who raised their concerns with management—to speak up and, as the board stated in front of Lord Brodie,

"it is accepted"

that the culture

"did not place appropriate emphasis on listening to staff and encouraging the raising of concerns."

I ask any health service staff who are watching the debate—every single one of the staff who are, on behalf of our country, saving lives and making our society a healthier place to live in, whether they work in maintenance, cleaning, catering or nursing, or are allied health professionals or doctors—if they have concerns about patient safety, see something that needs reporting or hear something that does not sound right, to please speak up and report it, because we all want a health service where the thousands and thousands of people who are in our NHS are listened to. I hope that there is unanimity in the chamber at least on that point.

Anas Sarwar: Will the member give way?

Emma Harper: I am closing—that is it. Thank you, Presiding Officer.

16:18

Paul Sweeney (Glasgow) (Lab): Having listened to speeches in this debate, particularly from the Government's side, it seems clear to me that the Government lives in fear of the cost of truth to our country, when it ought to be thinking about what the cost to our country is of lies and defence of misinformation.

Every family and every citizen of this country, when they are faced with the horrible circumstance of a relative, a friend or perhaps themselves being admitted to hospital in a crisis, wants some degree of certainty that the health service is equipped to meet their needs and save their lives. I cannot imagine the horror of realising not only that a child or relative has died, but that they died because of a system of failure, and because of lies and a lack of accountability.

That situation applies not only in the health service but across Government. It is a cultural problem in our country that has crept in slowly and almost imperceptibly over many years. Our country often tries to pride itself on being open and transparent. The Parliament was founded on those principles, and we created legislation such as the Freedom of Information (Scotland) Act 2002 to cast a light on the workings of Government. In recent years, however, it has increasingly felt as though we are dealing with a clique or a closed shop. There seems to be a system of self-preservation for those at the top, whether in the Government or in the bureaucracy, that does not apply to those who are elected to serve in our democracy. It is a culture that looks inwards and that treats politics as a game of insider and outsider, in which the concerns of the insider happen to be more important than the people they are meant to serve. That cuts to the core of every aspect of what has gone wrong in the Queen Elizabeth university hospital.

Jackson Carlaw (Eastwood) (Con): Is an illustration of that not the number of insurance claims that have been settled in the health service? When I first entered Parliament, there were very few, but now there are tens of millions. There is a rush to offer compensation, but there is no rush for those who were responsible for the problem in the first place to be held accountable. Is that not part of the culture to which Mr Sweeney refers?

Paul Sweeney: The member makes a very good point. To curtail and suppress things rather than holding people accountable, getting to the root cause of the problem and avoiding unnecessary consequences is a symptom of a wider disease. In many cases, those consequences include lives being lost unnecessarily.

I come from a shipbuilding background and I distinctly remember my first week at the shipyard. There was a huge sign above one of the sheds that said, “Lives depend on us doing our job right.” That is an important point to remember. In project management, there is a moral obligation to be accountable and honest, because the protection of human life is at the core of any big project, whether in healthcare, construction, aerospace or shipbuilding. Those are high-stakes projects, and there is a total responsibility to act with integrity at all levels in management and commissioning. If any perverse incentive exists to ensure that safety is overridden, it must be nipped in the bud, but that simply did not happen in this case.

We know that there were other expedient factors at play. We know that pressure existed. We know that the final product was not safe and that it caused harm to the public. It caused unnecessary death. Where is the accountability for that failure? It is no good just acknowledging it. Where is the system of accountability? Where is the deterrence so that such perverse behaviours do not occur again? As parliamentarians, and even as members of the public, how can we have confidence that that will not happen again? Whether we are talking about a ferry that does not work or a hospital that causes death, myriad other symptoms exist across the public sector in Scotland that are causes for concern and that are raised routinely in this Parliament. We must understand what the underlying culture is and how we can address it.

The protection and preservation of human life in our country should be our overriding concern. To simply be dismissed and told that what we are doing as parliamentarians in seeking to hold the Government to account in that regard is ultra vires is appalling to me. Can members of this Parliament not show some degree of pride in their work and in what they are meant to be doing? That is important to me and I hope that it is important to others.

Such complex projects involve many ethical dilemmas, but we must never compromise on standards or rush to meet deadlines by skipping quality or safety checks. There is an issue even with basic routine maintenance. When one of my colleagues in Glasgow, Councillor George Redmond, was admitted to the Glasgow royal infirmary, even the showers were not working. Basic infection control and prevention of disease measures are failing on an on-going basis in the city today. Where is the accountability for that failure? It is simply not good enough to say that we acknowledge that things might sometimes go wrong. Where is the root-cause analysis? Where is the escalation? Why does the cabinet secretary not have a chart on the wall of his office with daily and hourly updates in red pen to show what is being done to fix the problem? Where is the system of accountability?

We constantly have the circular feedback loop—the doom loop—involving health boards, integration joint boards, ministers and parliamentarians, but none of it ever results in consequences. It is in that respect that we need to question our role in public life. I hope that parliamentarians will think about that, regardless of the inquiry and what it concludes. Some matters are self-evident—they are certainly obvious to me, and they should be obvious to colleagues across the chamber.

16:25

Joe FitzPatrick (Dundee City West) (SNP): I welcome the opportunity to speak in this debate and to add my condolences to those who have lost

loved ones. We must not lose focus on the patients, families and whistleblowers who have campaigned tirelessly for justice as part of the Scottish hospitals inquiry. The pain and suffering of patients at Queen Elizabeth university hospital and their families is unthinkable. Those who have lost loved ones and have subsequently fought to establish the truth have my full support.

It should not happen in our NHS. The patients deserve better. We, as parliamentarians, expect and demand better. Full transparency is required to ensure that those who are impacted get the answers that they deserve. I am therefore grateful to Lord Brodie and the wider inquiry for ensuring that the voices of patients and their families are heard. I also welcome the First Minister's commitment to acting on Lord Brodie's recommendations when the full report is published.

I will use some of my time in this debate to mention those who are impacted by the actions of Sam Eljamel during his employment as a surgeon at NHS Tayside between 1995 and 2014. Many of Mr Eljamel's former patients are constituents of mine, and a number of colleagues in the chamber also represent those who are impacted by the actions of that former employee at Ninewells hospital in my constituency.

It is crucial that every effort is made to ensure that those who are living with the consequences of Mr Eljamel's actions get the answers that they deserve. I was therefore pleased that the Scottish Government established a public inquiry and an independent clinical review to give patients the option of a personalised review of their care, which would not have happened if there had been a public inquiry alone.

Brian Whittle: Does that not specifically illustrate the problem? The whistleblower came forward in 2009, Eljamel was allowed to leave in 2013, and the inquiry was started only in 2024. That speaks to our problem.

Joe FitzPatrick: It absolutely speaks to why it is important that those who have been impacted, some of whom are my constituents and some of whom I know personally, get the answers that they fully deserve.

It is to be welcomed that the independent clinical reviews were able to take place alongside the independent inquiry. The Government had to work hard for that to happen. As we all know, a public inquiry will tend to look at generalities, whereas the clinical reviews looked at what happened to many of Mr Eljamel's patients specifically. That is good. My colleagues in Tayside—for example, Liz Smith—have worked well on the issue on a non-party-political basis. That is important.

I welcome the Hon Lord Weir and Professor Stephen Wigmore as chairs of the public inquiry and the independent clinical reviews respectively, and I note that Professor Wigmore is supported by expert neurosurgeons.

The health secretary has met a number of former patients and I understand that he was left in no doubt about the anger and pain that have been caused. I welcome his engagement. I emphasise once more that we must not lose focus on the patients and their families.

The Scottish NHS is something that we should all be extremely proud of. All of us in the chamber and everyone who is watching across the country will have benefited enormously from the work of our incredible NHS workforce, and I take this opportunity to thank all our NHS staff, who work tirelessly every day. They are a credit to Scotland. However, as we have heard today, sometimes things do not go as planned. When that happens—it is important to note that that is in a small minority of cases—it is imperative that those who are impacted get the answers that they deserve.

In the most serious cases, such as that of Sam Eljamel at NHS Tayside and those at the Queen Elizabeth university hospital, a public inquiry allows for an independent review to get answers on behalf of patients, with recommendations to ensure that it never happens again and to restore faith in our NHS that might have been lost as a consequence. The independence of a public inquiry is paramount.

I reiterate my support for full transparency in all the cases that have been mentioned in the chamber today. When I was Minister for Parliamentary Business, I introduced the bill that became the Lobbying (Scotland) Act 2016 to ensure openness and accountability, which are the founding principles of our national Parliament. Ten years on, I welcome the fact that the Standards, Procedures and Public Appointments Committee is considering how the 2016 act is working in practice. The same principles of openness and accountability must apply to all public bodies, including our NHS, and that is exactly why the Scottish Government established the independent public inquiries into the cases that I have spoken about. I stress again the importance of the independence of that process.

The Labour motion cannot be supported by Parliament. It explicitly calls on the Parliament to undermine the public inquiry by immediately releasing information prior to Lord Brodie publishing his final report. Not only would that be disrespectful to Lord Brodie, but it would potentially be illegal and do an injustice to the patients, families and whistleblowers who should be at the centre of all our thoughts today.

16:31

Stephen Kerr (Central Scotland) (Con): Those last few comments from Joe FitzPatrick were absolute nonsense. The SNP talks about this motion that is before Scotland's Parliament being illegal. Its members say that we are somehow breaking the law by discussing the issue, although it is being discussed across the country on the news channels and in the newspapers. The idea that Scotland's Parliament somehow has to haud its wheesht and that we should not talk about such things is utterly ridiculous.

I have watched the Scottish National Party in opposition. I am old enough to remember when it was in opposition here, and I have watched it close up as an Opposition party at Westminster. Not for one minute would Neil Gray, his colleagues at Westminster, or those in the earlier sessions of this Parliament, when there was a Labour-Liberal Democrat coalition, have allowed a Government to do the things that the current Government is being accused of.

Alasdair Allan (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP): In the interest of accuracy, and lest the member has misunderstood what I understood Joe FitzPatrick said, he suggested not that it was illegal for the Parliament to discuss those matters but that it might be illegal for the Government to follow the advice in the motion.

Stephen Kerr: Yes—he said the motion.

Emma Harper surpassed herself with what she said. I have never heard such nonsense. Paul Sweeney is right. What kind of self-respecting parliamentarian begins to draw boundaries around the things that the Parliament is going to consider? It is just ridiculous.

The convener of the Health, Social Care and Sport Committee spent more than half of her speech erecting a barrier to prevent ministers from being held accountable by the Parliament, and we heard more of that from Joe FitzPatrick. That is typical SNP behaviour. Every time the SNP gets into scandalous difficulty, it erects a barrier and puts up a defence by saying, "Oh, let's not be political; let's be above party politics." That is very far from the culture of the SNP when it is in opposition, and it should be very far from the culture of those in opposition and, indeed, from the culture of the Parliament if we are to take ourselves seriously as parliamentarians, as Paul Sweeney suggested.

This is a political matter. The scandal did not happen by accident. It happened because a Government that, to be frank, has been in power for far too long, has stopped listening or questioning itself, has drunk the Kool-Aid and is dining out on its own propaganda. That is the legacy that the SNP Government leaves.

The Queen Elizabeth university hospital should have been a place of safety. Instead, for far too many families, it became a place of fear, infection and unimaginable loss. Families were told nothing. They were lied to, in fact, which is worse than nothing. The clinicians whom the leader of the Labour Party named during this debate stood up and spoke up, and they were brave. However, beyond being ignored, they were vilified and marginalised. Warnings were downplayed and reports were ignored.

One cannot help but conclude that the ministers in this Government—from that time, and even today—are either grotesquely incompetent or not telling the truth. Members can take their choice.

Anas Sarwar: Several SNP members have said that we must listen to the voices of doctors. At the start of my contribution I referenced three doctors, and it is because of them that we are where we are today in terms of making progress. Dr Redding, Dr Peters and Dr Inkster say that they are not satisfied with the conditions in the here and now. Why are they being ignored again, as they have been for the past 10 years, when they have been proven to be right and the Government has been proven to be wrong?

Stephen Kerr: Anas Sarwar is right to raise what he raises. It is for the very simple reason that whistleblowing is not respected by this Government. I refer members to my entry in the register of members' interests. The SNP talks a good game about whistleblowers, but it does not listen to them. I have heard the Deputy First Minister denigrate people who have acted as whistleblowers about areas within her responsibilities.

Neil Gray always says the right words, but nothing happens and the culture does not change. NHS Tayside is a very good example. This issue is another, and there are examples all across public services in Scotland. Wonderful, decent people work in the public services in this country, and they often see and experience things that cause them to raise concerns, and they are then victimised for speaking up. The establishment in those public services closes ranks, because its approach is all about reputational damage limitation. That is the problem at the heart of our public services—an unhealthy attitude towards whistleblowing, truth telling and candour.

The fact of the matter is that—these words are significant—"pressure was applied". Whatever the health board says now—at whomever's behest—to cover up more of the trails that have led us to this point, pressure was applied. That was not talk about pressure within the organisation; to apply pressure suggests something external.

Let us be absolutely clear that this whole episode is not a freak occurrence and it is not bad luck. It is the foreseeable consequence of decisions that were taken at the top, and that must extend to the Scottish ministers, driven by political priorities not patient safety. Yes, there was an election. Yes, there was a deadline. Yes, there was going to be a grand opening, similar to the grand launch of the ferries, with painted-on windows and fabricated funnels or whatever it was—another con trick.

Paul Sweeney: Will the member take an intervention?

Stephen Kerr: I wish that I could, but time does not allow.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Time is racing, Mr Kerr.

Stephen Kerr: I fundamentally believe that at the heart of all this lie an arrogance, a corruption, a dishonesty and a culture in which there is disregard—in fact, it goes beyond disrespect—for those who blow the whistle.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Mr Kerr, you will need to conclude.

Stephen Kerr: This Government is morally bankrupt. For the sake of Scotland, we must get it out of office.

16:38

Christine Grahame (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP): I begin by sending my heartfelt condolences to the families affected, especially those with children. As a parent and grandparent, I cannot imagine their pain and loss, which I know will have no end.

I thank those who fought for a full determination of what happened at the Queen Elizabeth university hospital. I have challenged Anas Sarwar on rerunning a live inquiry that is structured strictly in terms of the Inquiries Act 2005 and the Inquiries (Scotland) Rules 2007. It has taken five years, and that period was no doubt extended by the Covid pandemic. Evidence to the inquiry has just concluded with parties' closing statements. I submit that the inquiry's approach has been thorough. Its report is to be issued later this year.

Commentary on the evidence is unavoidable, but commentary on the outcome is not helpful; for me, it undermines confidence in the independent inquiry process. I despair at anyone politicising this extremely distressful and serious issue, so I repeat that the cabinet secretary decides the remit and the terms of reference, consulting the appointed inquiry chair on those terms of reference before they are finalised and published. That is the end of the Government's involvement in the running of the inquiry. From then on, the chair is wholly responsible for conducting the investigation within that agreed remit and those references.

There is a robust legal statutory framework to guarantee, in the interests of everyone, the independence of a public inquiry. This inquiry is chaired by Lord Brodie, who is a judge of the inner house, operating independently, but with the authority to call witnesses and review evidence, including from Government ministers, and to compel attendance of witnesses. I therefore take issue with the part of the Labour motion that says:

"recognises that … many serious questions remain regarding the decision-making process and the role of the Scottish Government"

and

"considers that political decision making should be considered by the inquiry".

In fact, Anas Sarwar recently called for John Swinney and Nicola Sturgeon to give evidence to the inquiry. That is political interference. Is Anas Sarwar suggesting that Lord Brodie has failed to call witnesses, and that his chairmanship is questionable or inadequate and not independent of politics?

Lord Brodie can call whom he wants and decide what documents and exchanges he sees, and he can compel any witness that he wants to come to the inquiry. The question in the chamber is, therefore: does the Parliament have confidence in Lord Brodie? That is a very serious question. Current political commentary on whom to ultimately blame is unavoidable, and I accept that—[*Interruption*.]

Stephen Kerr: This is nonsense.

Christine Grahame: I will take an intervention—[*Interruption*.]

Is the member actually saying that Lord Brodie is incompetent to chair the inquiry?

Stephen Kerr: Of course we are not suggesting that the judge is incompetent. What we are pointing to is the incompetence of the Government in not being able to give straight answers to straight questions.

What we are hearing is another speech from the same briefing; it is whataboutery—

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Mr Kerr, I think that Ms Grahame has got the gist.

Christine Grahame: I am trying to speak with my legal hat on—[*Interruption*.]

If Anas Sarwar is saying that certain witnesses should have been called and have not been called, that, for me, is a challenge to Lord Brodie. How can it not be?

I have said—[*Interruption*.]

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Members, could we please—

Christine Grahame: I hope that I did not overhear some—

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I did not hear anything—I am just hearing a lot of noise. I would like to hear the member who has the floor, and that is Christine Grahame. Please continue, Ms Grahame.

Christine Grahame: I think that I heard something highly critical of Lord Brodie; I hope that the official report staff picked it up.

Current political commentary on whom to ultimately blame is unavoidable—I accept that—but we should not be rerunning issues.

I want to be strict, I want people to be blamed and I want the matter to be sorted, but that should happen in the inquiry and not in the heat of political debate in the chamber.

The legal framework establishes independence, and the chair is independent, so I find it disgraceful that members—not only Mr Sarwar, but others in the chamber—seem to be undermining the entire independence of the process. That does a total disservice to grieving people.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: We move to closing speeches. I call Gillian Mackay to close on behalf of the Scottish Greens—[*Interruption*.]

I ask members just to listen. I am the chair, and I find it really discourteous to have all this backchat when I am speaking. I do not know how other members must feel.

I call Gillian Mackay, who is joining us remotely.

16:43

Gillian Mackay: We have heard many times from Government that we need to let the Scottish hospitals inquiry do its work, and to respect its outcome. I absolutely agree with that. Only then can we learn the lessons of what went wrong and how we can make sure that it never happens again.

However, I believe that we need to take action now to restore confidence in the hospital and in the board. We need to communicate clearly and reassuringly to patients, families and staff that the hospital is safe. We need to let people know that if they raise concerns, those will be taken seriously. We need to reassure patients and their families that if they seek treatment from NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde, they will be cared for by its incredibly hard-working and compassionate staff.

We also need to look to the future and consider how we ensure that the whole sorry episode is not repeated.

Anas Sarwar: I whole-heartedly welcome the comments from Gillian Mackay. On that basis, will she accept that, in order to reassure families and patients at the Queen Elizabeth, it is important that the Government clarifies whether the hospital and all the wards have been validated and are safe? Will she also agree that the concerns that those three doctors are raising should be listened to right now?

Gillian Mackay: It is critical that we ensure that people have confidence that, if they attend appointments at the Queen Elizabeth university hospital, it is safe. We also need to ensure that whistleblowing is safe, which I will come back to later in my contribution.

With new sites planned, such as University hospital Monklands in my region, we need to restore public confidence in the processes and reassure people that the new hospitals will be fully up to standard. We need to improve the culture across all boards because, as the Labour motion notes, NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde is not the only one to have been hit by scandal. There are consistent issues around governance and whistleblowing, with staff not being taken seriously. We have lots of policies and procedures around whistleblowing but, clearly, that does not always translate to staff feeling listened to or safe to raise concerns. Many will still be concerned about their jobs and careers.

Clearly, this is an emotive subject and it has been an emotional debate. Patients and families have experienced trauma and suffering in a place where they should have felt safe. Tensions are running high, which is understandable, but what is most important is that we learn from this and ensure that it never happens again. Yes, we have to get to the bottom of what went wrong, and yes, there should be political accountability, but we do not serve the interests of the families that are at the heart of it when we play political point scoring with their stories. I fear that some of them will be disappointed with some of what has happened in this debate.

The privacy of those who have suffered should also always be respected. Their stories should be told if they want them to be, in order to show the impact that the scandal has had on them, but in a way that respects their trauma and does not compound it. We will no doubt continue to debate this matter in Parliament, and I urge members to think about their tone and how they speak about those very personal and painful experiences.

The inquiry has taken a trauma-informed approach, which is important, because the families

have suffered enough. I look forward to the publication of the inquiry's final report so that the families can get the answers that they deserve. As others have said, I hope that it will bring some level of peace, although it will never make up for what they have endured.

That work is on-going, but the Government and the board can act now to reassure patients, families and staff. I hope that, in his closing remarks, the cabinet secretary can confirm that the hospital is safe. It is vital that that message is not lost in the revelations about infections and scandals.

Anyone who is unwell should feel entirely confident about seeking help. No one should be put off treatment because they are worried about a hospital making them ill. However, my saying that will not make a difference, and both the board and the Government have a lot of work to do to restore the trust that has been broken.

Staff will also have been traumatised by finding out that the building where they work and where they care for patients was not safe. To give their patients the best possible care, they need to know that their environment is not a risk to them. The staff that raised concerns have been betrayed by the board and, despite the board's admission of guilt, it will take some time to address the hurt and repair the rift. We must not lose sight of the fact that, throughout the episode, clinical staff have tried to do what is best for their patients. They have cared for them to the best of their ability and tried to raise concerns when the building that they were working in made that impossible. I pay testament to the doctors, nurses and other clinical staff who have worked hard for their patients in trying circumstances.

Given the huge public interest in the issue, my amendment seeks to ensure that no family will be able to be identified through the release of materials unless they wish to be. Some families have chosen to come forward and share their stories and they should be commended and supported, but those who either have not wanted to do that or do not feel able to should also be respected. My amendment also seeks to acknowledge the pain of patients and their families, while urging the Scottish Government to restore confidence in the services that are being delivered at the Queen Elizabeth university hospital. I hope that members will support my amendment at decision time.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I call Jackson Carlaw to close on behalf of the Scottish Conservatives.

16:48

Jackson Carlaw (Eastwood) (Con): The Queen Elizabeth university hospital is my hospital. I have been treated there. My 94-year-old mother's life has been saved there several times. Constituents of mine have been born in that hospital. Some have been treated there. Some have died. However, anybody who dies in that hospital should die because of the underlying conditions that led them there and not because of the failings in the hospital itself.

I come to the debate today with, frankly, a cold fury. If mesh was the scandal of the previous parliamentary session, I agree entirely with what Anas Sarwar said in the devastating and forensic attack with which he opened the debate: the way that this matter has been handled has been the health scandal of this parliamentary session. Party politics aside, I thank him for the unrelenting focus that he has continued to bring to the issue throughout this session.

I say to Nicola Sturgeon that, if she can find the time to write a memoir about her time in Government, she should consider it her duty to find the time to contribute to our consideration of these matters and to answer for one of the greatest scandals of that time in Government.

I will pick up a point that Paul Sweeney made. I think that culture absolutely underpins all of this. Way before this scandal, when I spoke on health between 2007 and 2016, I pointed to the increasing culture of cover-up within the health service that resulted from the practice of having patients sign non-disclosure agreements and accept compensation without proper accountability ever being traced or individuals being held to account for their actions. That has led to the very scandal that we find ourselves facing now.

In January 2019, when Jeane Freeman announced that, following the deaths of patients, there would be a review of the Queen Elizabeth university hospital's building, design, commissioning and construction, as well as other related issues and how they contributed to effective infection control, I stood here as acting leader of my party and put this question to the First Minister:

> "Last year, Professor Alison Britton published her findings on the way in which all future national health service reviews should be conducted and made 46 key recommendations. Will the First Minister confirm that the review into the Queen Elizabeth university hospital will meet those tests?"—[*Official Report*, 24 January 2019; c 10.]

The First Minister confirmed that it would. Transparency, listening to patients and telling people what went on was at the heart of Professor Alison Britton's recommendations. What a travesty and a sham it is to argue that those

recommendations have been implemented when we know that the health board in Glasgow lied, lied and lied again to patients for years, rather than answering or holding itself to account for the scandal that it brought about.

Paul Sweeney: The member is making a powerful speech. Does he agree that truth does not care about power or ideology but is perpetual? I believe that the truth is that the person who applied pressure to put schedule and cost over safety was guilty of a criminal act. Does he agree?

Jackson Carlaw: I do, and I want to go further. In 2019, at First Minister's questions, I pointed to inconsistencies in Jeane Freeman's statement. First, on the radio, she said that she did not know about a boy's death or the investigation that took place. Then, she suddenly decided that she knew about the boy's death, but did not know about the investigation. The First Minister tried to tell us that those were reconcilable contradictions and that, in her view, the health secretary took the appropriate action.

This afternoon, I have heard SNP members repeatedly talk about the sanctity of the public inquiry being held by Lord Brodie. One would think that they had called for it, but they did not. SNP members opposed the public inquiry and supported Jeane Freeman, who, when asked whether there should be a public inquiry, said:

"My straightforward answer is the one that I have given before: no, I do not agree",—[*Official Report*, 11 September 2019; c 33.]

and that she did not believe that a public inquiry would add to our understanding of this issue. So spare me the attempts to hide behind a public inquiry now, in the face of the evidence that we have before us.

I do not think that there is any issue before this Parliament that is more horrendous than the one that we have experienced at the Queen Elizabeth university hospital. When we look at the contributions of the parents as they react to the evidence that has unfolded, we really should, as a Parliament, be totally ashamed.

I see that the First Minister has entered the chamber. I will conclude with a thought that has rested with me since his contribution at First Minister's questions. In response to Russell Findlay, when asked whether anybody in the Government had exerted pressure, the First Minister said that the short answer was no. The only way that he could know that—the only way that he could be certain of that, and the only way in which he could stand before Parliament and tell us that—is if he had asked the people who said that pressure had been applied who it was that had applied the pressure. The First Minister could not know just by standing before us that no official, minister or member of his party had sought to apply pressure. He could only know it if he knows who it was that applied the pressure.

Subsequently, we are being told that the pressure was applied by the health board on itself. That is just a ridiculous assertion. Pressure is not something that is applied amorphously; pressure is applied by an individual. If the First Minister can say that it was not anybody in his Government, he must know who it was. If he has not asked who it was, he should have done so, and the public and this Parliament should be told.

I think that we are absolutely right to focus on this debate today and to support the motion before Parliament.

16:54

Neil Gray: As the debate draws to a close, I will return to talking about those affected by the matters that are before the inquiry. Families who lost loved ones, patients who endured harm and staff who spoke up, despite personal risk, have shown courage that deserves our deepest respect. Their testimony has been brave, often harrowing, and it is because of them that the issues are finally receiving full and independent scrutiny. I have reached out to those patients and families through their legal representatives and offered them all the opportunity to meet me to share their experiences and concerns.

The Scottish ministers recognise all those who are adversely impacted by the matters that the inquiry is examining. Recognising that harm is precisely why the Government established a statutory independent, judge-led public inquiry to uncover the full truth and ensure that lessons are learned.

It is vital that we reaffirm a principle at the heart of this discussion—the independence of the inquiry. The powers that have been entrusted to Lord Brodie under the Inquiries Act 2005 protect this process from any direction or influence by ministers or by the Parliament. That independence is not a technicality; it is what allows families to have confidence that every decision, every document and every witness is assessed on the evidence.

We have provided the inquiry with all evidence that is relevant to its terms of reference. Although our submissions have been substantial, it must be recognised that they alone do not provide the full picture of events. The totality of the information from all core participants is before Lord Brodie, who must now be given the space to deliberate and to establish what happened, why it happened and what must change.

As counsel and expert witnesses have confirmed, the hospital operates under strengthened oversight, with significant improvements in safety systems and clinical governance.

Brian Whittle: Has a full safety audit of the hospital been carried out since the scandal erupted?

Neil Gray: Again, these matters are before the inquiry. Evidence has been sought and led, and it would be wrong to come to conclusions.

Jackie Baillie: Will the cabinet secretary give way?

Brian Whittle *rose—*

Neil Gray: Bear with me—I am setting out the situation as to the current safety of the hospital. Delivering safe, effective and person-centred care to our patients in a clean and well-maintained environment—

Anas Sarwar: Will the cabinet secretary give way?

Neil Gray: Let me finish my point.

That is of the utmost importance to the Scottish Government, and it remains our priority.

To the questions from Gillian Mackay and other colleagues about the public's confidence that the hospital is safe, I can give assurance for two reasons. The first is the evidence that was led by the independent witness Mr Poplett. Secondly, I sought assurances in that regard and asked Healthcare Improvement Scotland in March last year to conduct a further review of the progress that is being made by NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde in meeting the health and safety requirements and recommendations that were set out in the action plan from the Queen Elizabeth university hospital assurance of infection prevention and control inspection of June 2022.

In addition, there was a focused inspection of the emergency department in July 2024 as part of the wider NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde emergency department review, which resulted in a number of actions that have also been addressed. Healthcare Improvement Scotland subsequently confirmed that it was reassured by the response to that review by NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde, which assurance has continued through a series of further inspections.

Let me also be clear that staff who raise concerns, often in extremely difficult circumstances, must be protected and heard. I absolutely agree with that. I have set that out clearly. Strong whistleblowing arrangements are essential to ensuring that, when concerns arise, they lead to action. Policy measures are in place to support that, including the NHS Scotland whistleblowing policy, set against the national whistleblowing standards and independent national whistleblowing officer role, which is delivered by the Scottish Public Services Ombudsman. There is an independent advice line and dedicated whistleblowing champions in each health board to ensure that staff are encouraged and supported to speak up.

Last week, I met the Patient Safety Commissioner, and, next week, I will meet the independent national whistleblowing officer to discuss relevant matters and demonstrate my support for those important roles and the ways in which they contribute to public service. I give the Parliament an absolute assurance about my expectation and the Government's expectation regarding the culture that governs our national health service.

When the final report is published, the Government will consider its findings with the seriousness that they demand. We will consider those recommendations in full when they are published. We have fully complied with the independent public inquiry and we have supplied all information to it, as should be expected. If further information or evidence is required by the independent inquiry, we will, of course, comply with that.

The families who were affected by these events deserve clarity, accountability and lasting change, and I reaffirm my commitment to that.

17:00

Jackie Baillie (Dumbarton) (Lab): Children have died, adults have died and families are grieving. I say to Emma Harper: hard-working staff did come forward and share their concerns, but they were bullied, ignored and let down.

This is the worst scandal in the current session of the Scottish Parliament, but it could so easily have been avoided. I take members back to December 2007, when at least 143 patients contracted clostridium difficile at the Vale of Leven hospital. C diff was found to be a contributory factor in at least 34 of those patients' deaths. Just like in the Queen Elizabeth university hospital, those patients went into hospital expecting to get better, but they never came out.

The families rightly campaigned for a public inquiry, and the inquiry that was chaired by Lord MacLean published its report in November 2014, six months before the Queen Elizabeth university hospital opened. The report made a series of recommendations on everything from governance to the management of infection control. The tragedy that affected so many of my constituents at the Vale of Leven could have been avoided,

and that is also so true for the Queen Elizabeth university hospital.

The Scottish Government said at the time that lessons would be learned. However, six months later, it opened a new hospital when it was clearly not safe to do so, and the consequences have been devastating. The Scottish Government accepted responsibility for what happened at the Vale of Leven, stating:

"we apologise unreservedly for the suffering and loss caused. We accept in full all of the report's recommendations."

The statement continued:

"we can ensure structures and mechanisms are in place to make sure that what happened at the VOLH does not happen anywhere else in future."

A month after that comment, in February 2015, I questioned the then Cabinet Secretary for Health, Wellbeing and Sport, Shona Robison, at the Health and Sport Committee. I asked her whether, in light of the Vale of Leven hospital inquiry report, an independent audit of the Queen Elizabeth university hospital had been carried out. That was a recommendation that the Government had accepted. After some pressing, she said:

"If it has not taken place, it will. We will check that."—[*Official Report*, *Health and Sport Committee*, 24 February 2015; c 32.]

In April 2015, just before the Queen Elizabeth university hospital opened, Shona Robison wrote to me claiming that there was no need for an independent audit or to follow the MacLean recommendation because there was robust monitoring and reporting in place. There was even a risk register. Will the cabinet secretary tell us whether the risk register identified any of the problems with water or ventilation that existed at the time? I suspect not. Had Shona Robison commissioned the independent audit, as recommended by the MacLean inquiry that the Government was so keen to learn lessons from, we would not be debating the issue today, and families would not be grieving the loss of loved ones.

Was it criminal negligence or incompetence? There is no getting away from the fact that senior Government ministers chose not to have the new hospital inspected, which had deadly consequences. The MacLean report also recommended robust reporting systems for infection monitoring.

At that same committee hearing in 2015, Shona Robison told me:

"I get alerted straight away about C diff cases or any other infection in hospitals in Glasgow, in Clyde or elsewhere, because the monitoring systems work."—[*Official Report*, *Health and Sport Committee*, 24 February 2015; c 27.]

I know that, because it was one of the issues arising from the C diff outbreak at the Vale of Leven. Whenever a healthcare infection incident assessment tool—otherwise known as a HIIAT—is red, the cabinet secretary is automatically notified. In June 2017, when a HIIAT red warning was issued at the Queen Elizabeth university hospital, Shona Robison would have been informed. What did she do?

In January 2018, such was the complacency that Shona Robison accused Anas Sarwar of talking down the hospital. This is what she said:

"It is outrageous that he is talking down our first class state-of-the-art hospital". —[*Official Report*, 24 January 2018; c 12.]

She had the HIIAT report six months earlier, she misled the Parliament, and children had already died. Again, I have to ask: was it criminal negligence or was it incompetence?

From the moment that the Queen Elizabeth university hospital opened, it was clear to those with knowledge of infection control that the water and ventilation systems were not adequate. Brave doctors risked their careers to raise their concerns, but they were bullied, sidelined and ignored.

The health board has now admitted that it opened the hospital too early because pressure was applied. Shortly before John Swinney appeared on national TV, the health board clarified that it was internal pressure. Really? If you know anything about the relationship between the health board and the Scottish Government, you know that the pressure would have been external to the health board; it would have come from ministers, or civil servants on behalf of ministers. I therefore repeat the question that Anas Sarwar asked at the beginning of the debate: who applied that pressure? We need answers from the Government.

In April 2015, when the hospital opened, we were weeks away from a general election—what a coincidence. For months in advance of that, ministers boasted in the chamber that it was a flagship Scottish Government project. Now, it has nothing to do with them; it is the health board's fault.

I have been around here for a long time, so I know that the SNP Government has a fondness for announcements—every Government does—and we have seen that. Stephen Kerr was right to remind us that it was Nicola Sturgeon who launched a ferry with painted-on windows that is yet to sail. In this case, a hospital was opened too early, and people died.

Let me say to the cabinet secretary: stop the secrecy, and release all the documentation that covered political decision making. Most important of all, the cabinet secretary must also ensure the

safety of the hospital today—because we know that not all of the hospital has been validated as safe. Counsel to the inquiry, Fred Mackintosh, urged the health board to act now, and not to wait for the findings of the inquiry. It would therefore be a gross dereliction of duty on the part of the cabinet secretary to risk patient safety: he needs to act on that now.

I am grateful to the First Minister for joining us, because if the cabinet secretary will not act, will the First Minister do so? We owe it to the families, the hard-working staff, and future patients.

I urge members to support the Labour motion and the amendments from the Greens and the Conservatives, but to reject the SNP amendment, which is about doing nothing, and continuing the secrecy and cover up.

The Presiding Officer: That concludes the debate on the role of political decision making in NHS scandals.

It is time to move on to the next item of business. I will allow a moment or two for members on the front benches to arrange themselves.

MV Bella 1

The Presiding Officer (Alison Johnstone): The next item of business is a statement by John Swinney on an update on the MV Bella 1. The First Minister will take questions at the end of his statement, so there should be no interventions or interruptions.

17:09

The First Minister (John Swinney): There has been significant and appropriate public interest in the MV Bella 1, which is currently in the Moray Firth. There has been interest in the wellbeing of the crew but also in the wider questions in relation to Scots law, jurisdiction and information sharing between Scottish authorities, the Scottish Government and the United Kingdom Government. There has also been litigation raised, including a judicial review application, which remains live, so I am under some restrictions as a result, but I believe that it is important that I set out everything that it is appropriate to share with Parliament, given the issues that have been raised.

On 7 January, the United States, supported by British forces, took action to intercept the oil tanker known as the Bella 1. The Scottish Government has been clear that it supports that action. Where international sanctions are applied, the Government is a firm supporter of those sanctions being enforced. There is no point in imposing sanctions on Governments that ignore international law, undermine the rule of law and illegally invade their neighbours, as Russia has invaded Ukraine, if you are not willing to take action to enforce those sanctions.

The Scottish Government also supports the assistance provided by the United Kingdom Government in the operation to take control of the Bella 1. I believe in international co-operation, in partnership and in countries standing together. That support is founded on a basic belief that, if we are to succeed in insisting on a rules-based international order that is based on international law, we must abide by those self-same rules-based processes and international laws.

The seizure of the Bella 1 had clear implications and impacts on Scotland, given the location of its seizure and now subsequent events. I therefore wrote to the Prime Minister on 8 January and requested that, in future, the Scottish Government should receive formal, secure pre-notification of such actions where they involve Scottish infrastructure or have implications for Scotland. That would ensure that both Governments work constructively together.

The importance of that joint working and the need for Scotland's input became glaring when the Bella 1 appeared in the Moray Firth on 13 January. I understand why the United Kingdom Government agreed to a request for the Bella 1 to enter UK territorial waters—the vessel was in need of repair. It is perfectly obvious to any objective observer, however, that, if you bring a vessel such as the Bella 1 into Scottish waters, co-ordination with Scottish authorities is essential. The arrival of the Bella 1 in the Moray Firth was an issue of direct relevance to Scotland and to the Scottish Government, yet the United Kingdom Government still did not give us advance notification. There is an unarguable truth that co-operation and communication between the Scottish and United Kingdom Governments is essential if we in the Scottish Government are to fulfil our responsibilities.

The fact of legal action being brought in the Scottish courts shows clearly that Scotland should have been involved from the very start. Scotland's law officers were required to respond to that legal action, because the vessel was in Scottish jurisdiction. The Lord Advocate exercises her authority on those issues independently of the Scottish Government—indeed, independently of anyone else—and solely in the public interest. Throughout this episode, the Lord Advocate's priorities have been twofold. The first was to ensure that she discharged her duties in terms of international co-operation in criminal investigations. Secondly, she has been concerned that the rights of the crew under the European convention on human rights should be maintained, including their health and welfare.

It is the long-established and understood convention that the details of legal advice of the law officers are not made public. It is also the case that relationships between international jurisdictions, such as that between Scotland and the United States, are established and maintained through handling areas of mutual interest with sensitivity and confidentiality, and I respect that. Once the Bella 1 was in the Moray Firth, questions were understandably raised about the welfare of the crew, with on-going discussions between the UK and Scottish Governments. The Scottish Government's understanding is that the Bella 1 crew comprised 28 individuals of different nationalities. We understand that two of those individuals had been arrested by the United States Government as part of the initial action.

It is important to make it clear that, while the Bella 1 was in Scottish waters, at no point were the UK or Scottish authorities in control of the vessel, and the Scottish authorities had no legal basis whatsoever for boarding the vessel at any time.

Information about the crew was provided by the US authorities and then to the Scottish Government either through local partners or through the UK Government. Reassurance was provided by the US Government that the individuals were in good health. Both the UK Government and the Crown Office made clear our expectation that all 28 individuals would disembark the vessel.

The UK Government agreed to a request from the US Government to provide support in repatriating the 26 members of the Bella 1 crew who had not been arrested. Current plans are for all 26 crew members to be repatriated to countries of their choice over the course of today and tomorrow.

A request for mutual legal assistance was issued by the US authorities on 16 January 2026 to the Lord Advocate, as the central authority for mutual legal assistance in criminal matters, seeking approval for steps to be taken in relation to the obtaining of evidence. That was considered by the Lord Advocate, who indicated that the request would be granted subject to specific assurances and conditions attached to ensure the safety and wellbeing of the crew and to ensure that the rule of law was upheld. A key requirement was that all 28 individuals were brought ashore to ensure that this was appropriately and lawfully handled.

On 25 January 2026, the Lord Advocate was advised that the request for MLA had been withdrawn, which was confirmed in writing on 26 January. To the extent that the Lord Advocate has any responsibility, it is as the head of the system for the prosecution of crime in Scotland and therefore the central authority in matters involving the investigation of international crime. As a result of the MLA request being withdrawn, the Lord Advocate's role concluded. The Court of Session heard yesterday—and I want to be clear today—that the Lord Advocate fully discharged all her responsibilities in that regard.

Given the previous concerns that I have set out about communication, it is important to acknowledge that good local partnership arrangements were established between Border Force, Police Scotland and local partners. The partnerships were focused on developing a proposal to support the crew to leave the vessel, to access appropriate support on arrival and to establish their preference for next steps. The operation has rightly been led by Border Force, as the relevant Government agency. However, those discussions have been supported by local partners that are focused on the welfare of the crew.

The crew disembarked from a tender vessel into Buckie harbour on the afternoon of 26 January. They were then transferred to Inverness for

processing by Border Force in line with standard operating processes. The timing of the operation to support the crew in leaving the vessel was governed in large part by the weather. Any transfer of crew needs to be done safely, and the detailed plan and timing for the transfer of the crew was an operational decision. Scottish Government ministers were informed of the arrangements. It was very clear that the role of Border Force and the UK Government was to facilitate the voluntary repatriation of the crew—individuals who had not been arrested and had not been accused of any offence.

The operation was not about arresting or forcibly removing individuals; it was about supporting them in their onward journey to a location of their choice. The Scottish ministers and the Lord Advocate have never at any point detained any of the crew and they have never had them in their control. Assistance has been offered by a variety of Scottish authorities, including the police and local authorities, but no individual has been arrested or detained by any Scottish authority. They have not, and they have no power to, make any order to remove the crew from the jurisdiction of the court. All that they can do is provide assistance with any voluntary departure.

I appreciate that there has been considerable interest in the position of the two individuals who had been subject to arrest. The Lord Advocate's response to the MLA request made clear her position, which was that they should be brought to the mainland in accordance with due process. The Scottish Government is a respondent to a live judicial review that is relevant to those issues, so there are limits to what I can say on that point. However, I want to be very clear that the Scottish Government was informed that the two individuals had been removed from the Bella 1 by the United States after they had been removed from that vessel—not before.

The action to intercept the Bella 1 started as an international exercise that the UK Government suggested that we did not need to be informed about because it did not impact on devolved matters. That position was inadequate at the time, and it feels even more unrealistic given what has happened subsequently. We need proper lines of communication from the UK Government and an acceptance of the principle of advance notification of significant military operations that impact on our devolved responsibilities and the use of Scottish infrastructure.

The events of the past fortnight demonstrate that Scotland is not isolated from international events. Our geographical position placed us at the forefront of events surrounding the Bella 1. This is unlikely to be the last time that that is true. Therefore, we need to be in a position to work together constructively in the interests of security and the safety of people across Scotland. I give my commitment to joint working with the United Kingdom and international partners in pursuit of international law. That will always be the commitment of Scotland.

The Presiding Officer: The First Minister will now take questions on the issues that were raised in his statement. I intend to allow around 20 minutes for questions, after which we will move on to the next item of business. I would be grateful if members who wish to put a question were to press their request-to-speak button.

Neil Bibby (West Scotland) (Lab): I thank the First Minister for advance sight of his statement. The whole Parliament has been clear in its condemnation of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, so my party welcomes action taken to tackle the shadow fleet that fuels Vladimir Putin's war machine. I also acknowledge the First Minister's support for the action, which he made clear in his statement.

Following the interdiction of the vessel in international waters by American forces, the tanker's arrival in Scottish waters necessarily meant engagement and communication between the UK Government and the Scottish Government on their legal obligations. Will the First Minister tell Parliament whether he or the Scottish Government's permanent secretary has received security briefings on the tanker from the United Kingdom Government in recent weeks?

The First Minister: Mr Bibby is correct in saying that the Scottish Government supports actions taken to apply sanctions to the shadow fleet. I reaffirm that position and acknowledge his support for it.

It is important that that action is taken, but the fundamental point of my statement is that there must be a recognition that the issues arising out of actions in that regard are likely—inevitably, potentially—to have an effect on the powers and responsibilities of the Scottish Government when they take place in our territorial waters. There must be, at the earliest possible opportunity, the strongest level of communication and advance notification to enable us to prepare for such events. That did not happen in this case, despite my prompting of the UK Government. I want a lesson to be learned from that. It is important that that happens in the future, because I suspect that we will deal with such situations again.

Security briefings have now been provided to the permanent secretary and to me. I will continue to pursue briefings, because an essential part of my ability to lead a Government that takes forward issues in devolved areas that are impacted by international issues is being fully aware of the

implications and consequences of UK Government actions.

Ross Greer (West Scotland) (Green): The US military has abducted two people from Scotland in the middle of the night, despite our highest court ordering that they be kept here, under our jurisdiction. The First Minister has spent months trying to charm Donald Trump. That strategy has failed. He is not our ally—he is a fascist. Our sovereignty has been violated, our courts have been defied and a foreign military has abducted two people from our territory.

The Scottish and UK Governments need to respond to that. The US military uses Prestwick airport as a de facto base. The Scottish Government owns the airport. Will the First Minister show Trump that his piracy has consequences? Will he evict all American troops from Prestwick airport immediately?

The First Minister: I understand the strength of feeling on the issue, which is why I have come to Parliament to give this statement. It is so important that I am clear with Parliament and the public that, in every respect, the proper application of the legal processes of Scotland has been applied in this case.

What the Scottish Government and the Lord Advocate cannot do is exercise powers that we do not have. In my statement, I made the point that at no stage did we have the legal basis to board that vessel. That limited what the Scottish Government could do. We have indicated that, where there is to be any question of individuals interacting with the legal process, those individuals have to be able to exercise their rights in the Scottish jurisdiction. As Mr Greer knows, that will involve ECHR rights, too. I assure Mr Greer that all those factors and powers have been properly and fully applied by the Lord Advocate.

Prestwick airport operates at arm's length from the Government and it has particular responsibilities to exercise. We will consider the issues that Mr Greer has raised in his question.

Alex Cole-Hamilton (Edinburgh Western) (LD): I am slightly concerned by Ross Greer's use of the term "piracy". We should be in no doubt that the vessels of the Russian shadow fleet are evading sanctions and, by so doing, are assisting Putin's war machine and extending the suffering of the people of Ukraine. They are fair game, and I and my party welcome their seizure.

Oil tankers are not the only hostile agents operating in or near our waters. Subsea cables, particularly those supplying our northern isles, are potential targets for sabotage. What reassurance can the First Minister offer our constituents that both of our Governments are acting collaboratively to counter threats from hostile powers in our waters and under them?

The First Minister: It is important that we have an active, visible and effective naval defence presence, to ensure that our infrastructure is being protected, given the significance of our dependence on that infrastructure. That reliance on that infrastructure is extensive and, therefore, it is important that the deployment of resources is undertaken in a way that ensures that that is the case.

I do not think that that is the current arrangement in the deployment of naval resources. That issue requires to be addressed by the UK Government, which has reserved responsibility for matters in relation to all those questions, including for ensuring that naval resources are deployed in a way that meets the needs of the infrastructure of Scotland.

Rona Mackay (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP): It is critical that, in cases where military action involves Scottish infrastructure and has implications in Scotland, the Scottish Government is formally notified. Can the First Minister say any more about the implications of inadequate communication for the Scottish Government's ability to discharge its responsibilities effectively?

The First Minister: Part of what I have been trying to do in this case is ensure that ministers are able to exercise their responsibilities to the fullest extent. However, we cannot do that if we are not given adequate engagement on the issues with which we are wrestling. We requested of the UK Government advance notification of the operation in relation to seizing the tanker, and, in the light of that, I was surprised that we were not given advance warning that the UK Government had agreed that the Bella 1 should be brought into the Moray Firth, which immediately brought the vessel into the jurisdiction of Scots law and of the Lord Advocate. That issue should really concern this Parliament.

Pauline McNeill (Glasgow) (Lab): I thank the First Minister for providing some clarity about complex events over the past two weeks. The First Minister will be aware that shadow fleets are becoming increasingly common, with Venezuela, Iran and Russia all accused of using them to avoid sanctions on oil. Financial intelligence firm S&P Global estimates that one in five oil tankers worldwide are used to smuggle oil from sanctioned countries. France recently seized a second tanker from a Russian shadow fleet.

As the First Minister mentioned the question of the 26 crew members in Aberdeen, can he confirm that their human rights have been upheld and that the ECHR has been complied with? Does he

agree that that should be the case whenever such things happen across Europe?

The First Minister: There has been no legal issue with those 26 individuals. They were transferred voluntarily to Scottish soil. There was no reason for them to be detained and they were never detained at any stage by the authorities in Scotland. They were supported with accommodation and given assistance with transport. The logistical arrangements are in place, and it is expected that, today or tomorrow, all those individuals will have left Scotland voluntarily for destinations of their choice.

Pauline McNeill raises an absolutely critical issue about the application of ECHR rights to individuals. That is one of the fundamental points that the Lord Advocate has been anxious to be assured about. In response to the request for mutual legal assistance, the Lord Advocate made it clear that the rule of law would have to be followed in that process and that that would involve respecting the ECHR rights of all individuals involved.

Stuart McMillan (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP): There are many elements of what has happened that are concerning, and the correspondence that the First Minister received from the Secretary of State for Scotland is particularly concerning. It completely failed to respect the principles and the practical realities of devolution, to say nothing of the importance of co-operation and courtesy in intergovernmental working.

Notwithstanding some of the responses that the First Minister has already given this afternoon, following further engagement with the UK Government, is the First Minister convinced that the secretary of state and other Labour UK Government ministers now have a better understanding of the importance of devolution and of adequate communication on such matters?

The First Minister: In a letter to me on 15 January in relation to my media comments about the lack of advance briefing on the movement of the Bella 1 into the Moray Firth, the Secretary of State for Scotland said:

> "This operation was in defence of UK national security and our relationship with a key international ally. As such it would not have been appropriate to provide briefing in advance to Scottish Ministers."

That should be of concern to every member of this Parliament, because the minute that vessel came into the Moray Firth and into our territorial waters, the legal jurisdiction of Scotland was engaged. There is a fundamental lack of understanding of the implications.

That is why I have given a statement to Parliament today. I want to assure Parliament and the public that, in all the actions that we have taken, the Scottish Government has attempted to fully exercise its legal responsibilities, but there have been significant challenges in the flow of information that have limited our ability to do so. I hope that the United Kingdom Government has learned lessons about that, and we are pressing for that to be the case.

Clare Adamson (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP): I understand that the vessel is still berthed in the Moray Firth. Can the First Minister provide an update on any correspondence that he has received from the UK Government regarding the next steps for the vessel?

The First Minister: The vessel is currently berthed in the Moray Firth, where it is undergoing repairs. We are currently seeking further information from the UK Government on the next steps for the Bella 1. I am, of course, anxious to ensure that all issues in that respect have been properly considered, especially any risks to the natural environment, which is an issue of deep concern to all of us. We continue to press for such assurances to be offered.

Mercedes Villalba (North East Scotland) (Lab): As the First Minister has outlined, for well over two weeks the Marinera and the vessel's crew were in Scottish waters in Scottish legal jurisdiction. This week, the US Coast Guard has removed the tanker's captain and first officer from UK waters. The Scottish Government claims to be committed to human rights at home and abroad, but legal experts have already questioned the legality of the Marinera's seizure, to which the First Minister lent his support.

Given the length of time for which the crew of the Marinera were held in Scotland, did the First Minister make any effort to seek guarantees from the US Coast Guard that it would uphold the human rights of those sailors who were taken out of UK waters?

The First Minister: At all times, the Scottish Government has acted to ensure that the rights of individuals were protected and that the rule of law was applied. As I indicated in my statement, there is no legal basis for the Scottish Government or anyone acting on our behalf to board the vessel. There is a practical limitation when it comes to seeking assurances, but we sought assurances from the UK Government and the US Government on the welfare of the individuals involved.

On actions in relation to the seizing of the vessel, there is widespread public and parliamentary concern about shadow fleets, which are initiatives for avoiding sanctions. My position is clear and is on the record: where sanctions are applied, we should ensure that they are enforced, in order to do all that we can to try to avoid fuelling

the regimes that, in the Russian example, are causing such horror for the people of Ukraine, and to ensure that people are held to account for their actions.

Keith Brown (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP): If we are serious about our commitment to uphold international law, sanctions need to be both credible and enforceable. Supporting the objectives of sanctions while hesitating to back enforcement—including action against a tanker that is allegedly breaching sanctions—raises questions about that commitment. Does the First Minister agree that backing the international rules-based order means backing action when necessary?

The First Minister: I take that view. We have been well served—albeit that it has not been perfect—by an international rules-based system. We should continue to do everything that we can to encourage all states to contribute to a rules-based international order to ensure that we can continue to live in peace and stability, where the rule of law is a certainty that is guaranteed for all.

Patrick Harvie (Glasgow) (Green): We can all unite in opposition to the illegal war against Ukraine and to the operation of the shadow fleet or anything else that funds Putin's war machine. However, none of us could credibly suggest that, in this matter, the Trump regime is motivated by a deep commitment to international law. Surely the First Minister will agree that, basically, the Trump regime has shown contempt for international law and the Scottish courts.

The First Minister: I assure Patrick Harvie that, in every step of the Government's actions and the actions of the Lord Advocate, the assertion of the rule of law, the scope and requirements of the jurisdiction of Scotland, and the protection of the human rights of individuals have been the central considerations that have been applied.

George Adam (Paisley) (SNP): In situations such as this, the UK and Scottish Governments need to be able to work constructively together in the interests of security and good governance. It is extremely disappointing that that did not happen in this case. Will the First Minister advise on the steps that he thinks should be taken to ensure that a more constructive approach can be taken in future?

The First Minister: The fundamental point that I have made in my correspondence to the United Kingdom Government is that there is not a neat separation between devolved and reserved responsibilities. As we have seen in this case, an issue that is undertaken under the reserved responsibilities of the UK Government can very quickly have implications for the devolved Government in Scotland and our devolved responsibilities. I do not think that due regard was given to that by the UK Government in any consideration of briefing, engagement or information in the early days.

There have been good examples of collaboration between the Border Force, Police Scotland and NHS Highland on local issues, which demonstrates that it is perfectly easily done. However, a lesson needs to be learned about the way in which those issues should be pursued, and I intend to pursue that with the UK Government.

The Presiding Officer: That concludes the statement, and I will allow a moment or two for the reorganisation of front benches before the next item of business.

Sustainable Aviation Fuel Bill

The Presiding Officer (Alison Johnstone): The next item of business is a debate on motion S6M-20550, in the name of Jim Fairlie, on a legislative consent motion for the Sustainable Aviation Fuel Bill, which is United Kingdom legislation.

I would be grateful if members who wish to speak would press their request-to-speak buttons.

17:40

The Minister for Agriculture and Connectivity (Jim Fairlie): I welcome the opportunity to speak on the legislative consent motion for the UK Government's Sustainable Aviation Fuel Bill, which was introduced in the House of Commons on 14 May 2025. Scottish ministers strongly welcome efforts to boost the production and use of sustainable aviation fuel—SAF—and therefore support the overall policy intention of the bill.

The bill lays the foundation for a UK-wide revenue certainty mechanism. It is an essential step towards making sustainable aviation fuel production commercially viable. The bill is designed to accelerate the domestic production of SAF and support the UK Government's aviation decarbonisation strategy.

SAF is one of the most promising ways of reducing aviation emissions and is therefore important in supporting the Scottish Government's commitment to achieve net zero emissions by 2045. The bill opens the door to future investment and green jobs, and it could bring significant economic benefits if the fuel were commercially produced at scale in Scotland.

Including Scotland in the bill ensures that we remain competitive and that we do not lose out to other parts of the UK. The bill as introduced had no formal role for Scottish ministers, with the exception of a consult provision in clause 10. The Scottish Government had extensive engagement with the UK Government, at official and ministerial level, to dissolve the concerns around the regulation-making powers in the bill, which might be exercised for a devolved purpose in Scotland.

Those discussions led to the UK Government amending the bill to include a requirement for the secretary of state to consult with Scottish ministers on three regulation-making powers, in clauses 1(8), 3(1) and 11(4), in addition to the existing consult provision in clause 10(1). I believe that the agreed statutory consultation mechanism offers appropriate reassurance and transparency, particularly given the early stage of development of the UK SAF industry.

I welcome the positive and collaborative engagement between the Scottish Government and the UK Government throughout the bill's development, particularly during the latter stages. I also welcome the Net Zero, Energy and Transport Committee's report and its recommendation that the Scottish Parliament consent to the relevant provisions in the bill, as set out in the motion.

I considered the report's conclusions and recommendations and provided a response to some of the recommendations, with a full response to be provided to the committee shortly. The Scottish Government therefore recommends that the Scottish Parliament gives consent to clauses 1 to 5, 10, 11(2) to 11(5), 12 to 20 and the schedule.

Scottish ministers remain committed to constructive engagement and to supporting measures that could lead to increased production and the use of sustainable aviation fuel in Scotland. I therefore ask the Parliament to agree to the motion for legislative consent in relation to the aforementioned provisions contained in the Sustainable Aviation Fuel Bill.

I move,

That the Parliament agrees that the relevant provisions of the Sustainable Aviation Fuel Bill, introduced in the House of Commons on 14 May 2025, and subsequently amended, relating to clauses 1 to 5, 10, 11(2) to 11(5), 12 to 20 and the schedule, so far as these matters fall within the legislative competence of the Scottish Parliament and alter the executive competence of the Scottish Ministers, should be considered by the UK Parliament.

17:43

Edward Mountain (Highlands and Islands) (Con): When it comes to legislative consent motions, I sometimes worry about the risk of being typecast, as I always seem to be fated to be the angry convener delivering a speech about the flaws of the LCM process. However, today, the Parliament will be pleased to know that the angry convener will not be here.

Although the process in this case did not run perfectly, it ran well enough for the Net Zero, Energy and Transport Committee to come to a reasonably unrushed view on consent. We even had time to go beyond the narrow bounds of the LCM for a more general look at the state of our SAF industry, and I thank the experts whom we heard from as part of that process.

So, what did we find? I have limited time so will give some quick bullet points. First, we found that we need SAF if we are to decarbonise, and we need loads more of it. Secondly, we found that we need prudent governmental intervention to help the sector achieve lift-off. Thirdly, a price stabilisation mechanism such as that in the bill

could help, but this is a framework bill, so the detail will absolutely have to be right.

The type of SAF that we need most is so-called power-to-liquid SAF. Biofuels might be the bridge to the next decade, but they are land and resource hungry. The basic building blocks of power-to-fuel SAF are hydrogen and carbon atoms, which never run out.

Scotland is well placed in relation to SAF: we have Grangemouth and other industrial assets that could be repurposed; we have the skills base, especially from the oil and gas industry; and we have a strong record in wind energy generation and the potential for growth in green and blue hydrogen and carbon capture. However, what are the barriers? There is a high price for electricity, which makes it harder for us to compete internationally. What also seemed to be lacking to our witnesses was a sense of the Government having a clear plan for SAF that signals confidence and momentum to potential investors.

Our report called on the Scottish Government to get the mothballed SAF working group back to work to look at quick wins, such as whether Grangemouth could be a base for mixing and redistributing biofuels.

The UK and Scottish Governments have worked out their differences on order-making powers as the bill has proceeded. Our report recommends that the Parliament consents to the relevant provisions of the bill, but we call on the Scottish Government to be on the front foot in using all the powers that it already has and in making the case to Whitehall for a truly UK-wide industrial policy for SAF that makes best use of Scotland's considerable industrial, natural and human assets.

17:46

Sarah Boyack (Lothian) (Lab): This is an important debate. SAF is important because one of our key climate emissions in Scotland is air travel. It makes up 4.5 per cent of our total emissions, with transport at 16 per cent. How we power our planes is absolutely vital going forward. Although short-journey flights could be powered by electricity, SAF is an absolutely key part of our long-term solution, so the requirement to have increasing amounts of SAF to fuel our planes is vital.

I thank the Net Zero, Energy and Transport Committee, its clerks and the witnesses who gave important evidence to the committee. The fact that the committee is happy for legislative consent to be given to the relevant provisions in the bill is significant. I watched the committee's evidence sessions, and it interrogated the issues that were raised by witnesses very effectively.

If we do not produce sustainable aviation fuel in the UK, we will have to import it. That would be a massive missed opportunity in terms of jobs and our economy, but having to import low-carbon sustainable aviation fuel would also be an energy security issue for our aviation sector. I believe that we need not only to agree to the LCM today—agreeing to it is important for giving confidence and clarity to the sector—but to support the opportunity to produce SAF in Scotland.

As the convener of the committee said, the recommendations included in project willow could enable investment, which would mean having highly skilled high-quality jobs in Grangemouth, lowering our carbon emissions and enabling a supply of SAF in Scotland that could be transported to our key airports.

Last year's commitment by the UK Labour Government to invest £200 million was vital in supporting progress at Grangemouth to deliver innovative low-carbon outputs and jobs. As the committee discussed, it is vital that we develop innovative production methods for the use of biogenic CO_2 and green hydrogen, for example—it is critical that we use our low-carbon electricity in Scotland to deliver green hydrogen—and for the use of Scotland's timber and wood waste as a sustainable feedstock for second-generation bioethanol, which can then be used for fuel blending for SAF.

Unite said that we could deliver those ambitions by the early 2030s, but it is absolutely clear that we need to give investors the confidence to invest now. Other countries across the world are investing in the technology to be able to produce SAF, so we need to produce it, too. This an opportunity to lower our carbon emissions, which, as we regularly discuss, are deeply damaging, create high-quality jobs, deliver energy security for our aviation sector and allow Scotland to lead the way in delivering innovative SAF production.

Agreeing to the LCM is important, but I hope that the Government uses this opportunity to keep working with the UK Government, bring potential investors together and update Parliament. The issue is not going away, and it would be useful to keep it on the Parliament's agenda. It is a huge opportunity that we cannot afford to miss out on.

The Presiding Officer: I call the minister to wind up.

17:49

Jim Fairlie: Thank you, Presiding Officer—I will not take long at all.

As I draw the debate to a close, I thank Edward Mountain and Sarah Boyack for their contributions.

With regard to the SAF working group, Edward Mountain was absolutely correct: it was wound down while project willow was on-going, and there is still work to come out of it. Scottish Enterprise is finalising a report that will look at the economic benefits of producing SAF in Scotland.

Sarah Boyack talked about wind potential. In my view, the point is this. Would it not be absolutely fantastic if we had full control to manage all of this—all the resources, all the abilities and all the things that are sitting here in Scotland—through independence?

The Presiding Officer: That concludes the debate on the motion on legislative consent for the Sustainable Aviation Fuel Bill, which is UK legislation.

Point of Order

17:50

The Presiding Officer (Alison Johnstone): Before we move to the next item of business, I call Gillian Martin for a point of order.

The Cabinet Secretary for Climate Action and Energy (Gillian Martin): Thank you, Presiding Officer—I appreciate the opportunity to clarify for the record an issue that came up in an exchange between myself and Mercedes Villalba in yesterday's stage 3 proceedings.

In that exchange, Ms Villalba said that I would not work with her despite having offered to do so. In fact, I met Ms Villalba, with various Government officials, to discuss stage 3 amendments twice: on 27 November and 7 January. In addition, I provided a detailed letter setting out my position in relation to issues that she had raised on invasive non-native species. Yesterday, therefore, in my response to her contribution on amendment 61, I was able to say that I did, in fact, work with her.

As a result of our discussion on the Sitka spruce issue with the chief executive of Scottish Forestry on 27 November, I was able to arrange for a suitable amendment to be drafted by forestry officials and agreed with Mairi Gougeon that would address Ms Villalba's concerns. Ms Villalba agreed to that at the time. When the amendment was finalised, Mairi Gougeon discussed it separately, and further, with Mercedes Villalba, given that the solution lay in Ms Gougeon's portfolio.

In addition, Ms Villalba indicated that I had gone back on a commitment to her about working together on an amendment to add additional restrictions on the current powers to exempt species from relevant provisions of the Wildlife and Countryside Act 1981.

I point out that, if the context of my comments at stage 2 is considered in full, it is clear that my commitment to work with the member ahead of stage 3 was in relation to a different amendment. That amendment, which I discussed with her, was about placing a new requirement for any species listed in that exemption order to have a management strategy in place.

I hope that that clarifies the situation.

The Presiding Officer: Thank you, Ms Martin.

Natural Environment (Scotland) Bill: Stage 3

17:52

The Presiding Officer (Alison Johnstone): The next item of business is stage 3 proceedings on the Natural Environment (Scotland) Bill. In dealing with the amendments, members should have the bill as amended at stage 2—that is, Scottish Parliament bill 59A—the marshalled list and the groupings of amendments. The division bell will sound and proceedings will be suspended for around five minutes if there is a division. The period of voting for the division will be 30 seconds.

Members who wish to speak in the debate on an amendment should press their request-to-speak button or enter RTS in the chat function as soon as an amendment is called.

Members should now refer to the marshalled list of amendments.

Section 33D—Gull numbers

The Presiding Officer: Group 11 is on gulls. Amendment 60, in the name of the Minister for Agriculture and Connectivity, is grouped with amendments 60A and 148 to 152.

Douglas Ross (Highlands and Islands) (Con): On a point of order, Presiding Officer. This has perhaps just been corrected, but the clock was acting erratically. Can you confirm that the timings will be clear? It was clearly not working about five seconds ago.

The Presiding Officer: Thank you for bringing that to my attention, Mr Ross. I will certainly ensure that we are aware of anything that needs to be checked.

For information, the clerks are currently putting the clock to the right time. Its appearance is a function of the fact that the debate has been split over two days; it will quickly get to the correct point at which we stopped yesterday and from where we will continue today.

I call the minister to speak to amendment 60 and other amendments in the group.

The Minister for Agriculture and Connectivity (Jim Fairlie): I thought that the clerks were doing our job for us and rushing Mr Ross.

Amendment 60 relates to the requirement for NatureScot to

"prepare and publish a report on the gull population in urban and coastal areas of Scotland."

We know that there are gaps in the data that is available to us. Surveying urban gulls, for example, presents more challenges. I appreciate that members desire to improve the data. However, I must stress that it is not feasible to deliver a complete survey of breeding gulls every year in Scotland without a significant resource implication, which would divert resources from practical gull management.

My amendment 60 ensures that a report on the gull population is deliverable. Requiring a report every five years is more practical. It allows us to balance the need for good data with the need to deliver meaningful gull management and mitigation action. The reporting period will also complement other existing data that will be obtained from the seabird censuses.

My amendment defines the species of gull that are to be included in the report. A report on the gull population with no definition of species is not workable.

Amendment 60 provides clarity on how the report will be conducted.

Douglas Ross: Does the minister accept that his amendment would delete what was approved by the committee at stage 2? I accept that Scottish National Party members voted against my amendment 261 at stage 2, but that amendment was agreed to after the committee had heard the arguments that the minister is making. That amendment was not the same as what the minister proposes, because his amendment 60 would delete what was agreed to by the committee. Does he accept that amendment 60 seeks information rather than gull numbers, and that there is a big difference between information on gulls and the number of gulls?

Jim Fairlie: I take on board that Mr Ross was successful in having his amendment agreed to at stage 2, but there was still some confusion about what was being delivered. We could have tried to knock out the amendment completely and dismiss people's views, but we did not do that. I said that we needed to find a way to meet Mr Ross's aspirations and make sure that we had a workable solution, which is why I lodged amendment 60.

We continue to focus on delivering improvements to gull management ahead of the next gull breeding season. That includes making £100,000 immediately available to local authorities following the gull summit that we held in September, to support the mitigation of gull impacts.

NatureScot is running a series of round-table meetings in the areas of Scotland that are worst impacted by gulls. It is working with people in those areas to offer support and advice on licensing options and other mitigation activities ahead of the next nesting season.

That is only a small portion of the work that we are doing on gulls, and we will continue to consider what other actions might be necessary. I therefore ask members to support my amendment 60, which seeks to make reporting on the gull population achievable while still honouring the intent of the original amendment that was agreed to at stage 2, which Mr Ross mentioned.

Amendment 60 sets out that a gull report will include information about the gull population in coastal and urban areas. I am not sure why the member has lodged amendment 60A, because I have set out that my focus is on delivering improvements to gull management and not on debating unnecessary amendments for the sake of doing so. We have committed to producing a gull report every five years, and we will use that information, alongside the data from the national seabird census and other counts, to inform decision making. We will provide information about coastal and urban gulls as part of that, so I urge members to vote against amendment 60A.

I turn to amendment 148. As I set out at stage 2 in relation to Mr Ross's amendment 260, I do not agree with the member's proposals to mandate a review of spending on gull management efforts or the creation of a gull management fund. Following the gull summit in September, £100,000 has been made available to help local authorities to develop their gull management plans. That demonstrates that the objective of Mr Ross's amendment 148 is being delivered, without the need for mandatory statutory requirements.

A statutory fund would add rigidity and bureaucracy and would require governance and reporting structures that would divert resources from practical gull management, which I think that we are all looking for. Ultimately, ministers do not require legislation to review and create funding schemes relating to the management of gulls, and it is for that reason primarily that I ask the member not to move amendment 148.

18:00

On amendments 149 to 151, in the name of Douglas Ross, I note that we are debating amendments that are identical to ones that we discussed at length at stage 2. As I set out then, ministers already have the responsibility to issue licences in respect of wild birds under the Wildlife and Countryside Act 1981. That function has been delegated to NatureScot. Scottish ministers can revoke the delegation to NatureScot at any time without new legislation being needed. Those amendments are, therefore, unnecessary.

Mr Ross has consistently been critical of NatureScot's licensing approach relating to gull management. I can understand why, in some circumstances, but I do not think that he has considered that, no matter who issues the licensing in relation to the management of gulls, they will always need to consider the health of the gull population and other sensitive conservation factors.

For the sake of members in the chamber, I will reiterate what I set out at stage 2. Gulls are a protected species. It is not a conflict of interest that NatureScot must consider their species status; it is simply a part of the licensing process. I believe that NatureScot is best placed to hold responsibility for that licensing, because it has the data, knowledge and experience to issue and manage those licences. I remain committed to working together to find solutions that recognise the complexities around gull populations. Those solutions must work for the people who are living with the negative effects of gulls every day. Regardless, Mr Ross's amendments are unnecessary and could undermine the clarity and operational effectiveness of the processes. Therefore, I urge members to oppose amendments 149 to 151.

On amendment 152, in the name of Rachael Hamilton, as I set out in relation to a similar amendment at stage 2, I appreciate the member's intention to improve transparency around gull licensing, but I cannot support the amendment. It is not clear in relation to the timeframes, the production of a report or how often a report should be produced.

From the outset, legislation is not required to achieve the objectives of amendment 152. NatureScot already collects and publishes gull licensing data, including data on the number of licences issued, the permitted numbers and the return of data for the lethal control of adults and chicks. That information is already publicly available, albeit that it is currently integrated into the wider annual licensing data set. Furthermore, the definition of a gull, as currently drafted, lacks clarity. It is too broad and does not work for the intended purpose of the amendment. For those reasons, I cannot support the amendment and I ask the member not to move it.

I move amendment 60.

The Presiding Officer: I call Douglas Ross to move amendment 60A and speak to all amendments in the group.

Douglas Ross: I will speak at length on this group of amendments, because I am glad that we are getting the chamber back to issues that are within the devolved competence of this Parliament.

I will start with amendment 60. Yesterday, in response to a point that I made, the Cabinet Secretary for Climate Action and Energy

complained that issues that had been decided at committee were being brought back at stage 3. Well, here we have an issue that was decided at committee in a way that went against the Government. The Government did not gain enough support at the Rural Affairs and Islands Committee to vote down an amendment on this issue, and the amendment was agreed to. The Government lost the vote.

That happened because there was clearly interest in the issue across the political spectrum, and the only party opposing the amendment was the SNP. We had support for my amendment at stage 2 from the RSPB, which urged members of the committee to support it, because it agreed that we need reliable data and up-to-date information. I am bitterly disappointed that, rather than respecting that decision and working with the amendment that was passed by the committee, the Government is trying to override it in the chamber at stage 3.

Jim Fairlie: There are a couple of points there. The first is that the committee was very evenly split and the division was won on the deciding vote of the convener—I could be wrong on that, but I think that that was the case. However, if the position of the member is that he wants to get the kind of reliable data that we need in order to put proper gull licences in place, I would say that having a five-year structure with named species is exactly how to do it. The proposal that was brought forward by Mr Ross is simply unworkable.

Douglas Ross: I will address both those points. First, as the convener of a committee, if I use my casting vote in favour of an amendment, that is still the committee's view. There might be those on the committee who disagree with it, but regardless of whether it is a Conservative convener, a Labour convener, a Scottish National Party convener or a Green convener, their casting vote in favour of an amendment means that the committee is in favour. I am sorry if SNP members do not like that, but I note that they tend not to dissent when it is their conveners who use their casting votes in that way.

Jim Fairlie: Will Mr Ross take an intervention?

Douglas Ross: I will finish replying to the minister's first intervention before taking a second one from him.

On the second point, which was about wanting up-to-date and reliable information and data, I note that that is what I want—and that is what we had with the amendment that was agreed to at stage 2. What we would have with amendment 60 is a watered-down alternative, because it seeks only to

"provide information about the gull population in coastal and urban areas".

That is very clear in proposed new subsection (2)(a) in amendment 60, minister. Information is not numbers; it could be just, "The gull population has changed a little" or, "It has changed a lot", but we would not know what the gull population was. With a survey, we will have raw data that we can use to ensure that we make the best possible decisions with the best possible information.

I will give way to the minister.

Jim Fairlie: It does not matter.

Douglas Ross: Maybe the minister has accepted the argument. We are making progress at last.

I urge members to vote in favour of amendment 60A—I think that that is the amendment that we will come to first—which simply urges, asks and requests the Government to do a survey of the population of urban and coastal gulls, because we know that, at the moment, NatureScot is taking decisions and determining licence applications without the data and information. If amendment 60A is not successful, amendment 60 will not be worth the paper it is written on. I urge members to vote it down so that we can go back to the stage 2 amendment that was agreed to by the Rural Affairs and Islands Committee.

I turn to my other amendments in the group, starting with amendment 148 on the gull management fund. The minister said that there is no need to assess how much local authorities are spending on gull management, but I think that there is a big need, because taxpayers' money is being spent on protecting buildings and people from the menace of gulls.

If local councils across Scotland are going to hike up council tax—as is very likely, because of the budget settlement that has been proposed by the SNP; indeed, the SNP representative for finance on the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities has said that it is a very bad budget for local government—and if local councils are going to be spending the increased money that they get from local residents on projects to protect buildings, individuals and communities from gulls, we should know how much that is. In my local authority area, Moray Council, it is tens of thousands of pounds. We should know how much is being spent in Perth and Kinross—the minister's local authority area—and all around Scotland, up to the islands and down to the Borders. We need that important information.

It is not just local authorities that are affected. I have done a lot of work with the business improvement districts in Inverness and Nairn, and Lucy Harding and Lorraine McBride have explained how much money they have to spend week after week, month after month and year after year on tackling the menace of gulls. That money

is a BID levy that businesses pay. It should be used to promote the local economy and the businesses in those BID areas, yet a lot of it has be spent on measures to protect properties and people from gulls. Therefore, amendment 148 is important.

The minister mentioned the £100,000 funding that the Scottish Government proposed in October at its gulls summit in Inverness, but that is a drop in the ocean compared with what individuals, businesses, BIDs and councils currently spend on gulls. We need to know how much money is being spent in total and where that money could and should be coming from.

Amendments 149, 150 and 151 are all alternative amendments, by which I mean that I am offering three different alternatives for bodies to consider licences to control gulls. That could either be Scottish Government ministers, local authorities or a totally different body that Scottish ministers come up with. Whichever the Parliament chooses will be better than the status quo.

The minister says that he does not trust NatureScot to make those decisions. I absolutely do not, either. It has been a complete and utter failure. Time after time, NatureScot has come up with ludicrous reasons for refusing licences. I use the word “ludicrous”, in particular, because that is the minister’s assessment—the minister has said on the record that NatureScot’s determination of some licences has been “ludicrous”.

If the Scottish Government, including the minister in charge—who, as he said, has the ability to revoke that power—thinks that NatureScot is coming up with ludicrous decisions, it should be stripped of that power. It is as clear as day that there is a conflict of interest when NatureScot is, on the one hand, in charge of conserving bird numbers and, on the other hand, the authority that determines whether or not someone gets a licence to control the bird numbers.

I will not go through all the issues that we have previously articulated in the chamber and at committee, but when an organisation is telling people to hire a cherry picker to go up on a roof in order to take a picture of a nest where seagulls have laid their eggs, and to take a photograph with that day’s newspaper to confirm that that is when the nest and the eggs were there, that is ludicrous. When, at a summit hosted at its headquarters, NatureScot is advising people to walk down the street waving their arms—I will not do the actions; I will keep my hands in—or to draw googly eyes on pizza boxes to deter the gulls, that body no longer deserves trust and respect or to enforce and apply those licences.

I know that time is moving on, but I believe that it is important that NatureScot is finally stripped of its power to issue the licences. It is coming up with ludicrous solutions to an important issue, and it does not deserve that power. If we agree to any of amendments 149 to 151, it will be stripped of that power and others will be encouraged to do a far better job.

I move amendment 60A.

The Deputy Presiding Officer (Liam McArthur): As members will have noted, we have now passed the agreed time limit for the debate on this group. I have exercised my power under rule 9.8.4A(c) to allow the debate on this group to continue beyond the limit in order to avoid the debate being unreasonably curtailed. However, I hope that it will not be necessary to do that again for the remainder of this evening.

Rachael Hamilton (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con): I am heartened that the minister now admits that there is a gull problem. We took a long time to get to that stage—we had to ask numerous questions and use parliamentary time to highlight the issue to the minister but, through amendment 60, he clearly recognises it. The culmination of the pressure from the Conservatives led to the gull summits, which at least allowed communities to have a say.

Amendment 152 provides that ministers should review the use of licences and the licence conditions in relation to the management of gulls. Specifically, it would require a report on the annual number of licence applications in each of the previous five years. The minister said that there is not a timeframe in the amendment, but I repeat that the amendment says that the report should be done every five years. The report should outline

“the number of applications rejected and approved”,

outline information on the conditions attached to the licences, consider

“problems faced by urban and coastal communities”

and question

“whether the licence conditions address any of those problems.”

I want to take the minister back to the point about how NatureScot was addressing the situation. As Douglas Ross said, it was suggesting ridiculous ways to deal with ground-nesting birds or to manage gulls. I repeat that advising using spaniels on scaffolding and dogs on drones was not meeting the needs of the community.

Before I outline my reasoning behind amendment 152, I acknowledge the recent engagement by the minister and NatureScot on the issue. Following pressure from members on the Conservative benches, regional round tables

were hosted by NatureScot. Although I was unable to attend the summit in Eyemouth, I have heard from local businesses and residents that it was a step in the right direction. They noted that it is critical that the actions are discussed and followed up pre-season every year.

Despite acknowledging that aggressive gulls are a health and safety issue—which it also took us a long time to convince the minister of—NatureScot's licensing process remains bureaucratic and inconsistent. I totally agree with my colleague Douglas Ross that NatureScot should be stripped of its powers, because there is a conflict of interest.

I want to take the minister back to 2024, when NatureScot issued only 505 licences for gull control, compared with more than 2,000 in the previous year. In addition, in 2024, only one licence was issued in the Borders, compared with 10 in the previous year. Communities need practical solutions to the issue. My amendments would provide clarity by reviewing the licensing process to ensure that it is suitable and accessible.

18:15

Finally, I want to say how unfair the minister's comment about my colleague Finlay Carson was. Yes, he is a Scottish Conservative. I am proud of what he does in the Rural Affairs and Islands Committee. As convener, he has the casting vote; that is how the process works. Just because he is a Scottish Conservative does not mean that that vote is invalid. In any other committee, a similar vote would have been considered to be entirely valid, especially if Jim Fairlie was commenting on one that had been voted on by an SNP convener.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I call for brief contributions—first from Edward Mountain and then from Christine Grahame.

Edward Mountain (Highlands and Islands) (Con): I would like to keep this short. I want to point out some of the contradictions in the minister's amendment 60 and speak to Douglas Ross's amendments 149 to 151.

The minister will know that the Wildlife and Countryside Act 1981, as amended, through section 16(1), gives people the right to apply for licences to carry out activities that would not normally be allowed. The power to issue those licences was conferred on Scottish Natural Heritage, or NatureScot, under the Wildlife and Natural Environment (Scotland) Act 2011.

I have first-hand experience of applying for licences. When applying for licences, SNH is clear that, if a licence is being applied to control sawbill ducks, for example, counts must be carried out twice a year, with the information submitted to SNH. That is looked at over the whole catchment to see whether a licence should be issued. That is why amendment 60, which calls for reporting on population numbers, proves that there is an inadequacy. SNH is asking for full detailed counts, but the minister seems to think that it can do whatever it likes by simply producing a report.

Applying for licences is really difficult. I remember an incident in which a lady who cycled down a hill every day to get to work was attacked by a buzzard. First of all, it destroyed her cycling helmet. She was advised to take another route, but there was not one. The final advice from SNH, which refused to give a licence, was for her to cycle down the hill with an umbrella so that she would be protected from the buzzard. I say to the minister that that shows the inadequacy of SNH. If a human had attacked the lady and caused injuries, they would have been removed from that scenario and probably put in prison. However, it seemed fine for a buzzard to do that, because SNH did not want to issue a licence to control it.

I support Douglas Ross's amendments 149 to 151. I do not really care where the licensing function goes, but all I know is that the licensing authority in NatureScot is dysfunctional.

I will leave it at that.

Christine Grahame (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP): Deputy Presiding Officer, "gull management fund"—I have waited years for those three words to cross my lips.

I want to speak about amendment 148. I know that my colleague Douglas Ross is keen on accuracy in the chamber, so I will ask some simple questions. Perhaps he could respond to them during his summing up.

Subsection (1) of the section that amendment 148 would insert would require

"an analysis of the total annual spend"

to be undertaken. What would be the cost of doing that?

Subsection (3) of that section would require

"a fund (to be known as 'the Gull Management Fund')"

to be established. That would need to be sufficient for local authorities to mitigate

"the impact of gulls in the local ... area"

and to respond to

"the consequences of gulls in the local ... area".

How much would that cost?

Subsection (5) would require

"an annual review of the operation and use of the Gull Management Fund"

to be undertaken, and, under subsection (6), there might require to be

"an increase in funding for the Gull Management Fund."

I know that a fund of £100,000 would not be enough, because the member has already said so. I will be happy to take an intervention on my comments after I make my point. It is important that the financial memorandum that accompanies the bill suits what would be done under it. That is critical, because we are talking about public money. However, I do not know what impact amendment 148 would have on the financial memorandum.

I will take it a step further. It is too late for him now, but had Mr Ross brought this as a member's bill—it would have been quite a good idea for such a bill—he would have been required to have a financial memorandum to accompany it.

My problem comes when things are being asked for at stage 3 and there are costings involved. I require the member—not on the face of his amendments, but in his submissions to the chamber—to present the costings that will be required to be provided by the Government.

Douglas Ross: Will the member give way?

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Are you taking the intervention, Ms Grahame?

Christine Grahame: It is only fair that I do—I have asked for costings.

Douglas Ross: If I had had more time—I have already tested the patience of the Presiding Officer—I might have gone into those issues. A lot of the work that Christine Grahame is seeking is, in fact, in St Andrew's house. I only came forward with my idea for a gull management fund when Jim Fairlie put out a press release in October, as he was driving up the A9 to go to NatureScot's headquarters in Inverness, to say that he was putting forward £100,000. I know that no minister would ever treat £100,000 of taxpayers' money in such a way without all the knowledge and all the information, without knowing exactly what that money was for and where it was coming from, and without knowing how he came up with £100,000 and not, for example, £200,000 or £500,000.

Perhaps my fault is that I trust SNP ministers more than Christine Grahame does.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Please conclude, Ms Grahame.

Christine Grahame: That was a valiant attempt at deflecting the question that I raised, but it was not clever enough. I know that you are very pernickety, Mr Ross, and that is a good thing—

The Deputy Presiding Officer: As pernickety as I may be, I ask you to please speak through the chair.

Christine Grahame: I apologise.

We all know that Mr Ross is very pernickety, and that is a good thing in a legislator. However, as the member is pernickety, he should have been able to come up with approximate figures. I also add that this will be a recurring cost, and not a one-off fund.

The member is coming to the chamber with this at stage 3. I know that he is a clever man and that he would have anticipated this question, and he has had time since stage 2 to come up with estimates of the cost in the financial memorandum, as he would have been required to do had he brought this as a member's bill.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I invite the minister to wind up on amendment 60.

Jim Fairlie: I will wind up very quickly, Presiding Officer.

To come back to Rachael Hamilton's point, she is absolutely correct that the vote at stage 2 was valid. However, it is not unusual for an imprecise amendment that was agreed to at stage 2 to then need revising at stage 3—which is exactly what has been done.

Rachael Hamilton could not attend the Eyemouth summit, but I highlight that it demonstrated that the £100,000 that Mr Ross mentioned is being used for the very thing that we said it would be used for.

Mr Ross is now talking about the fact that he wants to have a gull management fund. I was very interested in the discussion between him and Christine Grahame. We had an estimate done of what it would cost to do Mr Ross's survey. The result was £2.8 million a year, every year, because the proposal was imprecise and did not discuss the details. That would therefore be £2.8 million, on top of the gull management fund that Mr Ross wants us to create. For those reasons—

Douglas Ross: Perhaps more than anything to help his colleagues behind him, can the minister outline the detail of that £2.8 million cost for surveying gulls? That is what he is saying, so where does that figure come from? What is the breakdown? If we are using figures in the chamber, they must be robust.

I know that when the SNP is put in charge of things they cost a lot—but £3 million to count the gulls? That is a bit of a stretch.

Jim Fairlie: That demonstrates that Douglas Ross does not understand the complexity of what he is trying to deal with. We have a whole range of

species, and he probably does not understand what half of them are in the first place.

I ask members to reject Mr Ross's and Ms Hamilton's amendments.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I call Douglas Ross to wind up, and to press or withdraw his amendment 60A.

Douglas Ross: It is easy to wind up Jim Fairlie, but I have to say that I think that someone else has also wound him up by saying, "Minister, use this £2.8 million figure in the chamber." As Christine Grahame is very right to say, if you are given a figure like that, you are going to get a question about it. I therefore once again ask the minister to update Parliament and tell us about the breakdown of that figure. Where do the costs come from to allow the Government to say to legislators in the Parliament that it would cost almost £3 million per year to count the gulls?

Jim Fairlie: It is an estimate that was put together for the Scottish Government by the people who would be charged with carrying out the survey.

Douglas Ross: By NatureScot.

Jim Fairlie: Therefore, I will take those figures as being correct at this moment in time.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Mr Ross, you cannot take an intervention and then shout over it.

Douglas Ross: I apologise, Presiding Officer.

We have got to the bottom of it: the figure is an estimate. It is quite brave of the minister's officials to put that in his box note and see whether he will read it out—it turns out that he will. The minister is trying to convince members not to vote for something because of a £2.8 million cost that he says is only an estimate, and then he gives the game away. Who came up with the estimate? It is NatureScot, the body that is against all the amendments and which we should be stripping of these responsibilities.

Christine Grahame: Will the member give way?

Douglas Ross: I will give way to Christine Grahame in a moment. NatureScot thought, "Maybe if we put a big price tag on it, the minister will be gullible enough to read it out in the chamber and MSPs will vote accordingly."

Jim Fairlie: Will the member take an intervention?

Douglas Ross: I will give way to the minister after I give way to Christine Grahame.

Christine Grahame: Please do not get overexcited about gulls, Mr Ross—

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Speak through the chair, Ms Grahame.

Christine Grahame: Sorry—I should know better after 27 years. I will start again. Mr Ross should at least have some idea of how to quantify the cost to the public purse on a recurring basis. There are hidden things in the bill about mitigation and so on. There might be claims for damages against the Government. There is a lot of stuff in there. It opens up, if I may use the term in the context of gulls, a can of worms.

Douglas Ross: If Christine Grahame would like me to come up with a figure, I will say that it is less than £2.8 million. That means that I am closer to the true figure than the minister is.

Jim Fairlie: The financial memorandum has been published and it is on the Scottish Parliament website. Douglas Ross should take the time to read it so that he will understand where the figure of £2.8 million came from.

Douglas Ross: The figure is not in the financial memorandum—the minister said earlier that it is an estimate. The minister who is telling people to read documents is the same minister who lost a vote on part 2 of the bill and had to scrap a whole heap of it. None of us on this side of the chamber will be taking lectures from the Government about the bill, which is a complete boorach. The bill is so bad that members from all parties told the Government to strip parts out of it, and it did not even try to put them back in because it knows how bad they were.

I want to use my summing-up speech to sum up the debate. Rachael Hamilton made extremely valid points about the impact that the issue has had on her constituency. She has been a tireless campaigner on the issue, and that is because it affects people.

I know that there will shortly be a letter going to the minister to remind him about a 10-year-old in Inverness who ended up in hospital. Some of the people who think that this is a trivial issue that does not warrant discussion in our Parliament should say that to the 10-year-old who ended up in hospital with stitches in her head. They should also say that to my constituent in Elgin—who has now sadly passed away—who broke her leg while coming out of her house, spent time at Dr Gray's hospital and, when she got home again, was too scared to come out of her house. They should say that to people up and down the country.

I also recognise the significant contribution that was made to the debate by Fergus Ewing, who has raised with the minister, both in the chamber and in private meetings, many of the issues that his constituents in Inverness and Nairn face.

We have an opportunity tonight to do something about the issue. Edward Mountain was absolutely right that NatureScot does not deserve the responsibility for issuing licences. It is getting things so badly wrong—with gulls in particular but also with other species, as Edward Mountain said.

It would be nice to see a bit more reflection from the Government. From day 1, the minister said, "There is nothing wrong here" and, in particular, that there is not an issue with NatureScot. He has defended NatureScot to the hilt—he is its strongest champion—whereas it actually needs to be challenged.

Rachael Hamilton: It would be helpful for the minister to lead us to that reference in the financial memorandum. I do not know whether we have missed it or whether there has been an updated memorandum. I hope that Douglas Ross can help us to ensure that the minister will do that.

Douglas Ross: I assumed that the minister did not understand the question, because the figure would not be in the financial memorandum when the amendment to the bill has not yet been agreed to. If there is a cost to the amendment, that cannot be in the financial memorandum. I thought that the figure was another thing that might have been shoved into the minister's box to see whether he would read it out—and he did.

We have a minister who is unwilling to accept the challenge on the issue, who thinks that if he repeatedly comes up with spurious counterclaims, people will suddenly go away. The issue is not going away. In April, we are coming up to the breeding season again, and many of the promises made at the gull summit in Inverness—I understand that promises were made there; of course many of us were locked out of the room—have not come to fruition.

We are going to go through another breeding season in which those gulls are going to attack more people. They are going to put more 10-year-olds in hospital and we will see more elderly, frail people fall down, break their bones and end up in hospital as well. I just think that, when we have an opportunity with the Natural Environment (Scotland) Bill that we have in front of us, we can do something. It will not solve all the problems and, as Christine Grahame said, there are other issues that we can look at as regards mitigation.

However, the biggest things that we can do today are these. First, we can get that survey of gulls—which was supported by RSPB Scotland and was not opposed by any other party except the SNP when it came to committee. Secondly, we can support amendments 148 to 151, the last three of which strip the powers to grant licences from NatureScot, which is a body that seems to be unaccountable to anyone because we have a minister who is unwilling to challenge it. NatureScot does not deserve that important role—it is not carrying it out effectively and it should be passed to others. I urge members to support the amendments in my name, including amendment 60A.

I press amendment 60A.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 60A be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

Since this is the first division in this item of business, I will suspend proceedings for around five minutes to allow members to access the digital voting system.

18:31

Meeting suspended.

18:36

On resuming—

The Deputy Presiding Officer: We will proceed with the division on amendment 60A. Members should cast their votes now.

For

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)

Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 26, Against 82, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 60A disagreed to.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I call Jim Fairlie to press or withdraw amendment 60.

Jim Fairlie: I press amendment 60.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 60 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)

Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 81, Against 26, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 60 agreed to.

After section 33D

Amendment 148 moved—[Douglas Ross].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 148 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)

Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 24, Against 82, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 148 disagreed to.

Amendment 149 moved—[Douglas Ross].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 149 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)

MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 25, Against 82, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 149 disagreed to.

Amendment 150 moved—[Douglas Ross].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 150 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)

Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 25, Against 82, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 150 disagreed to.

Amendment 151 moved—[Douglas Ross].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 151 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)

Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 24, Against 82, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 151 disagreed to.

Amendment 152 moved—[Rachael Hamilton].

18:45

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 152 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 39, Against 66, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 152 disagreed to.

Section 33E—Clean scallop shells: exclusion from waste and animal by-product controls

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Group 12 is on scallops. Amendment 153, in the name of Emma Harper, is grouped with amendment 154.

Emma Harper (South Scotland) (SNP): In recognising that Finlay Carson's original amendment and variations thereafter have sought to address some of the red tape around the routes for clean scallop shells to be repurposed and taken out of the waste stream, my amendment 153 seeks to ensure that clear formal guidance is produced to help tackle any confusion and ensure a workable route to the market and the further use of scallop shells where they are properly treated and responsibly managed.

Ahead of my lodging the amendment, folk were asking me, "What are you using scallop shells for?" The shells are made of calcium carbonate, so they can be used for various things such as aggregate for roads, as a liming agent for changing the acidity of soil, or for feeding chickens. There is an opportunity to look at how we manage the waste shells when they are properly treated and responsibly managed.

My amendment would require ministers to issue and publish detailed guidance within one year of the provision coming into force. Ministers would be required to consult the Scottish Environment Protection Agency, Food Standards Scotland and other appropriate bodies or persons before any guidance is issued.

SEPA would be required to have due regard to the guidance. As an example that was put to me of what the guidance could contain, it might specify that no more than 1,500 tonnes of shells would be permitted for temporary storage.

I know that some individuals and businesses in the sector, including those in the South Scotland region that I represent, have highlighted issues with regard to dealing with large stockpiles of clean scallop shells, in particular in relation to storage. In response, I have engaged with SEPA and the Scottish Government to discuss those issues, and I know that they are working with businesses and individuals to agree straightforward ways of resolving issues with large stockpiles of scallop shells within the existing legal framework.

SEPA has also advised that it is working directly with seafood producers to explore new markets for scallop shells and to support access to those, and to help resolve issues around temporary storage. It is trying to reduce administrative burdens to a minimum for those who are managing shells properly, which we all want to see, not least businesses such as West Coast Sea Products in my region. I put on the record my thanks to that company for its engagement on the issue. I am aware, however, that West Coast Sea Products already has markets for its shells—that is not its particular issue.

However, while we can all agree that those who are managing shells do not need onerous authorisation conditions, it is nevertheless crucial that there are conditions in place to ensure that they are managed properly to avoid environmental harm. That includes avoiding issues with odour and pests, which I do not think any of our constituents would thank us for.

My understanding of Finlay Carson's amendment 154 is that it would not allow for those safeguards. I have also engaged with South of Scotland Enterprise to ask it to help West Coast Sea Products in any way that it can with advice or funding as part of the approach to addressing the issues. Additionally, I note that, in its report on the delegated powers that were added to the bill at stage 2, the Delegated Powers and Law Reform Committee found, in relation to Mr Carson's stage 2 amendment, that

"the proposed power appears unnecessary in many respects and legally unworkable in others. The Committee therefore recommends that an alternative solution to the issue the amendment seeks to address be found."

My amendment, if agreed to, will fully address all the concerns that were raised by the committee about Mr Carson's amendment at stage 2, and it will address similar concerns with amendment 154.

I move amendment 153.

Finlay Carson (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con): I will address amendment 153, which was lodged by Emma Harper, and set out why a guidance-only approach cannot deliver the practical change that stakeholders, particularly processors, need. Guidance does not change the law: it is non-binding and regulators only need to have regard to it. The statutory framework, the licensing, the storage and transport rules and the documentation would remain exactly the same. Processors have been clear that guidance will not cut costs, reduce red tape or remove uncertainty. Day-to-day decisions will rest on case-by-case interpretation, with all the inconsistencies that that entails.

As the guidance is non-binding, it can introduce regional variations, leaving businesses unsure when planning investment, managing seasonal peaks or managing supply chains. Without statutory definition, especially when a material is a by-product rather than waste, the core issues persist—the same permits, transport requirements

and storage restrictions. Markets need legal assurances, not suggestions. Agriculture, construction, restoration and craft sectors will not accept secondary material unless its legal status is clear. For all those reasons, and in line with what processors have told me directly, guidance-only amendments risk giving the appearance of progress while leaving the regulatory burden intact. If the Parliament wants lower costs, less bureaucracy and less uncertainty, it must deliver statutory change, not non-binding guidance.

I am disappointed that Emma Harper, who represents South Scotland, which comprises businesses along the Solway, is trying to overturn my stage 2 amendment, which was passed by the Rural Affairs and Islands Committee and supported by Labour, the Greens and the Liberal Democrats. However, she has the opportunity to make amends and stand up for her constituents—those who have expressed their opinions to her—by supporting my revised and improved amendment, which I will now turn to.

Emma Harper: I believe that I am standing up for constituents. My understanding is that your amendment—

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Through the chair.

Emma Harper: Sorry, Presiding Officer. My understanding is that Finlay Carson's amendment 154 makes the legislation more complicated and onerous. If we put the guidance into legislation, it means that it will be statutory and that SEPA will need to follow the guidance that the ministers create. Is that not what his amendment is all about?

Finlay Carson: I am not suggesting that guidance is bad, but it certainly does not go as far as the processors that I have had conversations with would like.

Moving on to amendment 154, I thank colleagues from across the chamber, who all, other than those in the SNP, supported the principle behind it at stage 2. Members recognised that Scotland's coastal communities deserve better than legal uncertainty and bureaucratic delay. I thank the cabinet secretary for engaging constructively. Although we could not agree that guidance would deliver the required changes, amendment 154 addresses the shortcomings with the stage 2 amendment that were identified by the cabinet secretary and by Emma Harper.

Let me be crystal clear about what the amendment does: it states that "clean, tissue-free" scallop shells—they are inert, stable and widely used—can be "treated as by-products" when an established article 5 test is met. It permits proportionate, time-limited, temporary storage, movement or aggregation of the shells without a full environmental authorisation, provided that operators keep simple records. It recognises genuine, established markets for the shells: soil improvement, landscaping, water filtration and coastal restoration. It retains full ministerial powers to set standards and require "traceability and labelling", and it requires ministers to consult SEPA, the Association of Professional Healthcare Analysts, FSS and local authorities.

This is not, as Emma Harper suggested, deregulation; it is better regulation—smarter, proportionate and rooted in the principles of the circular economy. We cannot claim to be serious about circularity while treating a clean, reusable material as hazardous waste, nor can we keep telling processors and community projects to wait for further regulation while they face costs, delays and uncertainty.

Article 5 already provides a robust, legally tested definition of a by-product. Scotland uses it across environmental regulation. It works. The amendment brings clarity into primary legislation now, not years from now. To be clear, it does not weaken public health, it does not touch food safety rules and it does not change the status of shells with residual tissue. Those remain category 3 animal by-products. The amendment applies only to clean, tissue-free shells. It adds clarity; it does not dilute the arrangements.

The Parliament often speaks about empowering coastal communities, cutting unnecessary red tape and delivering a circular economy. The amendment puts those words into action. It removes a disproportionate regulatory hurdle, supports restoration and biodiversity projects that already rely on shells and creates value from a material that would otherwise represent a cost, while keeping safeguards and ministerial oversight firmly in place.

The amendment would be a practical win for coastal communities, a policy win for a circular economy and a legislative win for clarity over confusion. I urge members to support my amendment and to give Scotland's shellfish processors, buyers and the projects that they deliver the certainty that they deserve.

The Cabinet Secretary for Climate Action and Energy (Gillian Martin): I understand why Emma Harper and Finlay Carson have lodged their amendments, and I am grateful to them both for their engagement on the matter. I want to be clear that, as I said at stage 2, I am supportive of the idea of using products such as scallop shells as part of the circular economy.

As I explained to Finlay Carson when we met on 13 January, waste and waste disposal are already subject to existing legislative provision, including in relation to by-product conditions and end-of-waste

conditions, which derive predominantly from European Union law and are regulated by SEPA. I recognise that Finlay Carson's amendment 154 attempts to remove some of the perceived complexities of the process of bringing clean, tissue-free scallop shells to market or transferring shells for another use, but in reality I believe—we have discussed this with the regulators—that his proposal would add confusion. It duplicates provisions that are already in current waste legislation but lacks the current safeguards.

Finlay Carson: Rather than duplicating anything, it just restates the current legislation. That is not unusual in legislation.

Gillian Martin: I think that restating something and duplicating it are the same thing. The amendment would mean that an environmental authorisation would not be required, so no conditions could be imposed in relation to the storage or transfer of shells. Obviously, if the regulation-making power were given to Scottish ministers, any regulations that were made using that power could not provide for the enforcement of any requirements or give any body, such as SEPA or local authorities, any powers of enforcement. That is a flaw in the amendment.

Without such safeguards in place, Finlay Carson's amendment could lead to increased environmental harm through a lack of enforcement and regulation. If the use of the shells was not regulated properly, we could be looking at a number of issues—smell problems, pest problems and so on. I am sure that most people are storing them correctly, but we make regulations to ensure that there is a level playing field for everyone.

I was genuinely hopeful that I could work with Finlay Carson on a workable amendment. However, I think that Emma Harper's amendment 153 would ensure that current safeguards are protected.

Finlay Carson: The cabinet secretary is misrepresenting the position. It is quite clear that my amendment refers only to clean, tissue-free shells, which means that there would not be smell issues or other environmental considerations that might arise in relation to untreated shells.

19:00

Gillian Martin: I recognise that, but I am getting advice on this from those who use the current regulations. From conversations that we have had with Finlay Carson, as well as with Emma Harper, I note that SEPA has been discussing this issue with the people who have made representations to both Finlay Carson and Emma Harper throughout the process, and SEPA is taking on board the complexities that people have said have been overly burdensome.

Emma Harper's amendment 153 will ensure that current safeguards are protected and will avoid any interference and confusion that would arise from duplicating existing legislation. It offers a viable means of addressing concerns over so-called red tape by committing to issue clear and informative guidance to SEPA in relation to by-products conditions and end-of-waste conditions for scallop shells, to simplify matters and help processors to do the right thing.

For those reasons, I am afraid that I cannot support Finlay Carson's amendment 154 and I must ask members to consider supporting Emma Harper's amendment 153 instead.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I call Emma Harper to wind up and to press or withdraw amendment 153.

Emma Harper: I will not take long.

I absolutely care about coastal communities. The South Scotland region is huge and has a lot of coastline on both the east and west coasts. I whole-heartedly care about the communities that I look after.

Although I appreciate the motivation behind Mr Carson's amendment 154, I urge members not to support it, as it will do little more than add complexity and duplication to the existing legal framework, and it will do so at the risk of causing environmental harm. For those reasons, I ask Mr Carson to consider not moving his amendment.

I thank the cabinet secretary and her officials for working with me. I learned so much from an online meeting that we held that laid out the whole issue of end-of-waste and by-products conditions and how we can clarify that for everybody involved. It is not just about processors in the south-west of Scotland; there are processors in the north with the same issues, and they have already made workable arrangements.

My amendment 153 will serve to cut through some of the complexity that may exist in the current process of managing scallop shells as part of the circular economy, while ensuring the authorisation conditions that are necessary to make sure that there is no adverse environmental impact. I urge members to support my amendment.

The Deputy Presiding Officer (Annabelle Ewing): Thank you, Ms Harper. Do I take it that you are pressing the amendment?

Emma Harper: Yes.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 153 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 89, Against 16, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 153 agreed to.

Amendment 154 moved—[Finlay Carson].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 154 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

The vote is closed.

We have a point of order from Craig Hoy.

Mr Hoy, you have voted, if that is what your point of order is about. Oh—he has gone.

Roz McCall (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con): On a point of order, Presiding Officer. I could not connect. I would have voted yes.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Thank you very much. Your vote will be recorded.

For

Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 43, Against 64, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 154 disagreed to.

After section 33E

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Group 13 is on agricultural subsidies. Amendment 155, in the name of Jamie Halcro Johnston, is grouped with amendments 156 to 158 and 169.

Jamie Halcro Johnston (Highlands and Islands) (Con): I remind members of my entry in the register of members' interests: I am a partner in a farming business and a member of NFU Scotland and Scottish Land & Estates.

Through the Rural Support (Improvement) (Miscellaneous Amendment) (Scotland) Regulations 2025 (SSI 2025/59), the Scottish Government removed two exemptions that allowed a number of farmers not to put ecological focus areas into place. That is the focus of my amendment 155.

The removal of those exemptions will have the effect of increasing the number of farm businesses

that are required to put an EFA in place. In the islands, it will have a particularly disproportionate effect, because, according to the island communities impact assessment, the number of affected island farm businesses will rise from 15 to an estimated 282 in the first year. Future changes could have an even greater impact, potentially increasing the number of affected farms to unsustainable levels, according to some local farmers.

Island farms face particular difficulties in implementing EFAs, which is why they have benefited from a position in which very few have had to do so in the past. Amendment 155 would reapply the two former 75 per cent exemptions exclusively to farm businesses on inhabited islands. Given the challenges of implementation, it would also reduce the proportion of a holding that would be required to be under an EFA for the small number of farms concerned from 7 per cent back down to 5 per cent. That is a relatively small change from the point of view of the number of hectares affected, but it would avoid the massively disproportionate impact that the Government's change will have on island communities that are least able to implement it.

Amendments 156 to 158 aim to provide transparency on the operation of the future farming investment scheme and any similar funds that are established for environmental farming support. Members will not need to be reminded about the anger that surrounded the launch of the future farming investment scheme. We know, for example, that almost half of applicants were deemed to be ineligible before even being considered. When the minister has been challenged on the matter, his answer has been that he does not know whether those applications were ever reviewed by a human.

Amendment 156 seeks to deal with the broad issue of the operation of such schemes by requiring data to be published to provide a credible overview of their operation. That is vital if we are not only to fix the FFIS but to ensure that such chaos does not happen again with future schemes. The publication of the data that the amendment would require would be relatively straightforward and would assist with not only applicants' but the public's understanding of the scheme.

Amendment 157 seeks to address the issue at the level of individual applicants. It reflects the words of the cabinet secretary, who told the committee that applicants might wish to contact their local rural payments and inspections division office if they want to know why an application has been rejected. If the cabinet secretary is satisfied to give that advice, I suggest that she should make that clear by supporting amendment 157, which would provide that applicants would have the right to access such information in that way.

Amendment 158 is a consequential amendment that would provide safeguards for protected and confidential data.

Douglas Ross's amendment 169 covers similar ground to my amendment 156 and would require transparency around the operation of the FFIS, with the publication of an annual report containing information about the nature of the applications. Amendment 169 differs in that it includes specific requirements to set out whether internal consultants or computerised programmes were used and to provide information about potential learnings for the Scottish Government. The amendment also includes a requirement to consult

"persons with knowledge, expertise and experience of farming and agriculture"

and to inform all applicants who were rejected or were ineligible of the reasons why their application was not accepted. I urge members to support amendment 169 as well.

I move amendment 155.

Douglas Ross: I am very pleased to speak to amendment 169, because it is crucially important.

I will start where I started in committee when I moved the same amendment. I welcome the quantum of funds that went to farmers and crofters, and I welcome the scheme. It would be churlish to dismiss the significant investment, but something went wrong here. No one can tell me that they believe that this scheme was a success when 47 per cent of applicants—let us remember that more than 7,500 people applied for the scheme—were not rejected but were deemed ineligible. If we have a scheme in which almost one in every two applicants is deemed to be ineligible before even being considered, there is a problem with the scheme. There is a problem with how the scheme is articulated, how people are invited to apply for it or how it is reviewed when it comes back in.

The scheme has been the subject of considerable debate in the Parliament—whether through questions in the chamber, stage 2 amendments or the members' business debate that we had less than a week ago—and that has come from all sides of the chamber. Liberal Democrats lodged the members' business motion last week, Labour MSPs have been raising the issue in the chamber and their MP colleagues have been raising it in the House of Commons, and the Conservatives have been regularly seeking updates and answers on this point.

What should have been a positive has turned into a negative for the Government, and it really risks undermining the thought process that people

will go through should they have the opportunity to apply for a scheme in the future. Months on, they are still unsure about what happened here. They do not know why their application, which they spent a lot of time on, was either rejected or deemed ineligible. I would have thought it a basic courtesy to tell people who are applying for funds that they believe are vital for their farming or crofting operation why they were not successful. Was it because too many people applied for the same thing? Was it because their geographical area was oversubscribed and some people had to be rejected while others were fortunate?

What happened to those ineligible applications? The minister has outlined, both in letters and in written answers, a series of reasons why he believes applications were rejected. Many of those reasons have been dismissed by those in the industry. Speaking of the industry, I am sure that the minister or the cabinet secretary who responds to the debate on this group will say, "Well, the scheme was co-designed with NFU Scotland." However, the same NFU Scotland said:

"Initial feedback from our members has focused around perceived inconsistencies".

I know that many members will not want to take that information from me or from others on the Conservative benches—they might not even like to hear it from members on any of the Opposition benches—but they cannot ignore the body that represents our farmers in this country, which was involved in the scheme but is saying that something went badly wrong here.

It is important that we do not repeat these mistakes in the future. It is important to insert confidence back into the system. People being unhappy about not getting a grant is understandable, but their now being wary about applying in the future is unacceptable. If there is money available, we should encourage our new entrants, tenant farmers and those in island communities to apply for it, as priority groups in the scheme were encouraged to do before they were left with nothing—not the money that they looked for for the investment that they needed, nor, crucially, the answers to the questions that they posed.

19:15

I will highlight a point that will, no doubt, come up in summing up. Ministers will say that they promised at stage 2 to provide all the information that was required. The cabinet secretary, Mairi Gougeon, made that commitment at committee. She was very clear that we did not need to support amendments such as amendment 169 because material would be provided before recess, which was only a couple of weeks away. At that point, I and others tried to intervene, but Rhoda Grant of the Labour party made a very telling intervention. She said:

"There is a huge amount of concern about this, and there have been statements and questions on it, but we do not seem to have any better information, and I think that there is a lack of confidence that the information will come out."

She then asked Mairi Gougeon:

"When does the cabinet secretary plan to publish the paper that she referred to?"

Rhoda Grant, who is an Opposition politician to me, continued:

"I am minded to support these amendments, because I am not confident that we will get the answers. Is there any way back from this to ensure that, if what is in the paper is not good enough, people can still get the information that they need?"—[*Official Report*, *Rural Affairs and Islands Committee*, 10 December 2025; c 95-96.]

It is very clear that the information that was ultimately published by the cabinet secretary was not good enough, because people still do not have the answers that they are looking for.

I quoted Rhoda Grant in the hope of garnering Labour's support. I mentioned Liam McArthur in the hope of garnering support from the Liberal Democrats. Now, I come to one of my favourite members on the SNP benches: Christine Grahame. I can see that she is overwhelmed by that. Less than a week ago, she took part in the members' business debate on—[*Interruption.*] Yes, I know. If I can finish my point, I will give way to Christine Grahame.

Christine Grahame: I informed the member—[*Inaudible*.]

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Hello? Is Mr Ross accepting an intervention from Ms Grahame?

Douglas Ross: I will, in a moment, if I can finish my point.

I highlighted Christine Grahame because, when she took part in the members' business debate on the future farming investment scheme, less than a week ago, she said:

"What is missing ... is a breakdown by parliamentary region and more detailed data on new entrants, farm types and so on for both successful and unsuccessful applications".—[*Official Report*, 22 January 2026; c 112.]

At that time, I urged Christine Grahame to support my amendments this week, because, in sections (4)(a) and (4)(b) of amendment 169, I call for Scottish ministers to

"inform all applicants whose application was rejected the reason for their application being rejected"

and to

"inform all applicants that were considered ineligible the reason why they were considered to be ineligible."

I do not know whether we have some telepathic relationship going on, but, before Christine Grahame uttered those words last Thursday, I had lodged an amendment that would achieve exactly what she was calling for. Perhaps, when she was seeking to intervene, she was going to tell me that she will support amendment 169, so I will accept her intervention.

Christine Grahame: Instead of being called to intervene, I will take this opportunity, if I may, to speak to the amendments in the group.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Ms Grahame, this is an intervention. Speaking to amendments is different.

Christine Grahame: I will leave it until I speak to the amendments in the group, if that is convenient, and then I will—

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Douglas Ross.

Douglas Ross: The member asked to intervene, but I can handle the suspense for a few more minutes.

I say genuinely that there is nothing in amendment 169 that SNP members should be concerned about. To go back to Christine Grahame's questions on my gull amendments, there is nothing in here that would cost the Government any money. I have gone through it very carefully since the last group was discussed. There is also nothing in here that would mean any SNP member who represents a rural or island constituency could not proudly go back to that constituency and say, "I supported amendment 169 to get the answers that our farmers, crofters and tenant farmers want." I cannot understand why SNP ministers would not want to be open and transparent on a scheme about which many of us were positive in relation to what it delivered for those who were successful. However, we do have questions about those who were not.

I will finish with a quote from a constituent from Moray whom I quoted in committee and who I think deserves to be quoted in the chamber. As an agent, she was involved with many of the applications in my area and was seeking to get the best for those she was working with. She said:

"The biggest red flag and huge concern to the industry is the 3,537 applications that did not meet the eligibility criteria—we need more information on this, and we need it whilst the civil servants who have dealt with the scheme are still in their current jobs."

She continued:

"I simply do not believe that 47% of applicants were ineligible—I do not believe this possible. I do on the other hand believe that the people (or possibly AI—although this has been point blank denied in parliament) doing the scoring did not have the correct training or information available to make these assessments."

She finished by saying:

"We need a breakdown of why each ineligible application was ineligible—and if the government refuse to provide this then that raises greater concerns on transparency and the accuracy of the assessment system."

I do not want those concerns to continue any longer. The Government has an opportunity to ensure that there is accuracy and transparency within the system. It can back my amendment 169 and Jamie Halcro Johnston's amendments 156 to 158 in order to finally put the issue to bed, accept where errors have been made, make improvements going forward and restore trust in a system that clearly needs it to be restored.

There remain far too many questions about the scheme, and those questions will not go away. More questions will be posed to the minister, and there will be more members' business debates on the issue. More questions will be raised, I am sure, at hustings in the coming weeks and months, ahead of the election. Therefore, I suggest that it would be better for all of us across the political spectrum to support the amendments in order to get the answers for our constituents who have been calling for them for so long.

Christine Grahame: I do not demur from anything that I said in the members' business debate; I meant what I said and I said what I meant. Anyone can have a look at it, since it is a wonderful contribution. However, I do not think that it is appropriate to include the proposal in an amendment to legislation. There are many ways to deal with the issue—I have said that before about other amendments. For example, committees could undertake to ensure that there is an inquiry, and there are parliamentary questions and debates. To me, those are the ways in which members should deal with ensuring that the scheme does what it says on the tin.

There may be innocent reasons as to why something went wrong. I agree that 47 per cent is high—how on earth did that happen? It may be simply be that, in the rush to get ahead of the queue, applicants completed the forms quickly—and incorrectly. Douglas Ross will know that, during the members' business debate, I queried the guidance that was on the website and which applications had been rejected. In that regard, the minister gave a helpful answer to a written question from Liam McArthur on 4 December that listed some of the reasons. However, no farmer or tenant will be looking at answers to parliamentary questions.

I understand that the minister is busy, but I think that it would be relatively simple for him find a cure for when the fund comes around next time. Douglas Ross would agree that it is a good fund; it almost doubled in size because of demand, which is good. However, if there is concern that the

assessments were not handled properly or that there was inequality in the process, let us look into that—that is all. All that I am saying to Douglas Ross is that I do not think that his proposals should be included in primary legislation.

Douglas Ross: In some ways, I agree that primary legislation is perhaps not the best way to do this. However, I would hope that Christine Grahame would agree that the issue has been raised in parliamentary questions, as she suggested, that I and other members have written individually to the minister on behalf of constituents, and that the committee has discussed the issue at stage 2. Having gone through all those options and still not having received the answers, does she understand why the amendments have been lodged? Would she also accept, having mentioned my proposal in an intervention on the minister, that if we were to get a commitment to do what the amendments propose without the need to force them to a vote, I would not move my amendment?

Christine Grahame: Of course, I do not speak for the minister; I will leave him to deal with that. I will not be here in the next parliamentary session as I am retiring, and neither will Douglas Ross. If the proposal is not progressed, committee members in the next parliamentary session can ensure that it is followed up.

If I were a member in the next session, I would pursue the issue if the minister does not follow through on it, because it is not a big deal. It is a simple thing to explain to people who are upset and disappointed so that they know why, where they went wrong, and whether there is something in the guidance that they could have done better, so that they do not rush to put in their application only for it to be rejected on eligibility grounds or as a result of the checking that goes on afterwards. I seem to recall—the minister will undoubtedly correct me—that some people were claiming twice for certain items. That has to be cleared up.

I will leave it at that. I supported what was said in the debate that I referred to earlier, but I do not believe that it is appropriate to put the measures in primary legislation.

Jim Fairlie: Amendment 155 from Jamie Halcro Johnston seeks to use the bill to reverse the progress that we have made elsewhere. Progress has been made with the industry and changes are being put in place for farm support to put us in better shape to deliver for nature and climate and for what is expected from the market. I have been clear that we will maintain our investment in our producers with direct payments to underpin the resilience of those feeding our nation, but in return it is right that we expect them to do more for nature and for climate outcomes. I ask him to take that into account and not press amendment 155.

The proposals in amendments 156, 157 and 169, which relate to the reporting arrangements for the future farming investment scheme and the wider environmental farming schemes, were also made in amendments that were lodged at stage 2. I assure the members that I understand the concerns behind the amendments and that we are taking steps to address them. However, I do not think that creating statutory reporting duties for the schemes is necessary or proportionate. To introduce such measures would add administrative costs and burdens to the schemes, when much of the information that is sought in the amendments has already been published.

Douglas Ross: I have a genuine offer. If the minister were to agree to either publish all the information on those who were rejected or deemed ineligible or to invite those who wish to have that information to receive it either from their local office or from the Scottish Government, I would not move my amendment 169. Will he consider that so that those who were rejected or deemed ineligible finally get answers as to why they were rejected or deemed ineligible?

Jim Fairlie: I very much look forward to Mr Ross not moving his amendment, because we have already published detailed assessment documentation explaining eligibility, verification, scoring and ranking. That was all published before Christmas. We have also told people who have concerns that they can contact their RPID office and will be given an individual explanation as to what they have done.

Douglas Ross *rose—*

Jim Fairlie: I am not going to take any more interventions from Mr Ross. We have discussed the issue and we have debated it endlessly. As I said, individual applicants for the scheme can discuss with their RPID office why their application was unsuccessful.

For those reasons, I ask members not to press or move the amendments. If they are pressed or moved, I ask members not to support them.

Jamie Halcro Johnston: I take it from the minister's final comments that the Government will therefore support my amendment 157, which calls for information to be available from RPID, as advised by the Cabinet Secretary for Rural Affairs, Land Reform and Islands, who said in committee:

> "if individuals have any queries about their own specific applications, I encourage them to go to their RPID office and try to garner that information."—[*Official Report*, *Rural Affairs and Islands Committee*, 10 December 2025; c 96.]

Given that that is the nature of my amendment 157, I take it that the Government will support it.

I am happy to take an intervention if the minister wants to clarify.

Jim Fairlie: The member's amendments are utterly unnecessary, because we have already done all the things that have been asked for, so we will not be supporting his amendments.

Jamie Halcro Johnston: I imagine that as well as Douglas Ross, Tim Eagle and me, other members across the chamber who represent farming communities might be interested to see the response that we get in our inbox when farmers hear that the Government has already done all that it is going to do.

Douglas Ross: Does the member think that it would be helpful to the Government's case to outline to Parliament how many of the 7,500 applicants have sought that information? We know that 47 per cent of those—3,500—were deemed ineligible. Have 3,500 people already requested that information, which the minister says is available, or is the true figure closer to zero? That is what it sounds like from the feedback that we are getting from our constituents.

19:30

Jamie Halcro Johnston: That would be very helpful. However, whether our constituents who might apply for that information will have any confidence in getting it is another matter. The lack of confidence in how the scheme has been rolled out is one of the key issues with the whole situation.

Douglas Ross highlighted the frustration of farmers, and it is very much the case that they are frustrated. The minister talked about the administrative burdens and costs of providing the information, but we are ignoring the time and effort that farmers need to put into the applications at a busy time of year. It is not just farmers who need to do that but all the suppliers who are required to provide quotes and, sometimes, to requote areas. That is why my amendments 156 and 157 and Douglas Ross's amendment 169 are so important.

The minister also talked about the information that had been published. The paper had been promised at committee, but the update was snuck out on the last day before recess—that is, the day after the last day of parliamentary business. Therefore, there was no opportunity to scrutinise it.

I am surprised that the Government appears not to be supportive of amendment 157. As I said, the cabinet secretary advised that the amendment is about something that somebody could do. It seems an odd to say, "Take this approach, but actually, we will not make sure that you can do it legislatively".

My amendment 155 relates to greening, a matter on which I recognise that progress is being made. The minister met farmers from Orkney who came down to the Parliament for a meeting that I hosted, and they put their concerns and issues to him in person. They laid out the impact that the changes will have in communities such as ours, so the minister will not be unaware of their implications. That is why I lodged amendment 155.

On that basis, I press amendment 155.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 155 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)

Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 28, Against 78, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 155 disagreed to.

Amendment 156 moved—[Jamie Halcro Johnston].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 156 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)

Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 42, Against 65, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 156 disagreed to.

Amendment 157 moved—[Jamie Halcro Johnston].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 157 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)

Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 44, Against 64, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 157 disagreed to.

Amendment 158 not moved.

Before section 33F

Amendment 61 moved—[Mercedes Villalba].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 61 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)

Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Abstentions

Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 19, Against 81, Abstentions 7.

Amendment 61 disagreed to.

Amendment 159 not moved.

Amendment 160 moved—[Edward Mountain].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 160 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)

Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 46, Against 62, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 160 disagreed to.

Amendment 164 not moved.

Amendment 165 moved—[Willie Rennie].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 165 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)

Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 99, Against 8, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 165 agreed to.

Amendment 166 moved—[John Mason].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 166 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 23, Against 83, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 166 disagreed to.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Group 14 is on muirburn and wildfire management. Amendment 167, in the name of Tim Eagle, is grouped with amendments 62, 42, 43 and 161 to 163.

Tim Eagle: Members may remember my arguments on the creation of a wildfire response

unit at stage 2 of the bill and stage 3 of the Land Reform (Scotland) Bill. I am trying again because the matter is so serious. My amendment 167 would require ministers to review the ability of the Scottish Fire and Rescue Service to respond to wildfires. If ministers found that there were not sufficient resources—I would argue that there are not—they would be required to set up a wildfire response unit.

As I have put on the record before, many businesses and land managers were involved in tackling the damaging wildfires at Carrbridge and Dava in the Cairngorms last summer. The scale of those fires and the devastation that they caused were immense. They are considered to have been the largest such wildfires in Scottish history, and they burned more than 11,000 hectares of moorland and forestry. I remain incredibly grateful to the communities and to the Scottish Fire and Rescue Service for coming out in support during that time. However, I believe that much more needs to be done to provide the Scottish Fire and Rescue Service with vehicles, aerial support, commanders with enhanced authority and so on. Such fires are going to become an annual feature in the Highlands, and I want to ensure that the SFRS is properly funded to respond.

This is possibly the last time that I will say this in the current session of Parliament: the fires that we are seeing are incredibly powerful and deeply worrying for local communities. It is not just open moor that is affected, and it seems to me that it is only a matter of time before a fire hits a town or village. I urge the Parliament to act now rather than wait for a future disaster.

I also have two amendments on muirburn in the group, which follow on from my arguments at stage 2 of the bill and stage 3 of the Land Reform (Scotland) Bill. In 2024, as many will remember, the Scottish Parliament passed the bill that became the Wildlife Management and Muirburn (Scotland) Act 2024, which prevents anyone from making muirburn on land without first acquiring a licence. Following two delays due to stakeholder concerns, the licensing scheme is due to come into force this year. The effect of that might be that fewer people will be able to make muirburn or that people will stop muirburn altogether, curtailing work that is obviously necessary to prevent disasters from taking place again.

I believe that licensing will only make it harder for skilled land managers to carry out preventative muirburn. That will mean an increase in combustible fuel loads and, potentially, the loss of those in the industry who played such a vital role in containing recent fires. My amendment 162 would therefore repeal part of the muirburn licensing scheme conditions in the 2024 act—that is, the conditions that relate to applications for making muirburn on peatland. The amendment would mean that all land, whether it is peatland or not, would be subject to the same conditions where a licence is to be considered.

I do not expect that proposal to get support today. However, if the Government cannot accept it, perhaps it will at least agree with my amendment 163, which would require ministers to undertake a review of the impact of the licensing scheme on wildfire management, including through consulting the Scottish Fire and Rescue Service and other appropriate authorities. If the licensing scheme is found to have a harmful effect, the provisions must not be brought into force. All that I am asking for is a review in order to try to protect us in the future.

19:45

I turn to the other amendments in the group. The Scottish Conservatives are happy to support Emma Roddick's amendment 62, which seeks to introduce a power for local authorities to issue a fixed-penalty notice relating to the prevention or suppression of wildfires. I am grateful to Emma Roddick for lodging her amendment. We are also content to support Beatrice Wishart's amendments 42 and 43, which seek to introduce an approved training course and to allow muirburn on peatland.

I confirm that we will support the amendments on muirburn licences that were lodged by my colleague Edward Mountain. I will leave it to him to set those out in more depth.

I move amendment 167.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I advise members that we will shortly reach the next time limit and we still have the current group and one more group to debate within that timeframe. As a consequence, under rule 9.8.5A, I am minded to accept a motion without notice to propose that the time limit be extended by up to 30 minutes.

Motion moved,

That, under rule 9.8.5A, the time limit by which the debate on Groups 12 to 15 must end be extended by up to 30 minutes.—[*Graeme Dey*]

Motion agreed to.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I advise members that we will seek to continue the business and crack on. We are not planning to take any comfort breaks at this stage.

Emma Roddick (Highlands and Islands) (SNP): My amendment 62 will allow ministers to introduce by regulations fixed-penalty schemes in relation to any byelaws that local authorities introduce to prevent wildfires. It will also put beyond doubt the ability of local authorities to

make byelaws for the purpose of wildfire prevention and suppression.

As we know all too well in the Highlands, wildfires can be devastating. They pose a deadly risk to life, as well as threatening rural businesses. Large amounts of carbon are released and biodiversity is put in danger as many species struggle to survive the flames. Following the Dava moor fire last year, many constituents wrote to me suggesting various approaches that could prevent wildfires from taking hold, including banning disposable barbecue use during the summer months. The Cairngorms National Park Authority's new byelaws attracted a lot of support locally, and people asked why they were not being brought in elsewhere. Councils told me that their inability to issue fixed-penalty notices is a huge barrier.

I lodged a similar amendment at stage 2 and I was pleased to get supportive comments from colleagues across the parties. Since then, I have worked with the Government on further development of what is now amendment 62, and I am delighted that it is being considered today. I hope that members across the chamber will support it.

Beatrice Wishart (Shetland Islands) (LD): Amendments 42 and 43 are intended to make the muirburn licensing framework more workable and clearer in practice. Under the Wildlife Management and Muirburn (Scotland) Act 2024, there is now a requirement for all muirburn practitioners to complete an approved training course. However, Bright Spark Burning Techniques, which is a provider of muirburn training, and Scottish Land & Estates identified that completing an approved training course is not a licensable purpose for making muirburn. Given the requirement to complete an approved training course with practical components, it seems that that is an oversight that should be corrected.

Amendment 42 would explicitly recognise training that is delivered as part of an approved course under the 2024 act as a legitimate purpose for muirburn on both peatland and non-peatland. It would also allow muirburn that is undertaken for training or research to take place outside the standard muirburn season where that is genuinely required. The aim is straightforward. Approved training courses must currently rely on other licensable purposes in order to operate, which is neither transparent nor sustainable. The proposed changes would allow training and research to stand on their own footing while remaining subject to licensing and proper oversight. Amendment 42 would also clarify which muirburn purposes may take place inside and outside the muirburn season, providing greater certainty for practitioners and regulators alike.

Amendment 43 addresses the additional test that currently applies to muirburn on peatlands. Removing the requirement to demonstrate that no other vegetation management method is practicable would not weaken safeguards. Applicants would still need to show that muirburn is necessary for a specified purpose, and NatureScot would retain full discretion in determining whether a licence should be granted. Importantly, alternatives such as cutting or grazing are not automatically benign, and the evidence about their impacts on peatlands remains uncertain.

Taken together, the amendments would support high-quality training, improve regulatory clarity and retain strong environmental oversight. I therefore invite members to support amendments 42 and 43.

Edward Mountain: I have one amendment in the group, and I will speak to it before turning to the others.

I reiterate what has been said already: wildfires are going to become more and more prevalent in Scotland. We have seen evidence of that over the years. The wildfire on the Dava last year was a massive event for those of us who live in the vicinity. I live some 20 miles from it, and I suffered from the smoke for a considerable time. I visited the site soon afterwards to see the extent of the damage, and it was not just the moorland that was burned, but also young trees and plantations. The damage to the environment and the species that live there was immense.

My amendment 161 would allow more muirburn licences to be granted while retaining the oversight that SNH has. As we know, the muirburn licensing scheme is not yet in force, but it is due to be implemented ahead of the 2026-27 season. The licensing scheme is underpinned by different legal thresholds depending on whether the land is peatland or non-peatland. To grant a licence on non-peatland, SNH needs only to be satisfied that it is appropriate. However, on peatland, SNH needs to be satisfied that it is appropriate to grant a licence because muirburn is necessary for the specified purpose and no other method of vegetation control is practical.

I understand that Beatrice Wishart's amendment 43 is complementary to my amendment—or that mine is complementary to hers; it depends how you want to look at it. However, let us be clear that a great deal of nonsense is talked about muirburn and how it burns deeply into peat. It does not. A proper muirburn allows the fire to pass quite swiftly over the area, removing the dead vegetation and allowing vegetation to regrow. If members do not believe me, I suggest that a quick visit to the Tongue peninsula would be useful. It was burnt in a large fire about 15 years ago, which covered a

huge area of the A' Mhòine site of special scientific interest. The fire was very quick. The trees that were accidentally burnt as part of it did not all need replacing. In fact, the fences that were there did not need replacing, either. Most of the posts stood, although the galvanised coating on some of the fence wire was removed, so that needed to be replaced. Such a fire can be a very quick process. In the past, those fires have been quite incorrectly described as burning down into the peat, but they move swiftly over the ground.

My amendment 161, whether it is complementary to Beatrice Wishart's amendment 43 or vice versa, would replace the test of necessity with a test of appropriateness. That would be more reasonable, and it would still retain the oversight of SNH. The minister has been at great pains this evening to say that SNH is the right organisation to be responsible for licensing. If the test involves requiring muirburn to be appropriate, he should have no fear that SNH would extend beyond its remit, as it would be issuing licences only where it was appropriate to do so.

I totally support Beatrice Wishart's amendment 42. I have been doing muirburn for 25 years and I still learn something every time I am involved in it. It is a very complex and difficult thing to do properly. When one has somebody who knows what they are doing, one can very easily control fires by backburning, which stops the fire progressing. However, that requires training and the skills of people who have been doing it, which is why I support amendment 42.

Amendment 167, in the name of Tim Eagle, is about equipment. It is absolutely necessary to have the right equipment to fight wildfires. I have talked about that in Parliament before, and I have stressed that the cost of an Argocat with a sprayer, a fogger and the rest of the equipment can sometimes be in excess of £40,000. We need to make sure that that equipment is available and that our firefighters are trained to use it in conjunction with those people who really understand wildfires—that is, the people who work on the land, including gamekeepers.

I will listen to the rest of the arguments, but that is why my amendment 161 is so important, and the Government should get behind it and support it. It might get the Government out of a hole, given the pickle that it has got itself into in relation to muirburn licences.

Jim Fairlie: As Tim Eagle and I have discussed previously, Siobhian Brown and I have already committed to developing a Scottish wildfire strategic action plan, which will be informed by the wildfire summit that we had last year, cross-sector engagement and the ministerial round table with MSPs to ensure cross-party input and transparency. The plan will include prevention, preparedness, response and recovery. It will also consider whether any legislative changes may be required to support the actions in it. We are working at pace to develop that action plan in preparation for this year's wildfire season and beyond, and we are carefully considering everything in the round. It is important that we do not pre-empt the outcomes from that.

The ministerial priorities for the Scottish Fire and Rescue Service are set out in the current fire and rescue framework, which already includes the SFRS response capability and wildfires. The Scottish Government already has in place formal governance and accountability arrangements to hold the service to account, and it would not be appropriate for ministers to tell the SFRS how to tackle wildfires operationally. In addition, HM Fire Service Inspectorate in Scotland can already inspect and provide advice and recommendations, if that is necessary.

The development of the strategic action plan, coupled with the fact that amendment 67 would place an unhelpful prescriptive duty on Scottish ministers, who already carry out much of what is being proposed under business as usual, means that I will not support Mr Eagle's amendment and ask him not to press it.

As Emma Roddick has already set out, her amendment 62 would put beyond doubt the ability of local authorities to make byelaws that are aimed at preventing and suppressing wildfires. It would also enable the Scottish Government to make regulations for a fixed-penalty notice regime to help enforce local authority byelaws that are aimed at the prevention of wildfires.

I am aware that some local authorities have expressed an interest in developing fire management byelaws and, importantly, in having the fixed-penalty notice powers to support that enforcement. These enabling powers will include a requirement for the Scottish ministers to consult local authorities and other interested parties before making regulations. Emma Roddick's amendment provides a pathway for that. I therefore support her amendment, and encourage members to support it as well.

Edward Mountain: I, too, support Emma Roddick's amendment, but I am intrigued to know who will issue these tickets for wildfires. Will it be rangers, who are employed by local authorities? If so, the minister must be concerned, as I am, that every local authority, apart from Highland, has reduced the number of rangers that it employs over the past 15 years.

Jim Fairlie: As I have already stated, it is local authorities that wish to have the byelaws and to

put them into place, and they will decide how they will do so.

Amendments 42 and 43, in the name of Beatrice Wishart, would formally include training as part of an approved training course under the 2024 act as a purpose for muirburn. They would also clarify the circumstances in which different purposes may be carried out in relation to the muirburn season and would remove the requirement that NatureScot must be satisfied that no other practicable vegetation management method exists when considering licence applications for muirburn on peatlands.

As I have said, muirburn is not a silver bullet, but it can play a role in both wildfire prevention and response. We have to strike the right balance between protecting our peatlands from the potential adverse impacts of muirburn and avoiding the far more devastating consequences of uncontrolled wildfire.

We have heard consistently from stakeholders across the spectrum about the importance of high-quality training. Amendments 42 and 43 would allow approved training providers to deliver essential training within a robust regulatory framework, without widening the licensing regime in a way that could be open to abuse. The additional clarity that is provided on permitted purposes and the timing of the muirburn season is therefore a constructive and practical improvement.

20:00

I recognise that some members may have concerns about the removal of the requirement to demonstrate that no other method of vegetation control is practicable before a licence for muirburn on peatland is granted. However, NatureScot will still have to be satisfied that any licence is necessary for the specified purpose, and the current evidence on the impacts of alternatives such as cutting or grazing on peatlands is inconclusive, which means that they cannot automatically be assumed to be preferable. For those reasons, I encourage members to support amendments 42 and 43.

Amendment 161, in the name of Edward Mountain, would significantly change the legal test that is applied by NatureScot when determining whether to grant licences for muirburn. Replacing the requirement that muirburn be “necessary” with the lower threshold of “appropriate” would weaken the licensing test for burning on peatlands. That would reduce the decision-making bar and constrain rather than enhance NatureScot’s ability to exercise robust regulatory judgement. The current necessity test enables NatureScot to authorise strategic and limited muirburn, including where required for wildfire risk reduction, while still safeguarding our valuable peatlands—and, importantly, it gives NatureScot the discretion and flexibility to assess necessity in the context of environmental conditions, emerging scientific evidence and the specific circumstances of each application.

In addition, NatureScot’s scientific advisory committee has recently reviewed and strengthened its position on muirburn, in light of recent wildfire events. The conclusions of that review support the existing regulatory approach and amendment 161 does not align with that scientific advice. For those reasons, I encourage members to oppose amendment 161.

Tim Eagle’s amendment 162 goes further than amendment 161 by removing additional safeguards that currently apply to muirburn on peatland. As a result, NatureScot would be required to assess applications for muirburn on peatland using the same test as for land that is not peatland. As with amendment 161, that would substantially weaken the bespoke protections that recognise peatlands as sensitive and nationally important habitats. That would undermine the additional scrutiny that is currently applied.

In my response to amendment 161, I set out in detail why reducing those safeguards would not be appropriate and would risk adverse environmental outcomes. I will not repeat those arguments. However, for those reasons, I urge members to oppose amendment 162.

Amendment 163 would require ministers to carry out a statutory review of the impact of the muirburn licensing scheme on wildfire management before the relevant provisions of the act could be commenced. In practice, that would risk delaying or even preventing the implementation of legislation that the Parliament had already considered and agreed. It would also introduce unnecessary uncertainty for land managers and regulators, who want clarity on the framework within which they operate, particularly given the fixed nature of the muirburn season.

The amendment seeks to set an overly rigid test by requiring non-commencement of the relevant provisions if any detrimental impact is identified, despite the reality that complex land management regimes involve trade-offs in context-specific effects. Crucially, the muirburn licensing scheme is designed to be adaptive and evidence led. It allows NatureScot to assess applications case by case and respond to emerging evidence over time. Preventing commencement would delay the introduction of clearer oversight, safeguards and controls—potentially weakening rather than strengthening wildfire resilience. For those reasons, I urge members to oppose amendment 163.

The Deputy Presiding Officer (Liam McArthur): I call Tim Eagle to wind up and to press or withdraw amendment 167.

Tim Eagle: All that I am asking for is a review. That is all I want, just to check that our country is safe and that, when wildfires happen, people and communities are protected.

I would be happy to believe the minister in what he has just said—

Jim Fairlie: Will Tim Eagle take an intervention?

Tim Eagle: Go ahead.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Briefly, minister.

Jim Fairlie: I will be very brief.

I absolutely do not contest Tim Eagle's genuine desire for what he is looking for. However, we already have the wildfire strategic action plan in place. We do not need amendment 167.

Tim Eagle: I was just about to say that, having not yet been in the Parliament for two years, I am conscious that the Government is very good at words but very poor at action.

Scotland is light on the spectrum for wildfire response. Spain, Portugal and Canada already have all of this. Sweden is investing in a satellite-based real-time early detection system. Norway is looking at options and is already launching an initiative to put wildfires higher on the policy agenda.

What were rare events are becoming predictable risks. I believe that we need a dedicated seasonal wildfire team, but all that I am asking for with amendment 167 is for the Parliament to back a review. It is about ensuring that Scotland takes a further step on the path that Nordic countries already seem to be on.

I press amendment 167.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 167 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)

Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 41, Against 64, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 167 disagreed to.

Amendment 168 moved—[Tim Eagle].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 168 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)

Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 43, Against 63, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 168 disagreed to.

Amendment 169 moved—[Douglas Ross].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 169 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 41, Against 64, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 169 disagreed to.

Amendment 170 not moved.

Amendment 171 moved—[Rachael Hamilton].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 171 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 45, Against 60, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 171 disagreed to.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Before we move to group 15, I remind members that we are running somewhat behind schedule. I therefore require everyone to stick to their speaking time allocations as per the timetabling motion.

Group 15 is on electricity and energy infrastructure. Amendment 172, in the name of

Rachael Hamilton, is grouped with amendments 173 to 175, 188, 189, 195 and 196.

Rachael Hamilton: Amendment 172 would require the Scottish ministers to establish a national energy convention to meet annually to

"consider the impact of proposed renewable and non-renewable energy structure"

on the natural environment and, importantly, to

"hear from the local community in the area affected by the proposed structure."

The amendment also states:

"The Convention must include members who are representative of all areas of Scotland."

Amendment 175 would require that ministers meet regional energy groups within one month of the bill gaining royal assent, to discuss and

"consider the impact of any proposed renewable and non-renewable energy structure"

on the local area.

These amendments seek to address the disdain shown to rural communities by the SNP Government, which continues to refuse to meet concerned communities who feel ignored in discussions about energy infrastructure. Last Saturday, I joined more than 40 community council representatives and around 200 concerned local residents in Jedburgh to discuss the proliferation of such infrastructure. It took a month and a direct question from me to the First Minister for SNP ministers to respond to an invitation to that convention. In declining the invitation, the response stated:

"It would remain inappropriate to discuss matters pertaining to live applications or proposals that come before a live application for consent."

There are two issues with that response. First, it fails to understand that the purpose of the meeting was to discuss the proliferation and impact of energy infrastructure across the Borders. It was not, as the cabinet secretary's response suggested, a meeting to discuss specific planning applications. Secondly, the cabinet secretary has previously made—[*Interruption*.]

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Ms Hamilton, can you resume your seat for a second?

There are too many conversations going on around the chamber. If they need to be had, members should take them either to the back of the chamber or out of the chamber.

Rachael Hamilton: The second issue is that the cabinet secretary has previously made exceptions to the rule when agreeing to meet network companies. For example, she has previously stated that those meetings can take place—and they have taken place—with very strict instructions to those companies that no discussions will be had on future or existing planning applications. It is insulting to the people of the Borders, and those across Scotland, to suggest that they are unable to follow such instructions. If SNP ministers are willing to offer those terms to developers and network companies, why are they unwilling to offer the same terms to regional energy groups?

Amendments 172 and 175 should not be controversial. They would simply require ministers to do their jobs by listening to and engaging with the residents whom they are supposed to represent.

Amendments 173, 174 and 196 would establish an energy planning impact assessment in order to assess the cumulative impact of

"energy infrastructure development on ... the natural environment ... natural heritage ... biodiversity ... the availability of good quality farmland ... tourism ... rural communities."

Amendment 173 would also require the planning authority to consult

"local communities ... landowners"

and any others who

"may be affected by major energy infrastructure developments."

The amendment reflects a key ask from regional energy groups across Scotland, including the Highlands, the north-east and the south of Scotland.

Amendment 174 calls for a moratorium on major energy infrastructure applications until the Scottish Government publishes

"a national energy strategy which considers the impact of energy infrastructure on the natural environment".

In the section that amendment 174 would insert, "major energy developments" would be defined as

"those that must be submitted to the Energy Consents Unit",

which means those that would generate more than 50MW.

Amendment 196 is consequential to amendment 174. Again, it reflects a key ask from the regional energy groups in the Highlands, the north-east and the south of Scotland.

20:15

A large number of residents across Scotland feel that the Government's approach to energy infrastructure, including pylons, wind farms, solar, battery storage and substations, is incoherent and chaotic.

My constituency in the Borders is facing a disproportionate concentration of large-scale

projects, with little regard for their cumulative impact. Communities feel ignored and powerless, because SNP ministers are making decisions without any local support.

At the south of Scotland convention of community councils on energy, communities agreed that the transition to renewable energy must be done in a way that protects our countryside and respects our communities. They want fairness in the planning system that puts their concerns and views on equal footing with that of a developer.

Amendments 173, 174 and 196 aim to redress the balance in the planning system, which, for too long, has put communities at the bottom of the pile. The amendments are logical. They call for a pause on major energy applications until we see a coherent and practical energy strategy, and for a review of the impact of the energy infrastructure on the natural environment, communities and rural economy, to ensure that we protect our environment. These sensible amendments put communities at the heart of the decisions that affect them most.

I turn to amendments 188, 189 and 195, in the name of Douglas Lumsden. Amendment 188 would require the creation of

"an alternative assessments code for electricity infrastructure",

which would set out how alternatives to overhead transmission are to be assessed against cost.

Amendment 189 seeks to prevent the establishment of certain energy infrastructure unless there is community support and it is in the public interest to do so, and amendment 195 is consequential to amendment 189.

All those amendments have my full support.

I move amendment 172.

Tim Eagle: This is a rare treat for me, Presiding Officer, because, in the absence of Douglas Lumsden, I get to speak about massive mega-monster pylons, which is always fantastic. I am delighted to do so, as I have a lot of them in my area.

Amendment 188 seeks to compel the Scottish ministers to prepare

"an alternative assessments code for electricity infrastructure."

Electricity infrastructure is having a huge impact on our countryside—to be frank, I find it ridiculous that anybody would deny that—and on biodiversity. Therefore, we must have clear guidelines on the technology that is used and on the methodology to assess the technology that should be used.

Energy is a reserved matter, but planning is devolved. The Scottish Government should use its devolved powers to protect our biodiversity. The assessments code would give clear guidance on where pylons could or could not be used, and where undergrounding should or should not be used. The infrastructure put in place should not be the cheapest financial option at any cost to our countryside. We are seeing our countryside change, but there needs to be a check on that pace. The code would attempt to bring that balance to the process.

Amendment 189 focuses on the requirements of the planning authority to properly consult and have regard to the views of local communities. Clear approval would have to be sought and given for any transmission project that could lead to significant community disruption or natural environmental impact. That would include projects that would generate more than 50MW, energy transmission projects or large-scale battery storage systems. Applicants would have to provide a comparative assessment that covered: life-cycle costs; biodiversity net impact; impact on landscape resilience; and impact on agriculture, soil and plant biosecurity.

Amendment 189 would also ensure that emergency planning was considered prior to permissions being given, with an emergency plan required and input from the Scottish Fire and Rescue Service. Were a thermal runaway incident to happen, that could result in huge damage to local biodiversity. We need to understand the potential loss.

The regulations envisaged would be subject to the affirmative resolution and would therefore be under the watchful scrutiny of MSPs, who in turn are accountable to their constituents and communities.

Through those amendments, Douglas Lumsden hopes to introduce scrutiny and accountability of energy transmission projects, allowing communities, emergency planning services, local councils and this Parliament to scrutinise the on-going developments of large infrastructure projects that are required by our ever-growing energy sector.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I have indications of two brief contributions, first from Alex Cole-Hamilton and then from Christine Grahame.

Alex Cole-Hamilton (Edinburgh Western) (LD): Thank you very much indeed, Presiding Officer. We need to—

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Mr Cole-Hamilton, can you switch on your camera, please?

Alex Cole-Hamilton: I am very sorry—I thought that that would be switched on for me. [*Interruption*.]

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Thank you, members.

Alex Cole-Hamilton: My apologies, Presiding Officer. I am speaking on behalf of the Liberal Democrats and will make a brief intervention on Rachael Hamilton's amendments 172 to 175, which is simply to point out some hypocrisy here. After all, it was Rachael Hamilton's colleagues in successive Conservative Governments who set the United Kingdom's climate targets, and it is those targets that have driven the changes in how our country produces energy.

We Scottish Liberal Democrats do the hard yards when it comes to representing our constituents and those whom we aspire to represent. We knock on doors, go to local meetings and listen to people. We absolutely know the anxiety and concern that exist around these issues.

Sadly, at stage 2 the Scottish Conservatives failed to lodge amendments to allow the issues to be debated and the legislative proposals to be refined and finalised. At stage 3, there was no effort by Rachael Hamilton or any other Conservative member to engage with other parties to find workable solutions to the problems in those communities that she has identified, which we understand and recognise.

If the Scottish Conservatives were serious about getting things done in the Parliament, where no party has a majority, they would share drafts, talk to other parties, build support and put in the effort needed to make sure that proposals were legally watertight. By not doing so, they have let down the communities that they claim to want to help.

We must send a message to ministers that the status quo is not tenable. For example, the Scottish Government's guidance on community benefit is entirely outdated. People ought to get much more when companies generate renewable power near to them. Those people do not feel as though they are being listened to right now. Community councils are struggling to navigate complex applications, and people are living in cold homes, including the many in the northern isles and in the Highlands who are in abject fuel poverty. It is an absolute injustice that they are not getting the benefits of the clean energy that is generated on their doorsteps.

The status quo is not an option, but I am afraid that the Scottish Conservative amendments are performative.

Christine Grahame: I will certainly endeavour to be brief—I am weary.

In the section that amendment 172 would insert, on the national energy convention, subsection (2)(b) says:

"hear from the local community in the area affected by the proposed structure."

Subsection (3) says:

"The Convention"—

this is the key here—

"must include members who are representative of all areas of Scotland."

I do not know who those people are. We have community councillors, local authority councillors and MSPs, but who are the people envisaged in the amendment? Are they elected? Are they self-selected? This is legislation—we cannot just slap in something so unspecific, which then becomes law.

The section that amendment 175 would insert says:

"Before the expiry of the period of one month beginning with the day after Royal Assent, the Scottish Ministers must meet with all regional energy convention groups".

Who are these groups? Are they elected? Are they self-selected? I have no problem with increasing consultation with communities, because there is an issue, which I have raised at First Minister's question time, with proliferation, and especially the cumulative impact of projects. However, we cannot put in legislation such general words—there is no specificity.

Perhaps Rachael Hamilton will tell me who those regional energy convention groups are. What size are they? How many are there? Who are the people mentioned? Are they elected? I would like to know.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Before I call the cabinet secretary, members will note that we have passed the agreed time for the debate on this group. I have exercised my power under rule 9.8.4A(c) of standing orders to allow the debate on this group to continue beyond the limit in order to avoid the debate being unreasonably curtailed.

Gillian Martin: On amendments 172 and 175, in the name of Rachael Hamilton, I start off by being absolutely clear that I understand and acknowledge the concerns that are raised by some communities when it comes to the cumulative impact of energy infrastructure. My view is that, for a fair transition to a net zero economy, it is vital that communities can have their say on proposed projects and see the benefits from developments. That is why, when an application for planning permission under the Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Act 1997, as amended, is made for a development that is classed as national or major, applicants are

already required to undertake formalised pre-application consultation with communities.

In addition, the United Kingdom Planning and Infrastructure Act 2025 has recently afforded Scottish ministers new powers to make regulations to mandate that developers that are seeking consent for large-scale developments under the Electricity Act 1989 must engage with local communities and stakeholders during the pre-application stage. That change will ensure that all communities have the opportunity for mandated meaningful engagement at an earlier stage and it will ensure that procedures are better aligned with existing provisions under our planning system.

In addition, I have already tasked officials in the Scottish Government with taking forward plans to establish a forum to better hear directly from communities as the strategic plans that will shape the need for future energy infrastructure are developed.

Members will also be aware of on-going work to refresh the good practice principles for community benefits from onshore renewable energy developments—I agree with Alex Cole-Hamilton that they are out of date, so I am refreshing them. They were consulted on last year and we published the results in October. My officials have been engaging with community benefit groups as part of that refresh, and I am confident that good progress is being made.

I have asked my officials to plan a series of targeted public engagements as part of that work so that they can hear directly from communities that are involved with community benefits from onshore renewable developments. I have also asked officials to organise an opportunity for me to engage directly with community representatives on the good practice principles. I will keep Parliament updated on those plans.

For those reasons, I encourage members not to support amendments 172 and 175, in order to allow that engagement to progress.

With regard to amendment 173, when developments come forward, impacts on communities, nature and cultural heritage, including cumulative effects, are already important considerations in the decision-making process, along with the views of the local community. All applications are subject to site-specific assessments, including environmental impact assessments where required.

Consultees including NatureScot, Historic Environment Scotland and SEPA play an important role in providing advice to decision makers on potential impacts of development. Where an environmental impact assessment is needed, legislation requires consideration of all likely significant effects on the environment, and those must be identified and assessed in the EIA report. Amendment 173 largely duplicates those existing requirements and is therefore not needed.

In relation to community consultation, I make it clear that statutory pre-application consultation with communities is a vital and long-standing requirement of certain planning applications that are made to the relevant planning authority. That applies to developments that are classed as national or major developments. In addition, the amendment would impose obligations on planning authorities in relation to applications that they are legally unable to determine, and, because the amendment seeks to modify the operation of reserved energy consenting powers, it is in any event beyond the legislative competence of the Scottish Parliament. As I said, we are already working on revising our good practice principles for energy developments now that the public consultation is closed. Those principles are advisory, but that is as far as the Scotland Act 1998 allows us to go.

For those reasons, I encourage members not to support amendment 173.

With regard to amendments 174 and 196, the Scottish Government is committed to balancing the need to deliver net zero with the need to protect our natural environment. It is essential that communities are able to engage with our planning and consenting systems, which is why we have recently taken steps to make it easier for communities to participate. We already have in place robust frameworks for assessing the impacts of energy infrastructure proposals on the environment. Those are designed to ensure that ministers receive the information that they need on the likely significant effects of any development, and any proposed mitigating measures. That enables them to balance all considerations in the decision-making process.

As part of that process, statutory consultees such as NatureScot and SEPA play an important role in providing advice on potential impacts on the natural environment. Amendment 174 seeks to put a moratorium on applications for planning permission for major energy infrastructure developments. However, it appears to relate only to developments that would be the subject of applications to the Scottish ministers for consent under the Electricity Act 1989. Those cases relate not to applications for planning permission, but to applications for consent under sections 36 and 37 of the 1989 act. Although the operation of the planning system in Scotland is devolved, the generation and transmission of electricity, as regulated by the 1989 act, relates to a reserved matter. It is unclear to me, therefore, what the amendment is trying to achieve.

A more significant concern, which I urge Parliament to seriously consider, is whether amendment 174 is outwith the legislative competence of the Scottish Parliament, given that it appears to be seeking to prohibit applications being made under sections 36 and 37 of the 1989 act, which is UK legislation.

Amendment 188, by Douglas Lumsden, should not be accepted, as it is fundamentally at odds with the basis of the devolution settlement regarding how the section 37 electricity consenting process works. The transmission of electricity is reserved to the UK Government under the Scotland Act 1998, and the regulation of the construction of overhead lines under section 37 of the 1989 act also relates to reserved matters. A prohibition on the grant of consent under section 37 is accordingly outwith the legislative competence of the Scottish Parliament.

20:30

Section 37 is a consent regime for specific proposed overhead lines, not an options appraisal framework. Applications are for a defined line along a specified route, and Scottish ministers determine whether to consent to the specific proposal as laid out in the application; they do not explore which of several alternatives should be built, as has been suggested by Mr Lumsden.

Amendment 188 would require comparative assessment of underground or subsea alternatives as part of an individual section 37 application, fundamentally changing the nature of the consenting process in a manner that conflicts with legislation that is reserved to the UK Government. The 1989 act reserves the generation, transmission and distribution of electricity to Westminster. The Scottish Parliament cannot use devolved planning or environmental legislation to override or modify that reserved statutory framework, which would ultimately be the effect of the amendment.

Additionally, the prohibition on consenting any overhead lines that are above 400kV until a code is approved would create an immediate moratorium on critical transmission infrastructure, which is essential for connecting electricity generation and maintaining grid resilience, and there is no specified timeframe for resolution. I encourage members not to support amendment 188.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Be as brief as possible.

Gillian Martin: Amendments 189 and 195, in the name of Douglas Lumsden, should not be agreed to, as they are also incompatible with the reserved legislation. The amendments appear to misunderstand the reserved-devolved boundary for energy consenting, so the Parliament should vote against them.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I call Rachael Hamilton to wind up and press or withdraw amendment 172.

Rachael Hamilton: I will address Alex Cole-Hamilton's contribution, if he has not gone shopping to get avocados. I unsuccessfully lodged amendments at stage 2 to review the impact of renewables and energy infrastructure on food production and the natural environment. I also lodged an amendment on the prohibition of energy developments in sites of special scientific interest, but his Liberal Democrat colleague Beatrice Wishart voted against that.

On Christine Grahame's point, if she had showed up at the energy convention, she would have realised that—

Christine Grahame: Will the member take an intervention?

Rachael Hamilton: When I have finished the point. If she had done that, she would have realised that there were 40 community councillors representing 80,000 people. There is no dubiety about the number of community councillors who spoke at the convention. The convention has been replicated in the north-east, the Highlands and the south of Scotland, which are the areas that have had the most planning application rejections by local authorities overturned by Scottish ministers. They are representative of the individuals and communities that are being affected by the proliferation of industrialisation, as Christine Grahame described it to the First Minister during First Minister's question time last week.

I will take Christine Grahame's intervention.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Very briefly.

Christine Grahame: I was not invited to the convention. If I had been invited and had been unable to attend—remember, I was not invited—I would certainly have sent my apologies.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Begin winding up, Rachael Hamilton.

Rachael Hamilton: I am sorry that Christine Grahame was not invited. Two of her SNP colleagues were there, but they did not sign the unified statement.

I turn to Gillian Martin's comments. I will start on a positive note and thank her, because I am glad to hear that there will be mandated engagement—that is a step forward for the SNP. I am also pleased to hear what she said about the good practice principles and that there will be greater community consultation. I know that people who are watching this right now will be really pleased with that.

I am disappointed, however, that the Government is not accepting my amendments. There is no recognition of the number of renewables planning applications that were rejected by local authorities because of concerns about the cumulative impact where the decision was overturned by Scottish ministers. When I look at the excuses that the Scottish ministers give, I see that their obsession with net zero is overriding the concerns of communities and the issue of cumulative impact. We need to be very careful about how areas such as the Borders, the Highlands and the north-east are being affected.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Can I just check that you are pressing amendment 172?

Rachael Hamilton: I am.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 172 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 24, Against 83, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 172 disagreed to.

Amendment 173 moved—[Rachael Hamilton].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 173 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 23, Against 82, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 173 disagreed to.

Amendment 174 moved—[Rachael Hamilton].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 174 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 24, Against 80, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 174 disagreed to.

Amendment 175 moved—[Rachael Hamilton].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 175 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)

Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 24, Against 82, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 175 disagreed to.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Before we move to group 16, I will briefly suspend the meeting for five minutes to allow members of the Parliamentary Bureau to meet outside the Holyrood room in order to discuss progress on dealing with amendments.

20:41

Meeting suspended.

20:50

On resuming—

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I ask colleagues to resume their places. Group 16 is on non-domestic rates relief. Amendment 176, in the name of Jamie Halcro Johnston, is grouped with amendments 190 to 194.

Jamie Halcro Johnston: My amendment 176 would ensure that the Scottish Government's proposed changes to eligibility for the small business bonus scheme did not impact those who are shooting for pest control and did not apply to sporting rights that are not exercised for commercial reasons. The amendment is about proportionality and ensuring that the Government's taxation policy does not create unintended harm for farmers and land-based businesses that are acting in the public interest.

The Scottish Green Party has made it clear that its position is that rural estates should not benefit from the small business bonus scheme. The Scottish Government responded to that by introducing an exclusion in the Scottish budget.

The reality of what has been proposed goes much wider than what the Government is believed to have intended.

Under the current framing, landowners and farmers can lose vital non-domestic rates relief simply because sporting rights exist, even when those rights are not exercised commercially or are exercised only for essential pest control. That includes farmers who control deer, geese or other pest species in order to protect grassland for grazing cattle and sheep, to safeguard food production, to prevent environmental damage or to meet wider public policy objectives on climate change and biodiversity. Those are not shooting estates as the Greens describe them; they are working rural businesses that are often operating on very tight margins.

Ross Greer (West Scotland) (Green): I say this without any prejudgment, but it always strikes me that, in council chambers, councillors who have a direct financial interest are simply excluded from proceedings. It is not immediately clear to me from Mr Halcro Johnston's entry in the register of interests whether any of the businesses that he has listed would directly benefit if amendment 176 was agreed to. It would be in the public interest for him to clarify whether any of the businesses that he is associated with would benefit if the amendment was agreed to.

Jamie Halcro Johnston: I am happy to make the point again, because I have already declared my interests as a partner in a farming business, a member of SLE and a member of NFU Scotland. The member is very welcome to check that.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Can you resume your seat, Mr Halcro Johnston? I have already suggested that too many conversations are taking place in the chamber. I suggest that they take place either at the back of the chamber or outside it.

Jamie Halcro Johnston: Clearly, some people are not concerned about extending the debate.

My amendment does not reopen the debate about commercial shooting and it does not seek to extend relief to purely sporting enterprises, although I understand that very few rural businesses operate solely for sporting purposes. It would make it clear that pest control is not a commercial sporting activity and that businesses should not be penalised for exercising or simply holding sporting rights when those rights are incidental, defensive or not exercised at all.

Without that clarification, we risk creating a perverse outcome in which farmers are financially punished for carrying out pest control that benefits food production, nature restoration and the rural resilience outcomes that the Parliament otherwise strongly supports. That would undermine confidence, discourage good land management and weaken the delivery of the public good that the Parliament is intended to advance.

My amendment would give ministers the flexibility to uphold their policy intent while correcting an unintended consequence. It proposes a measured and proportionate change, and I urge members to support it. If the Government cannot bring itself to support my amendment, I would appreciate a commitment to work with me and my Scottish Conservative colleagues to find a way forward.

Given the time, I will say briefly that I support all the other amendments in the group—from Tim Eagle and Rachael Hamilton—and I urge members to support them.

I move amendment 176.

Tim Eagle: After a lot of campaigning by a lot of different groups, we finally got the UK Labour Government to move very slightly on the family farm tax, and then only a few weeks ago the Scottish Government stood up and decided to introduce a new farm tax, but this time on sporting estates and shoots.

Under the Scottish Government's planned amendments to non-domestic rates, the small business rates relief that is available to some sporting organisations will be changed. Only shoots and deer forests that carry out deer management, environmental management or vermin control will be eligible, when those activities are undertaken solely.

The Scottish Government has acted to end the rates relief without any prior consultation with the sector at all. The problem is that most shoots carry out a combination of those activities, so they will no longer be eligible for the relief. The British Association for Shooting and Conservation has warned that

"important conservation work, such as habitat restoration, woodland planting or wetland creation, will be put at risk. Small and medium shoots would instead have to foot the bill for sporting rates with no relief."

I have been contacted by a growing number of constituents who warn that their shoots will no longer be viable and that people will give up their leases. That risks rural employment and could impact gamekeepers and deer managers, and it will have a detrimental knock-on effect on the wider rural economy.

Several people have said to me that this is just another family farm tax, with finance ministers putting things into the budget with no thought about the consequences. That will be deeply damaging to rural Scotland.

My amendments 190 to 193 seek to ensure that shoots in deer forests will retain their rights to non-

domestic rates relief. They propose a combination of measures, such as guaranteeing relief in law, which is in amendment 192, and ensuring eligibility if a business contributes to activities such as nature conservation non-exclusively, which is in amendment 190. Amendment 191 tries to maintain eligibility for the current small business bonus scheme. Amendment 193 asks that we allow eligibility to be determined through regulations.

I hope that the cabinet secretary and the minister understand the importance of non-domestic rates relief for the sector, and I hope that they will support at least one of the many amendments that I have proposed.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: To quell some of the discussion that is going on, and for the benefit of those who are not on the Parliamentary Bureau, I confirm that the bureau has agreed that we will continue to deal with the stage 3 amendments this evening, as well as the issues that we need to deal with at decision time, but that the debate and the final vote on the bill will be postponed.

Jeremy Balfour (Lothian) (Ind): On a point of order, Deputy Presiding Officer. I seek clarification of whether the bureau has decided that the decision to move the debate to tomorrow will be voted on.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Proceedings are under way to ensure that that decision can be brought back to the chamber as soon as possible, but I thought that it was worth advising the chamber of the outcome of the discussion that the bureau had.

Rachael Hamilton: Amendment 194 would allow for non-commercial venison producers to be eligible for non-domestic rates relief following the Scottish Government's announcement of the budget for 2026-27. The amendment would have added to my earlier amendment 135, which was in group 7 and encouraged the recovery and donation of surplus venison meat. Unfortunately, that amendment was not supported, but I will still press amendment 194 because, in the 2026-27 budget, the Scottish Government is withdrawing from shoots and deer forests eligibility for the small business bonus scheme. Unless any business that shoots deer acts solely for specific purposes such as deer management, it will be excluded from eligibility for the relief.

I was very surprised that Mairi Gougeon and Jim Fairlie supported discouraging venison production even for non-commercial purposes. The minister's amendment 20 showed the Government's support for increasing the use of venison, but the budget changes could have a negative impact on that. I therefore urge members to support my amendment 194.

Jim Fairlie: I am aware of the concerns that the rural sector has raised about the potential impacts of the budget proposal. The Scottish Government recognises the vital role that rural land managers play in delivering on key outcomes, including reducing deer numbers, which we are all agreed on.

I recently met the BASC and the Scottish Gamekeepers Association to hear more about the concerns that they have raised about the budget proposals.

Rachael Hamilton: Will the minister take an intervention?

Jim Fairlie: No, I will not take an intervention. We do not have enough time as it is.

I understand that those are the concerns that have led to members lodging the amendments in the group, which aim to ensure that shootings and deer forests, in some cases with conditions, or butcheries and sales outlets for venison, for example, are eligible for non-domestic rates relief.

However, there are drafting issues with those amendments, as most appear to require shootings and deer forests to be eligible for all forms of non-domestic rates relief—even seemingly irrelevant reliefs such as nursery relief. Even if we put such drafting issues aside, the bill is simply not the right place to legislate on matters of taxation, especially when the regulations that will bring into force the change to non-domestic rates relief are still under active development and have not yet been laid. Therefore, any amendments are premature.

21:00

On Monday, I had a constructive meeting with the Minister for Public Finance in which I set out the issues that stakeholders have raised with me. Mr McKee and I have agreed that we will work together to better understand the concerns about the unintended consequences for small landowners, crofters and farmers, whose activities are contributing positively to our environmental objectives.

For the reasons that I have set out, I urge members not to support amendments 176 and 190 to 194. I assure members that the Scottish Government will engage directly with stakeholders to understand their concerns and to minimise any unintended consequences before the regulations are laid in advance of 1 April.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I call Jamie Halcro Johnston to wind up and to press or withdraw amendment 176.

Jamie Halcro Johnston: In the minister's summing up, I heard acceptance that there are unintended consequences that will cause

problems, and I heard that the Government will work on that and speak to stakeholders. However, I did not hear a commitment to work with me and Conservative colleagues to try to find a better way forward. If the minister is prepared to do that, I will consider whether to press amendment 176. I am happy to take an intervention from him if he is happy to meet us.

Jim Fairlie: I am happy to work with anyone who will help us to find solutions to make Scotland a better place to live in.

Jamie Halcro Johnston: I am not sure that that is—

Rachael Hamilton: Will Jamie Halcro Johnston take an intervention?

Jamie Halcro Johnston: Yes—of course I will.

Rachael Hamilton: The minister said that he did not have time to take an intervention, but, if he had given me the time and afforded me that respect, I would have asked him the following question. Does the minister know how many deer forests and shootings will fall into the eligibility review and what the impact of that will be? I do not think that the Government should bring forward a budget position without that information.

Jamie Halcro Johnston: I agree. I do not have that information, either, but I am happy to take another intervention from the minister if he would like to clarify that. He is wafting himself or something like that; I am not quite sure—I cannot see.

Jim Fairlie: I am telling the member to move on.

Jamie Halcro Johnston: Oh—I see. My apologies.

Kevin Stewart (Aberdeen Central) (SNP): Will Jamie Halcro Johnston take an intervention?

Jamie Halcro Johnston: No, Mr Stewart; it is late, and I really do not think that any of us has the time or patience for that.

The minister's answer was not the commitment that I need—

Kevin Stewart: Take the intervention.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Mr Stewart, Mr Halcro Johnston is not taking your intervention.

Jamie Halcro Johnston: —and I do not think that it provided the commitment that rural colleagues would need, either. On that basis, I will press my amendment.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 176 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)

Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 25, Against 81, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 176 disagreed to.

Amendment 177 moved—[Jamie Halcro Johnston].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 177 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)

Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 43, Against 63, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 177 disagreed to.

Section 33F—Licensing: land on which certain birds may be killed or taken

Amendment 178 moved—[Rachael Hamilton].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 178 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)

Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 25, Against 81, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 178 disagreed to.

Amendment 179 moved—[Rachael Hamilton].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 179 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)

Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 81, Against 25, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 179 agreed to.

Amendment 180 moved—[Rachael Hamilton].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 180 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 81, Against 25, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 180 agreed to.

Amendment 181 not moved.

Amendment 182 moved—[Rachael Hamilton].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 182 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

The vote is closed.

Craig Hoy (South Scotland) (Con): On a point of order, Deputy Presiding Officer. My app froze. I would have voted yes.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I will make sure that that vote is recorded.

For

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 82, Against 26, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 182 agreed to.

Amendment 183 moved—[Rachael Hamilton].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 183 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 25, Against 82, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 183 disagreed to.

Amendment 184 moved—[Rachael Hamilton].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 184 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 25, Against 83, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 184 disagreed to.

Amendment 185 moved—[Rachael Hamilton].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 185 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 24, Against 83, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 185 disagreed to.

After section 33F

21:15

Amendment 62 moved—[Emma Roddick]—and agreed to.

Section 34—Meaning of public authority etc in the Nature Conservation (Scotland) Act 2004

Amendments 35 to 39 moved—[Gillian Martin].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Does any member object to a single question being put on amendments 35 to 39?

Members: Yes.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Okay. We will take them individually.

Amendment 35 agreed to.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 36 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)

Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 81, Against 26, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 36 agreed to.

Amendments 37 to 39 agreed to.

After section 34

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Group 17 is on Ramsar sites. Amendment 186, in the name of Ariane Burgess, is the only amendment in the group.

Ariane Burgess (Highlands and Islands) (Green): Amendment 186 would give Ramsar sites in Scotland statutory protection. I genuinely thank the cabinet secretary and her team for our super-constructive discussion to find a way forward for stage 3. Internationally important wetlands are recognised in many countries as Ramsar sites, under the Ramsar convention, for the rich biodiversity that they support and the crucial role that they play in improving water quality, preventing flooding, capturing carbon and supporting a plethora of wildlife. Despite their international importance, there are currently no provisions in legislation for the preservation and protection of Ramsar sites in Scotland.

The amendment seeks to address the current situation by requiring ministers to make regulations to preserve and protect these precious habitats. Giving Ramsar sites protection in law would give legal certainty and ensure consistency across Scotland. It would strengthen our compliance with international environmental obligations and would keep pace with European Union environmental standards now that we are outwith the EU.

For those reasons, I will move amendment 186 and I urge members to support it. I thank RSPB Scotland and the Chartered Institute of Ecology and Environmental Management for their support

with the amendment, as well as the constituents who brought the issue to my attention in the first place.

I move amendment 186.

Gillian Martin: I thank Ariane Burgess for her thoughtful engagement on the issue and for her willingness to work with the Government following stage 2. As she said, Ramsar sites are internationally important wetlands that support many species. The Scottish Government has already recognised the importance of those sites by publishing guidance last year that sets out how we expect our policy on the protection of Ramsar sites to be implemented. The guidance makes it clear that we consider that Ramsar sites in Scotland should be treated as if they were European sites for the purposes of land use change decision making.

However, I recognise that there are still concerns about ensuring that these vitally important sites are adequately protected. I am happy that, through the bill, we have the opportunity to provide an enabling power, which will require ministers to make secondary legislation to put Ramsar sites on a statutory footing, ensuring that we are aligned across all sites of international importance. I am happy to support Ariane Burgess's amendment.

The Presiding Officer (Alison Johnstone): I call Ariane Burgess to wind up and say whether she wishes to press or withdraw amendment 186.

Ariane Burgess: I press amendment 186.

The Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 186 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

We are—

Members: No.

The Presiding Officer: Okay. I would be grateful, colleagues, for a loud shout-out. Thank you.

There will be a division.

For

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)

Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

The Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 81, Against 26, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 186 agreed to.

The Presiding Officer: Group 18 is on forestry. Amendment 40, in the name of Mercedes Villalba, is grouped with amendment 41.

Mercedes Villalba (North East Scotland) (Lab): Amendment 40 would provide a new regulation-making power in the Forestry and Land Management (Scotland) Act 2018 in relation to sustainable forest management.

Members may remember that, at stage 2, I lodged a number of forestry amendments covering three key areas: deer overgrazing, urban afforestation and sustainable forestry. Those amendments were inspired by the Royal Society of Edinburgh's inquiry into public financial support for tree planting and forestry.

Following an offer by the Cabinet Secretary for Rural Affairs, Land Reform and Islands to discuss, ahead of stage 3, the principle behind that group of amendments and how we might address issues of shared concern, I did not press them to a vote. After constructive engagement with Ms Gougeon, her officials and representatives of Scottish Forestry, I am pleased to bring amendment 40 to the chamber today.

Amendment 40 would provide the Scottish ministers with the power to make regulations with a specific focus on sustainable forest management, grounded in the UK forestry standard. The aim is to ensure that good forestry practice such as native broadleaf planting and increased shrub cover becomes a statutory requirement. The amendment would be a step in the right direction, but I hope that, in the future, we can have further discussions around the need for environmental impact assessments to consider deep-peat soil and, in particular, its role in sequestering carbon.

The UK forestry standard currently has little statutory underpinning. This power would provide that underpinning, thereby allowing the Scottish ministers to better enforce the principles of sustainable forest management, which they are under a duty to promote. I hope that members see the value of that power and support it.

I thank Ms Gougeon for her support for the amendment, in particular on the issue of seed rain and sensitive habitats. Sustainable and responsible management is crucial in protecting Scotland's forests and land for generations to come, and the power in the amendment would demonstrate our commitment to that ethos. I hope that members across the chamber will agree with me on that and will support my amendment.

I move amendment 40.

The Cabinet Secretary for Rural Affairs, Land Reform and Islands (Mairi Gougeon): First, I want to thank Mercedes Villalba for working with me on amendment 40. I think that we have worked in an efficient way, managing to condense about 16 amendments into a single encompassing one.

I will add that, in particular, I want to see stronger action on controlling the spread of sitka spruce and other species, which, in some areas, have proliferated through seed rain on to adjacent sensitive habitats, including peatland. I know that that particular issue was raised by Mercedes Villalba. With the power in the amendment, regulations can be made to ensure that such issues can be dealt with properly and proportionately through secondary legislation. For those reasons, I support the amendment and encourage other members to do so.

Amendment 41 is a minor but important amendment to section 23 of the Forestry and Land Management (Scotland) Act 2018, which relates to the offence of unauthorised felling. The amendment adds to the existing offence and ensures that Scottish Forestry, as a regulator, can submit reports to the procurator fiscal not only where someone has unlawfully felled a tree personally but where someone has knowingly caused or permitted another person to unlawfully fell a tree. The change will ensure that a prosecution can be brought against the right person rather than against someone who has acted in good faith.

The amendment also introduces a new defence, which can be relied on by contractors and others who act in good faith and reasonably rely on what they are told or shown by owners or occupiers of land or their agents. That defence can be used where the accused can show that their belief in the

existence of a valid permission, direction or notice was reasonable in the circumstances. That will ultimately bring the 2018 act in line with similar legislation. For those reasons, I ask members to support my amendment 41.

Mercedes Villalba: Again, I am grateful for the minister's support and hope that members will be able to support amendment 40, which I will press.

The Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 40 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

The Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 83, Against 24, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 40 agreed to.

The Presiding Officer: Members will note that, despite extending the previous time limit by 30 minutes, we will shortly reach the next time limit and we still have a further group to debate. As a consequence, I am minded to accept a motion without notice that, for the purposes of this item of business, the last sentence of rule 9.8.5A be

suspended. I invite Graeme Dey to move the motion.

Motion moved,

That, for the purposes of this item of business, the last sentence of rule 9.8.5A be suspended.—[*Graeme Dey*]

Motion agreed to.

The Presiding Officer: I am minded to accept a motion without notice, under rule 9.8.5A, that the time limit for debate on amendments be extended by 30 minutes. I invite Graeme Dey to move the motion.

Motion moved,

That, under rule 9.8.5A, the debate on amendments be extended by up to 30 minutes.—[*Graeme Dey*]

Motion agreed to.

21:30

Amendment 41 moved—[Mairi Gougeon].

The Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 41 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)

White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

The Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 83, Against 23, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 41 agreed to.

After section 34A

Amendment 42 moved—[Beatrice Wishart]—and agreed to.

Amendment 43 moved—[Beatrice Wishart].

The Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 43 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)

The Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 103, Against 7, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 43 agreed to.

Amendment 161 moved—[Edward Mountain].

The Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 161 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 26, Against 84, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 161 disagreed to.

Amendment 162 moved—[Tim Eagle].

The Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 162 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 26, Against 82, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 162 disagreed to.

Amendment 163 moved—[Tim Eagle].

The Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 163 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 26, Against 83, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 163 disagreed to.

The Presiding Officer: Group 19 is on access to justice in environmental matters. Amendment 187, in the name of Douglas Lumsden, is the only amendment in the group. I call Tim Eagle to speak to the amendment.

Tim Eagle: I think that I will have the privilege of moving the last amendment.

Members: Yay!

Tim Eagle: Some people are delighted with that, but I could carry on for ages.

I will quickly go back to group 15, when Gillian Martin, the cabinet secretary, said that "it is vital that communities can have their say". We have a real issue in the country at the moment—it is a David-versus-Goliath situation across our communities. In my region, Scottish and Southern Electricity Networks wind farm developers and Moray FLOW-Park are bankrolled by huge multimillion pound energy companies, whereas community groups going up against them have to use their own money. They have to get donations and crowdfund in order to protect the communities that they love so much. Our communities are experiencing tremendous impacts, yet they have no recourse to address the injustices that they feel are taking place. Communities should not be priced out of defending their landscapes, homes and natural environment, but that is what is happening.

We cannot wait for any changes to the legal aid system or to planning laws, as the cabinet secretary has suggested; we need to help our communities now. Therefore, amendment 187 instructs Scottish ministers to establish a scheme that would ensure that community voices were

represented and heard. That would send a strong message to communities across Scotland that we stand with them and that they have the opportunity to pursue fairness. There is precedent: when the electronic communications code, which is set out in schedule 3A to the Communications Act 2003, was amended in 2017, it gave new rights to operators but was also explicit that operators must pay for landowners' reasonable costs. That is all that I ask for today.

I move amendment 187.

Gillian Martin: I will try to keep my comments on amendment 187 as brief as possible, but I want to answer a lot of the issues that have been raised. The Scottish Government has made a statement on the effectiveness of environmental governance arrangements for a consultation on a report on these matters, which was required by section 41 of the UK Withdrawal from the European Union (Continuity) (Scotland) Act 2021.

As well as the effectiveness of governance arrangements, the act required the report to cover whether the law in Scotland on access to justice on environmental matters is effective and sufficient. The report considered various issues about gaining access to justice on environmental matters that had been identified in evidence. We fully considered the views that were raised in the consultation associated with the report, and our statement was clear that we would continue to work to improve access to justice on environmental matters.

The Scottish Government has already taken meaningful steps to address concerns about the costs to communities for access to justice on environmental matters. Those include the introduction of fee exemptions in 2022, improvements made in 2024 to strengthen confidentiality measures and ensure that cost protection carries through to appeals, and new proposals agreed in 2025 to improve the Court of Session protective expenses order framework.

Importantly, the Scottish Civil Justice Council also intends to extend cost protection arrangements so that people can apply for a protective expenses order in the sheriff courts for environmental cases, with the same protection available on any onward appeal to the sheriff appeal court.

I ask that members do not support amendment 187, as a great many levers for access to justice already exist.

The Presiding Officer: I call Tim Eagle to wind up and press or withdraw amendment 187.

Tim Eagle: I have no further comments. I press the amendment.

The Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 187 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and

Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 32, Against 78, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 187 disagreed to.

Amendment 188 moved—[Tim Eagle].

The Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 188 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)

Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 25, Against 84, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 188 disagreed to.

Amendment 189 moved—[Tim Eagle].

21:45

The Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 189 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)

Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 26, Against 84, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 189 disagreed to.

Amendment 190 moved—[Tim Eagle].

The Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 190 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

The vote is closed.

Clare Adamson (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP): On a point of order, Presiding Officer. I was not able to connect to vote. I would have voted no.

The Presiding Officer: Thank you, Ms Adamson. We will ensure that that is recorded.

For

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine)

(SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 25, Against 86, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 190 disagreed to.

Amendment 191 moved—[Tim Eagle].

The Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 191 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)

Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 26, Against 86, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 191 disagreed to.

Amendment 192 moved—[Tim Eagle].

The Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 192 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley)

(SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 25, Against 86, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 192 disagreed to.

Amendment 193 moved—[Tim Eagle].

The Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 193 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 26, Against 86, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 193 disagreed to.

Amendment 194 moved—[Rachael Hamilton].

The Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 194 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 26, Against 86, Abstentions 0.

Amendment 194 disagreed to.

Section 36—Ancillary provision

Amendment 195 not moved.

Section 37—Commencement

Amendment 196 not moved.

Long Title

Amendments 44 and 45 moved—[Gillian Martin]—and agreed to.

The Presiding Officer: That ends consideration of amendments.

As members will be aware, I am required under standing orders to decide whether, in my view, any provision of the bill relates to a protected subject matter—that is, whether it modifies the electoral system and franchise for Scottish parliamentary elections. In the case of the Natural Environment (Scotland) Bill, in my view, no provision relates to a protected subject matter. Therefore, the bill does not require a supermajority to be passed at stage 3.

Business Motions

The Presiding Officer (Alison Johnstone): The next item of business is consideration of business motion S6M-20569, in the name of Graeme Dey, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau, setting out a business programme. However, I understand that the motion has been withdrawn.

21:55

The Minister for Parliamentary Business and Veterans (Graeme Dey): As colleagues will know, the bureau must take a range of factors into account when scheduling business. In the context of next week's business, which the motion covered, we have four members' bills stage 1 proceedings to schedule.

We are also alive, as we always are, to the concerns of members about late sittings, of which we have had two this week, with an extended decision time now to come tomorrow. The proposed business programme, among other things, sought to strike an equitable balance in relation to the various stage 1 proceedings.

However, the convener of the Criminal Justice Committee, which has done a power of work in considering the Prostitution (Offences and Support) (Scotland) Bill, has written to the bureau today, seeking an extension of the time that is being allocated for the stage 1 proceedings, in order that its report can be fully explored. I have also received correspondence from the member in charge of the bill.

The bureau has therefore agreed to reflect on the request for allocation of additional time for the stage 1 debate, with a view to my bringing back, on its behalf, a revised business motion at decision time tomorrow.

The Presiding Officer: The next item of business is consideration of business motions S6M-20570, on a stage 1 timetable for a bill, and S6M-20571 to S6M-20574, on stage 2 timetables for bills. Any member who wishes to speak to the motions should press their request-to-speak button.

Motions moved,

That the Parliament agrees that consideration of the Desecration of War Memorials (Scotland) Bill at stage 1 be completed by 6 February 2026.

That the Parliament agrees that consideration of the Children (Care, Care Experience and Services Planning) (Scotland) Bill at stage 2 be completed by 20 February 2026.

That the Parliament agrees that consideration of the Contract (Formation and Remedies) (Scotland) Bill at stage 2 be completed by 6 February 2026.

That the Parliament agrees that consideration of the Crofting and Scottish Land Court Bill at stage 2 be completed by 20 February 2026.

That the Parliament agrees that consideration of the Building Safety Levy (Scotland) Bill at stage 2 be completed by 20 February 2026.—[*Graeme Dey*]

Motions agreed to.

Parliamentary Bureau Motions

21:56

The Presiding Officer (Alison Johnstone): The next item of business is consideration of Parliamentary Bureau motion S6M-20575, on approval of a Scottish statutory instrument. I ask Graeme Dey, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau, to move the motion.

Motion moved,

That the Parliament agrees that the Land and Buildings Transaction Tax (Investment Zones Relief) (Scotland) Order 2026 [draft] be approved.—[*Graeme Dey*]

21:57

Patrick Harvie (Glasgow) (Green): I will be brief. I know that the SSI will pass, but the Scottish Greens will oppose it, for many of the same reasons that we oppose a similar measure relating to freeports.

Freeports and investment zones are both rooted in the discredited idea that tax breaks and deregulation will be good for the economy and therefore good for society. They will certainly be good for the vested interests involved, but it is those vested interests that will hang on to that benefit. In addition, there is at least as much evidence that those schemes displace economic activity as there is that they generate anything additional.

Even once the Scottish National Party has decided to accept the offer of modern variants of discredited 1980s economic policy, it could have attached conditions. It could have restricted the tax breaks so that companies using tax havens do not qualify—it has not done that. It could have ensured that companies that pay poverty wages do not qualify—it has not done that. The Scottish Government has attached those conditions to other policies after persistent pressure from the Greens, and, in committee, the minister was unable to explain why they have not been applied here.

For those reasons, the Greens will oppose the measure.

21:58

The Minister for Public Finance (Ivan McKee): I welcome the opportunity to set out why the Government is introducing land and buildings transaction tax relief as part of Scotland's investment zones programme. The programme is an important strategic intervention that is designed to accelerate growth in the Glasgow city region and in the north-east by attracting investment in high-value frontier sectors, including space,

photonics and artificial intelligence—areas in which investment and innovation can drive sectoral growth and growth across the whole of Scotland's economy.

The zones are not abstract concepts; they are grounded in extensive engagement with local businesses, research institutions, local authorities and skills providers, and are backed by substantial private sector investment commitments.

LBTT relief is a key incentive that will make the zones competitive and investment ready. It targets underdeveloped land—sites that have seen little or no activity for years—and removes one of the most significant early barriers to development: up-front transaction costs. This is about enabling investment that would not otherwise happen and focusing on commercial activity that will deliver real economic value.

The reliefs align with the equivalent stamp duty land tax reliefs that are available in investment zones in England. That is a deliberate choice that will ensure that Scotland's offer is competitive and capable of attracting the same calibre of investment as other parts of the United Kingdom. Investors should have absolute clarity that Scotland is open for business.

The relief conditions are clear and robust. Relief will be available only where land is used for qualifying commercial purposes, and a three-year control period will ensure that relief is retained only where genuine development takes place. Revenue Scotland will administer the relief and enforce compliance, which will be supported by its wider anti-avoidance framework. It is a targeted economic tool with clear safeguards.

The Scottish Fiscal Commission has assessed the annual costs as being below its materiality threshold of £5 million. Programme costs will be met from the UK Government's £160 million funding envelope for each zone, so there will be no detriment to the Scottish budget.

The programme is designed to strengthen regional innovation and capacity, attract private investment and support the creation of high-quality jobs. Both zones anticipate substantial matched funding: up to £340 million in Glasgow city region and up to £261 million in the north-east. That level of commitment is not accidental; it reflects confidence in the programme and Scotland's economic strengths and directions.

We will work closely with the regional economic partnerships to ensure fair work principles are embedded throughout the investment zones. Both zones are currently finalising tax and governance plans with clear commitments to ensure that the benefits of growth are shared fairly. Those plans will be in place by the end of this financial year.

The investment zones are part of a coherent, targeted and ambitious programme. LBTT relief is a necessary component and will help to unlock development, attract investment and support the creation of high-quality jobs in communities that stand to benefit enormously from long-term and sustainable economic growth.

The Presiding Officer: The question on the motion will be put at decision time.

The next item of business is consideration of Parliamentary Bureau motion S6M-20576, on suspension of standing orders. I ask Graeme Dey, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau, to move the motion.

Motion moved,

That the Parliament agrees that, for the purposes of consideration of the supplementary legislative consent memorandum on the Children's Wellbeing and Schools Bill, Rules 9B.3.5 and 9B.3.6 of Standing Orders are suspended.—[*Graeme Dey*]

The Presiding Officer: The question on the motion will be put at decision time.

Decision Time

22:01

The Presiding Officer (Alison Johnstone): There are seven questions to be put as a result of today's business. The first question is, that amendment S6M-20561.1, in the name of Neil Gray, which seeks to amend motion S6M-20561, in the name of Anas Sarwar, on the role of political decision making in national health service scandals, be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

The vote is closed.

Jackie Baillie (Dumbarton) (Lab): On a point of order, Presiding Officer. I am afraid that my device would not connect. I would have voted no.

The Presiding Officer: Thank you, Ms Baillie. We will ensure that that is recorded.

For

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Lab)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)

Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

The Presiding Officer: The result of the division on amendment S6M-20561.1, in the name of Neil Gray, is: For 58, Against 61, Abstentions 0.

Amendment disagreed to.

The Presiding Officer: The next question is, that amendment S6M-20561.2, in the name of Brian Whittle, which seeks to amend motion S6M-20561, in the name of Anas Sarwar, on the role of political decision making in national health service scandals, be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

The vote is closed.

Collette Stevenson (East Kilbride) (SNP): On a point of order, Presiding Officer. My app froze. I would have voted no.

The Presiding Officer: Thank you, Ms Stevenson. We will ensure that that is recorded.

For

Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Lab)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)

Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Presiding Officer: The result of the division on amendment S6M-20561.2, in the name of Brian Whittle, is: For 55, Against 65, Abstentions 0.

Amendment disagreed to.

The Presiding Officer: The next question is, that amendment S6M-20561.3, in the name of Gillian Mackay, which seeks to amend motion S6M-20561, in the name of Anas Sarwar, on the role of political decision making in NHS scandals, be agreed to.

Amendment agreed to.

The Presiding Officer: The next question is, that motion S6M-20561, in the name of Anas Sarwar, on the role of political decision making in NHS scandals, as amended, be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Lab)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)

MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

The Presiding Officer: The result of the division on motion S6M-20561, in the name of Anas Sarwar, on the role of political decision making in NHS scandals, as amended, is: For 64, Against 56, Abstentions 0.

Motion, as amended, agreed to,

That the Parliament condemns the culture of secrecy and cover-up that has hidden the truth from patients, families and campaigners and denied them justice in many NHS scandals in Scotland in recent years; recognises that, as the Scottish Hospitals Inquiry draws to a close, many serious questions remain regarding the decision-making process and the role of the Scottish Government; considers that political decision making should be considered by the inquiry, and calls for the Scottish Ministers to authorise the immediate full disclosure and preservation of all communications connected to the contaminated water and inadequate ventilation system and the premature opening of the Queen Elizabeth University Hospital, as well as any subsequent communications relating to the handling of the infection and its cover-up; acknowledges that recent revelations surrounding the Queen Elizabeth University Hospital will have been distressing for patients, their families and staff; understands that this could create uncertainty and fear regarding the safety of Scotland's hospitals and negatively impact staff morale; recognises that patient privacy has to be given the greatest consideration in the publication of any materials, and calls for the Scottish Government to outline how it will urgently restore confidence into the services delivered by NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde.

The Presiding Officer: The next question is, that motion S6M-20550, in the name of Jim Fairlie, on the Sustainable Aviation Fuel Bill, which is United Kingdom legislation, be agreed to.

Motion agreed to,

That the Parliament agrees that the relevant provisions of the Sustainable Aviation Fuel Bill, introduced in the House of Commons on 14 May 2025, and subsequently amended, relating to clauses 1 to 5, 10, 11(2) to 11(5), 12 to 20 and the schedule, so far as these matters fall within the legislative competence of the Scottish Parliament and alter the executive competence of the Scottish Ministers, should be considered by the UK Parliament.

The Presiding Officer: The next question is, that motion S6M-20575, in the name of Graeme Dey, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau, on approval of a Scottish statutory instrument, be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Lab)
Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Ewing, Annabelle (Cowdenbeath) (SNP)
Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)

Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)

The Presiding Officer: The result of the division on motion S6M-20575, in the name of Graeme Dey, is: For 110, Against 8, Abstentions 0.

Motion agreed to,

That the Parliament agrees that the Land and Buildings Transaction Tax (Investment Zones Relief) (Scotland) Order 2026 [draft] be approved.

The Presiding Officer: The final question is, that motion S6M-20576, in the name of Graeme Dey, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau, on suspension of standing orders, be agreed to.

Motion agreed to,

That the Parliament agrees that, for the purposes of consideration of the supplementary legislative consent memorandum on the Children's Wellbeing and Schools Bill, Rules 9B.3.5 and 9B.3.6 of Standing Orders are suspended.

The Presiding Officer: That concludes decision time.

Meeting closed at 22:09.

Correction

Angela Constance has identified an error in her contribution and provided the following correction.

The Cabinet Secretary for Justice and Home Affairs (Angela Constance):

At col 20, para 6—

Original text—

The Cabinet Secretary for Social Justice has responsibility for equality and rights. Ms Somerville and the Minister for Equalities met For Women Scotland on 22 May 2025, following the United Kingdom Supreme Court judgment, which the Scottish Government has accepted. Officials have also met For Women Scotland to discuss the impact of the judgment.

Corrected text—

The Cabinet Secretary for Social Justice has responsibility for equality and rights. Ms Somerville met For Women Scotland on 22 May 2025, following the United Kingdom Supreme Court judgment, which the Scottish Government has accepted. Officials have also met For Women Scotland to discuss the impact of the judgment.

This is the final edition of the *Official Report* for this meeting. It is part of the Scottish Parliament *Official Report* archive and has been sent for legal deposit.

Published in Edinburgh by the Scottish Parliamentary Corporate Body, the Scottish Parliament, Edinburgh, EH99 1SP

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