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Scottish Parliament

Wednesday 11 March 2026

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

Portfolio Question Time

Constitution, External Affairs and Culture, and Parliamentary Business

National Theatre of Scotland (20th Anniversary)

1. **Bob Doris (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP):** To ask the Scottish Government how it is supporting the National Theatre of Scotland as it marks its 20th anniversary. (S6O-05611)

The Cabinet Secretary for Constitution, External Affairs and Culture (Angus Robertson): This is the final portfolio question time of the parliamentary session, so it is an opportunity to put on record my appreciation of having been able to serve as the cabinet secretary as well as my appreciation of colleagues across the parties who have an interest in the portfolio and the dedicated and talented civil servants whom I have had the honour of working with.

I thank Bob Doris for hosting an excellent parliamentary reception last month to celebrate the National Theatre of Scotland reaching its milestone birthday. The Scottish Government will provide £4.5 million to the NTS in 2026-27. That significant funding demonstrates the Scottish Government's recognition of the important role that the NTS plays in the culture sector of Scotland as a theatre without walls taking its world-class productions to venues across Scotland.

Bob Doris: The parliamentary reception highlighted the NTS's on-going significant contribution to the cultural life of Scotland and the important work that it does in Scotland's schools.

Will the cabinet secretary join me in wishing our national theatre every success in its 20th programme of events, which includes a new adaptation of "The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie" and "Stand and Deliver", which tells the story of the Lee jeans sit-in in Greenock 45 years ago?

Given the funding concerns that have been highlighted, will the cabinet secretary take this opportunity to offer the Scottish Government's on-going long-term commitment to the funding of the National Theatre of Scotland in the years ahead?

Angus Robertson: I join Bob Doris in congratulating the NTS on reaching its milestone anniversary and in wishing it well for its 20th

birthday year. We aim to provide additional funding in future years. I understand the importance of multiyear funding, having seen how it is benefiting other areas of the culture sector through Creative Scotland's multiyear funding programme, and I have asked my officials to undertake work to explore that further.

National Performing Companies

2. **Emma Roddick (Highlands and Islands) (SNP):** To ask the Scottish Government how it is supporting Scotland's national performing companies. (S6O-05612)

The Cabinet Secretary for Constitution, External Affairs and Culture (Angus Robertson): The Scottish Government will provide £24.6 million in funding in the 2026-27 financial year to support our five world-class national performing companies, which demonstrates our support for those organisations. We have provided an uplift of £1 million in funding across our five national performing companies in 2025-26, and they will receive an additional £700,000 of funding in 2024-25. That investment takes their core funding to the highest level of funding since 2011-12.

Emma Roddick: I was copied in to a letter from Eden Court to the cabinet secretary, which I am aware that he has responded to. I enjoy the benefits of Scottish Ballet, Scottish Opera, the National Theatre of Scotland, the Royal Scottish National Orchestra and the Scottish Chamber Orchestra regularly performing in Inverness. However, they have reported issues with their funding, which I understand has been described as standstill. Rebecca Holt, the chief executive, said that that puts their performing in Inverness at risk. The companies report that they have found it

"increasingly challenging to include Eden Court in their tours due to the greater travel costs and additional overnight stays required by our location. If performances from those companies were to stop coming to Eden Court, that would leave a significant part of Scotland's population without access to high-quality Scottish-produced work."

It sounds as though the Highlands are at risk of missing out. Can the cabinet secretary provide more detail of any discrepancy there, and does it sit right with the Government that the Highlands may miss out on such opportunities?

Angus Robertson: I agree with Emma Roddick that one of the advantages of having national performing companies is that they perform throughout the nation, including in Eden Court. I know that their performances are greatly valued in the Highlands, as they are elsewhere in the country.

I expect the national performing companies to continue to deliver their world-class productions across Scotland, including in the Highlands. I

recently met the chief executives and the chairs of all five companies, and I reassure Ms Roddick that the Scottish Government aims to provide further funding to the national performing companies in future years.

Murdo Fraser (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con):

We are so fortunate to have the national performing companies, but, as we have just heard, the standstill budget that the Scottish Government has handed down means that they are potentially having to cut back on some of their activities. In 2021, in the programme for government, the Scottish Government—indeed, the cabinet secretary himself—committed to three-year funding for the national performing companies. Five years later, that has still not been delivered. Why has that promise been broken, and what is the cabinet secretary going to do to make sure that it is now delivered?

Angus Robertson: We are now 70 per cent through the record additional uplift in annual spending in culture, which I hope that Murdo Fraser—having voted against the budget, of course—will welcome. It is also fair to put on the record that multiyear funding has been delivered through Creative Scotland to a record number of organisations. Mr Fraser will know—as do colleagues across the chamber, and as do the national performing companies—that I am in favour of multiyear funding being delivered for the national performing companies. I hope that his party will commit to that. If I have the good fortune to return to this place and, indeed, to this office, I look forward to delivering just that. Perhaps next time, Murdo Fraser might actually vote for it.

Scottish Opera

3. Liam Kerr (North East Scotland) (Con): To ask the Scottish Government how it is supporting the long-term sustainability of Scottish Opera. (S6O-05613)

The Cabinet Secretary for Constitution, External Affairs and Culture (Angus Robertson): The Scottish Government will provide £8.6 million in funding to Scottish Opera in 2026-27 as part of £24.6 million in funding for the five national performing companies. The Scottish Government aims to provide additional funding in future financial years as part of the commitment to an additional £100 million per year by 2028-29. I recently met with all five national performing companies, and my officials will continue to work closely with them over the coming months to develop plans to support the long-term sustainability of our world-class national performing companies.

Liam Kerr: I thank the cabinet secretary for that, but, in fact, Scottish Opera has suffered a 66 per

cent real-terms cut to its grants since 2007-08, and its general director has warned that

“The current position is unsustainable”

and that it risks losing the talent that underpins Scottish Opera’s international reputation.

How will what is a standstill budget in 2026-27 impact the unsustainable position highlighted in that warning? Does the cabinet secretary accept that the Government’s funding decisions are directly threatening jobs and Scotland’s cultural standing?

Angus Robertson: I would take Liam Kerr’s calls for more funding for the national performing companies seriously if he had actually voted for the record increase in culture funding, but he voted against that. Scottish Opera will receive £8.6 million in 2026-27, which will ensure that it is the single highest publicly funded performance organisation in Scotland by some distance.

I acknowledge the point that he makes about talent. It is important to retain talent, and I acknowledge that funding is an important part of the picture in ensuring that that happens. I have stated a number of times my desire to introduce multiyear funding for the national performing companies and to look at the last 30 per cent of the increase of £100 million for culture that the Government is delivering with a particular focus on the national performing companies.

I encourage Liam Kerr, should he be returned to this place, instead of voting against those record increases—

Liam Kerr: Unsustainable!

Angus Robertson: —for the national performing companies and culture, to actually vote for them in the future.

The Presiding Officer (Alison Johnstone): Let us hear one another.

Bill Kidd (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP): How does the per-head investment in the opera in Scotland compare with the investment by the United Kingdom Government or Arts Council England?

Angus Robertson: I do not have that information to hand, but I will be happy to correspond with Bill Kidd on that question. I have already put on record that the significant amount of funding for Scottish Opera means that it is the single highest publicly funded performance organisation in Scotland by some distance. Nevertheless, it is an important part of our five excellent national performing companies, and, as we move towards the delivery of the £100 million increase in culture spending, my focus is very

much on the national performance companies, including Scottish Opera.

Culture and the Arts Promotion (Local Authorities)

4. Alexander Stewart (Mid Scotland and Fife)

(Con): To ask the Scottish Government how it is supporting local authorities to promote culture and the arts. (S6O-05614)

The Cabinet Secretary for Constitution, External Affairs and Culture (Angus Robertson): Although it is for local authorities to decide how they allocate their funding, the Scottish Government's budget for 2026-27 provides, in addition to the block grant, a further £20 million in funding for culture. That provides on-going funding for our flagship culture collective and creative communities community-led arts programmes and supports local authorities to promote culture and the arts. The Scottish Government is working with culture conveners on how local and national organisations can work together to continue to support and promote culture.

Alexander Stewart: Creative Scotland's chief executive has warned that he is increasingly concerned about the risk to arts funding due to pressures on local authority budgets. Culture is vital to communities across Scotland, yet councils are being forced to cut arts funding. In the Western Isles, for example, the council has removed all secured annual investment in the arts. Therefore, after nearly two decades of SNP power, councils have been so financially squeezed that access to the arts and culture in communities across Scotland is being put at risk. What is the Scottish Government doing to reduce that risk?

Angus Robertson: I regularly hear, particularly from the member's side of the chamber, that local decision making is important. I agree that it is right that local councils should make decisions, but I appeal to them to protect and support cultural provision in their local authority areas. The member knows the figures for the increases in council funding. He also knows that I am working closely with the council culture conveners in the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities. That commitment will continue. I acknowledge that it is important that national and local government work together to protect and support the cultural infrastructure across the country.

Neil Bibby (West Scotland) (Lab): Last month, City Property (Glasgow), which is an arm's-length organisation of Glasgow City Council, issued its tenants with an eviction notice for their premises at Trongate 103 unless they agreed to sign a new lease under which their rent would rise to up to four times its current level. Trongate 103 is home to organisations such as GMAC, Sharmanka Kinetic Theatre, Glasgow Print Studio and Street Level

Photoworks. We all know that local authorities are under significant financial pressure, but the situation is very concerning for the culture sector in Glasgow, particularly following the closure of the Centre for Contemporary Arts. Does the cabinet secretary agree that that would be another devastating blow for Glasgow's creative sector? What are he and his officials prepared to do? Can they assist those organisations in trying to find a way forward from the situation?

Angus Robertson: I acknowledge the concerns that Neil Bibby raises and I recognise that a great number of people, particularly in Glasgow, are concerned about those developments. In the first instance, the issue relates to Glasgow City Council and Creative Scotland. I am being updated on the situation. Discussions are on-going and, as soon as there is anything that I can report to Neil Bibby, I will be happy to do so.

Foyso Choudhury (Lothian) (Ind): In the light of the launch of the 2026 Edinburgh international festival today, what steps is the Scottish Government taking to work with local authorities to support local artists and maximise the cultural and economic output of the festival for our communities in Edinburgh and across Scotland?

Angus Robertson: I thank Foyso Choudhury for the opportunity to highlight Edinburgh international festival's launch announcement. I encourage members across the chamber to share the exciting contents of the programme and the details of what we will be able to see later in the year.

Mr Choudhury will be aware that the Edinburgh international festival is now being funded on a multiyear basis. That is huge progress, but more can be done. I have set up a festivals task force to co-ordinate the work of the Government and other public agencies with our festivals, including the Edinburgh international festival. We acknowledge the important role that the world-class festival fulfils, and I will do everything that I can to support it and other festivals, not least because I am the member of the Scottish Parliament for Edinburgh Central and the Cabinet Secretary for Constitution, External Affairs and Culture.

Mr Choudhury has highlighted an important month in the calendar for Scotland's cultural life. The Scottish Government will work closely with the Edinburgh international festival to support it to succeed, as it has done over the past 47 years.

The Presiding Officer: Question 5 has not been lodged.

Scotland's People

6. Graham Simpson (Central Scotland) (Reform): To ask the Scottish Government what plans it has to make records on the Scotland's

People website more readily available elsewhere. (S6O-05616)

The Cabinet Secretary for Constitution, External Affairs and Culture (Angus Robertson): I asked Alison Byrne, the chief executive of National Records of Scotland, to respond. The answer is as follows: as well as through the Scotland's People website, National Records of Scotland provides access to its records at General Register House in Edinburgh, local family history centres across Scotland, and through its extract services. Scotland's People offers a unique service, with around 1.3 million global users and no restrictions on who can access the records. Searches are free, with charges applying only to viewing or saving records. NRS is exploring options to let commercial partners integrate a digital interface so that customers can search the Scotland's People database directly.

Graham Simpson: I thank the cabinet secretary for that answer, which is entirely accurate. However, let me explain the issue. Thousands of people across the world like to research their family connections to Scotland, but that is very difficult due to the restrictive nature of the Scotland's People website. The vital information that it contains is not shared with other sites and, if people use it, they have to buy credits in order to see or order records that may not even be relevant to them. It is either that, or they have to physically go into records offices in Edinburgh or the Mitchell library in Glasgow, neither of which may be convenient.

Would the cabinet secretary agree to look at opening up Scotland's records of births, deaths, marriages and divorces not only to Scotland, but to the world?

Angus Robertson: Clearly, Graham Simpson is a keen genealogy buff, as am I. I have an account on Scotland's People, as he does. It would be incorrect to leave the impression that Scotland's People is not available around the world. It is open to everybody. I acknowledge that Scotland's People is the official site for searching and viewing public records and archives. The records available to search include historical statutory registers, church records, census returns, tax and legal records, poor relief and migration records, prison registers, historical employment records and the Scottish Cabinet records.

I will repeat the last part of the reply from the chief executive of the National Records of Scotland: she said that NRS is exploring options to let commercial partners integrate a digital interface so that customers can search the Scotland's People database directly. That should answer the concerns that Mr Simpson has raised.

Freedom of Speech (Culture Sector)

7. Tess White (North East Scotland) (Con): To ask the Scottish Government what action it is taking to support freedom of speech across the cultural sector. (S6O-05617)

The Cabinet Secretary for Constitution, External Affairs and Culture (Angus Robertson): The Scottish Government recognises freedom of speech as an essential part of a healthy culture sector and democracy. At the same time, the exercise of that right must never be used to justify behaviour that is harmful, intimidating or unlawful. The Scottish Government works with publicly funded culture bodies to ensure adherence to public sector frameworks that govern the use of public funding. Those principles, and the legal frameworks within which all organisations must work, also apply to cultural organisations in receipt of public funding and are subject to the regular scrutiny of the awarding public body.

Tess White: Poet and novelist Polly Clark was shamefully cancelled by literary magazine *Gutter* for her gender critical beliefs. *Gutter* is funded by Scottish National Party quango Creative Scotland. This is yet another chilling example of state-funded censorship in Scotland's cultural sector.

I am glad that the cabinet secretary says that he will take action in relation to any organisation under his wing that is acting unlawfully. Will Creative Scotland defund *Gutter* for discriminating against Polly Clark for her lawful beliefs—yes or no?

Angus Robertson: The first point that I will make is that—as I hope that Tess White knows—Creative Scotland operates at arm's length from Government. It does so for very good reasons, because it is not for a culture secretary to order an arm's-length organisation when it comes to creative content. In relation to the case that Tess White mentioned, Creative Scotland has clarified that it does not regulate editorial content. Intervention is possible only where funding conditions are breached, and its funding approach is shaped by equalities and access priorities. However, if Tess White would like to write to me about the specific case, I would be content to write back to her.

Public Libraries (Rural Areas)

8. Roz McCall (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con): To ask the Scottish Government what further support it will provide to local authorities to protect access to public libraries in rural areas. (S6O-05618)

The Cabinet Secretary for Constitution, External Affairs and Culture (Angus Robertson): The Scottish Government will provide an increase of £100,000 in funding to the

Scottish Library and Information Council in 2026-27. This will take funding to £1.035 million. That is on top of our general revenue funding to local authorities and includes £450,000 for the public library improvement fund, which has been awarded annually since 2006, with £200,000 going to support creative, sustainable and innovative public library projects throughout Scotland.

Roz McCall: The financial pressures that our local authorities face are well known and are a result of almost 20 years of the choices of this Scottish National Party Government. In its latest budget, the SNP administration in Perth and Kinross Council has indicated that it intends to use the proceeds from the visitor levy to support the long-term sustainability of rural libraries. At every stage of the introduction of the visitor levy, we stated that that is exactly what would happen, and that the intention that proceeds would be used to enhance the local tourism offer would not come to fruition.

Does the cabinet secretary share my concerns that councils are being pushed into alternative funding sources to provide basic council services, such as rural libraries?

Angus Robertson: I gently say to Roz McCall that, again, I am getting calls from members on the Conservative Party benches to intervene in the democratic decision making of local councils, which is something that they normally oppose.

In answering her question, I draw her attention to the fact that, since 2014, 140 projects have been funded, including 127 individual projects and 13 collaborative projects, reaching a total value of nearly £2.4 million. I am pleased to confirm that the Scottish Library and Information Council is receiving a £100,000 uplift in funding in 2026-27.

Mark Ruskell (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green): I thank the cabinet secretary for engaging with campaigns across Perthshire to protect libraries, and in particular for accepting my invitation to come and visit Scone library at the end of last year. At that event, the Scottish Library and Information Council announced that it would be publishing new guidance on what constitutes the adequate provision of libraries, for which campaigners in Perthshire have been calling for a long time. When can we see that guidance being produced and utilised by councils?

Angus Robertson: I pay tribute to Mark Ruskell for his tenacious pursuit of this issue and for the invitation to attend Scone library. He will wish to be aware that the Scottish Library and Information Council will publish the recommendations from the public libraries beyond adequate working group tomorrow. The working group considered how local authorities can meet their statutory duty to provide an adequate public library service in a way

that is equitable, financially sustainable and aligned with Scotland's national outcomes.

I cannot comment on the recommendations today, but I encourage Mr Ruskell and other colleagues to read them when they are published, and I hope that everyone will agree that they should be warmly welcomed.

Willie Rennie (North East Fife) (LD): I encourage the cabinet secretary to investigate the work of the charity ELibraries for Schools, which is working to create a national children's digital library. The Cabinet Secretary for Education and Skills is familiar with its work, and I encourage the culture secretary to facilitate a discussion between councils, trusts and the charity to see what can be done together to improve the service.

Angus Robertson: That is a helpful intervention. The key operative intervention is with the Scottish Library and Information Council, which does a lot of the co-ordination work across library provision in Scotland. I have taken a note of Mr Rennie's point, and I will raise it. I will be happy to report back to Mr Rennie.

The Presiding Officer (Alison Johnstone): Thank you. That concludes portfolio questions on constitution, external affairs and culture, and parliamentary business.

Justice and Home Affairs

Knife Crime (North Ayrshire)

1. Kenneth Gibson (Cunninghame North) (SNP): To ask the Scottish Government how many crimes involving a knife there were in North Ayrshire in 2007-08 and 2024-25. (S6O-05619)

The Minister for Victims and Community Safety (Siobhian Brown): While acknowledging that one knife crime is one too many, I note that knife crime has fallen considerably over the past 20 years. In North Ayrshire, the number of recorded crimes of weapons possession that specifically reference the presence of a knife or a bladed or pointed article decreased by 33 per cent from 123 in 2007-08 to 83 in 2024-25. Significantly, emergency hospital admissions in NHS Ayrshire and Arran due to assault by a sharp object decreased by 78 per cent from 81 in 2007-08 to just 18 in 2024-25, although 18 is still too many. That is a welcome contribution to the 70 per cent fall in admissions due to sharp-object assault that has been seen across the whole of Scotland since 2007.

Kenneth Gibson: Can the minister say what impact the creation of Police Scotland has had on the efficiency and effectiveness of our dedicated police officers? Can she confirm that homicide numbers reached a record low of 45 last year,

down from 116 when this Government came into office, which proves that Scotland is safer with the Scottish National Party?

Siobhian Brown: I agree with the member on that point. Although one homicide would still be too many, homicides in Scotland are at a record low. The number of sharp object-related homicide victims fell by 49 per cent from 55 in 2007-08 to just 28 in 2024-25. Over the past 20 years, the number of homicide victims aged between 13 and 19 decreased by 75 per cent from 44 during the five-year period of 2005 to 2010 to 11 during the five-year period of 2020 to 2025.

Sharon Dowey (South Scotland) (Con): At the start of this parliamentary session, North Ayrshire recorded 130 cases of people possessing an article with a blade or point in a public setting. The latest figures show that there were still 128 bladed or pointed-article crimes in 2024. With the figures showing little change over recent years, the SNP has failed to get a grip on the problem.

Given the importance of early intervention, what engagement has the Scottish Government had with schools to ensure that young people are being educated about the dangers of carrying knives and to prevent that behaviour before it starts?

The Presiding Officer: Please respond with regard to the substantive question, minister.

Siobhian Brown: Any level of violence is unacceptable. However, as I said in my answer to the first question, there has been a reduction since 2007.

In relation to work that is happening in schools across Scotland, all local authorities have engaged with the mentors in violence prevention programme, and 234 schools have delivered the programme over the past session. More than 6,000 young mentors have delivered more than 8,000 MVP lessons to younger pupils. In addition, over the past year, 80 Police Scotland youth volunteers have completed peer education training that was focused on the dangers of weapon carrying.

Katy Clark (West Scotland) (Lab): After the death of 16-year-old Kayden Moy, who was stabbed on Irvine beach in May 2025, cuts in funding for the no knives, better lives programme were raised with me. I asked the minister about that, and we entered correspondence about real-terms cuts in recent years. However, it is not clear whether there will be an increase in funding in the coming year. Will the minister advise on whether it has been possible for her to achieve an increase in funding for the programme?

The Presiding Officer: Again, please respond in relation to the substantive question, minister.

Siobhian Brown: I do not have the exact figures with me, but I know that, through the children, young people and families early intervention, 11 youth work organisations in the sector are being supported with more than £860,000. I do not have the figures for the budget with me, but I will write to Katy Clark on that point.

Crime Reduction

2. **George Adam (Paisley) (SNP):** To ask the Scottish Government what steps it is taking to reduce crime in Scotland. (S6O-05620)

The Cabinet Secretary for Justice and Home Affairs (Angela Constance): The Scottish Government is reducing crime by prioritising prevention and early intervention, and by addressing root causes such as poverty, inequality and drug or alcohol-related harm. It is implementing measures to tackle organised crime, violence, hate crime, cybercrime and human trafficking. That work is guided by "The Vision for Justice in Scotland", which sets a transformative framework for creating safer communities.

We recognise the vital roles of police officers and staff, so we are investing over £1.7 billion in policing for 2026-27, which will enable Police Scotland to deliver priorities, strengthen front-line services and progress its three-year business plan.

George Adam: I welcome the policing funding from the Scottish Government. However, in the light of the United Kingdom Labour Government's national insurance hike, which is affecting our public sector in general, is the Scottish Government continuing to press the UK Government to cover those extra costs?

Angela Constance: We have called on the Chancellor of the Exchequer to fund those costs in full, but she has failed to do so. The UK Government's failure to fully fund its increase to employer national insurance contributions has left public services in Scotland with a total bill of more than £700 million.

We have provided an additional £15.2 million of baselined funding to Police Scotland to compensate for the UK Government's tax in that regard. Although I was more than happy to secure that additional funding, we now cannot invest that money elsewhere in our public services due to the increase that was imposed on us by the UK Government.

Budget 2026-27 (Justice Public Services)

3. **Evelyn Tweed (Stirling) (SNP):** To ask the Scottish Government how its budget 2026-27 will invest in front-line justice public services. (S6O-05621)

The Cabinet Secretary for Justice and Home Affairs (Angela Constance): We will invest £4.6 billion across the justice system in 2026-27 to support this Government's priority of high-quality and sustainable public services and the delivery of essential front-line justice services. That includes record funding of more than £1.7 billion for policing, more than £1.1 billion for the Scottish Prison Service and community justice services and £436 million for the Scottish Fire and Rescue Service.

Scotland is a safer place since this Government took office, with recorded crime down 38 per cent since 2006-07. Recorded crime has halved since the peak in 1991. The increased investment across the justice system in 2026-27 will help to keep our communities safe.

Evelyn Tweed: Charities play an important role in supporting people who engage in the justice system. How will the 2026-27 budget support their work?

Angela Constance: I whole-heartedly echo that point about the important role that the third sector plays in society. It provides support and information to those who are affected by crime, it supports the rehabilitation of those who are involved in the justice system to reduce reoffending, and it diverts young people from crime through our cashback for communities programme.

The Scottish Government's budget underpins our commitment to the victims and survivors of crime. We will continue to support 23 organisations as part of our £18 million victim-centred approach fund, which includes more than £6 million for specialist advocacy support for survivors of gender-based abuse. In addition, the delivering equally safe fund is being increased by 5 per cent in the next financial year, so there will be a total investment of almost £46 million over 2026 to 2028 to ensure that recipients can continue their vital work to prevent violence and support survivors.

Liam Kerr (North East Scotland) (Con): The cabinet secretary trumpets the funding and says that it will deliver community outcomes, but there are about 1,000 fewer police officers in Scotland than there were five years ago. How will the funding that the cabinet secretary has announced directly increase officer numbers by 1,000—or is she happy to leave the figure as it is?

Angela Constance: I am quite sure that Mr Kerr is aware of the manifesto commitment that this Government stood on and was elected on in 2021 and, indeed, the one before that, in 2016. It is, of course, a matter for the chief constable of Police Scotland to come to a view on the number of officers. I am pleased that, as a result of the £1.7 billion that the Government is providing for

policing, the chief constable's establishment figure for police officers will remain at 16,500.

Cashback for Communities

4. Michelle Thomson (Falkirk East) (SNP): To ask the Scottish Government how it is supporting the cashback for communities programme as it enters phase 7. (S6O-05622)

The Minister for Victims and Community Safety (Siobhian Brown): The cashback for communities programme delivers early intervention work with young people to reduce the risk of their engagement with police and the justice system.

The forthcoming phase will operate from April 2026 to March 2029. I am pleased to say that 51 projects will be funded and that there will be project delivery in all 32 local authorities. The programme will be supported by a record allocation of up to £26 million, which will continue to enable initiatives that provide safe spaces, trusted adults and positive diversionary and support activities for young people aged 10 to 25, addressing underlying factors that are linked to antisocial behaviour and criminality.

Michelle Thomson: Does the minister agree that work in early prevention and a focus on improving young people's wellbeing is critical to reducing both the risk of offending and reoffending, which, in turn, benefits our communities?

Siobhian Brown: Early intervention with young people, supported by a strong focus on understanding and improving their wellbeing, is a core element of the cashback for communities programme. Through universal provision, partners support young people on their individual journeys by offering the safe spaces and the trusted adults and guidance that build confidence and skills while addressing conditions that may lead to harm before they arise. All 51 phase 7 partners will work collaboratively with children, young people and their families to ensure that young people feel safe, nurtured, active, respected and included.

Prisoner Voting Arrangements

5. Sandesh Gulhane (Glasgow) (Con): To ask the Scottish Government what discussions the Cabinet Secretary for Justice and Home Affairs has had with the Scottish Prison Service regarding arrangements for prisoners eligible to vote in the forthcoming Scottish Parliament election. (S6O-05623)

The Cabinet Secretary for Justice and Home Affairs (Angela Constance): The Scottish Government and the Scottish Prison Service are working with the Electoral Commission and electoral registration officers on communications

with prisoners ahead of the Scottish Parliament election on 7 May. The deadline to register to vote in the election on 7 May is 20 April, and that deadline will be highlighted in our prisons. Only prisoners who are serving sentences of 12 months or less are entitled to register to vote. As of 6 March, there were 609 prisoners in Scotland serving sentences of 12 months or less.

Sandesh Gulhane: The Scottish National Party Government continues to give prisoners the vote of confidence by allowing offenders who are serving sentences of 12 months or less the right to vote in the upcoming election. Those 609 prisoners include people who have committed sexual and violent crimes. How will enfranchising those prisoners reduce crime and support victims?

Angela Constance: I am not sure whether the member was in Parliament in 2019 when the Scottish Elections (Franchise and Representation) Bill was passed. So far, that is the only piece of Scottish Parliament legislation to require and obtain a supermajority—there were 92 votes in favour and 27 against. The member might be interested to know that, in November 2019, the Standards, Procedures and Public Appointments Committee, in its stage 1 report on the bill, unanimously agreed that

“the blanket ban on prisoner voting is unsustainable as it is at odds with European Convention on Human Rights.”

Further to that, in the 2021 elections, 38 prisoners were registered to vote and, in the 2022 local government elections, 49 eligible prisoners were registered.

Martin Whitfield (South Scotland) (Lab): Does the cabinet secretary agree that allowing prisoners with sentences of less than 12 months to vote allows them to retain a connection to the communities that they will return to?

Angela Constance: Yes, I do.

Police (Mental Health-related Calls)

6. Pauline McNeill (Glasgow) (Lab): To ask the Scottish Government what its response is to recent reports that police officers are attending up to 700 mental health-related calls per day. (S6O-05624)

The Cabinet Secretary for Justice and Home Affairs (Angela Constance): I appreciate the member's question on that matter, and I recognise the pressures that have been highlighted. We are working with a range of partners, including Police Scotland, health boards, local authorities and third sector organisations, to deliver improvements, and that shared approach is helping to make a difference.

Since 2019, the Scottish Government has invested more than £18 million in the enhanced mental health pathway, which directs suitable

emergency calls to the 24/7 NHS 24 mental health hub, and that has redeployed 76,000 police hours. That sits alongside initiatives such as distress brief intervention, which reduces unnecessary call-outs and ensures that people who are in distress receive timely and compassionate support.

Pauline McNeill: I recognise the on-going work that the cabinet secretary refers to. Mental health-related calls now represent one in five of all incidents that police officers attend, and only 15 per cent of those involve criminality. That is now the biggest single reason why police officers' time is unnecessarily taken up. At a recent meeting of the Criminal Justice Committee, Scottish Government adviser Dr Robby Steel said that there is “a gap in provision” for many people who are having a mental health crisis. He went on to say:

“The reason that I point out the gap is that there is a limit to the extent to which the police and the NHS, working together, can solve this problem. It is a broader societal problem.”—[*Official Report, Criminal Justice Committee*, 18 February 2026; c 22.]

In effect, Police Scotland finds itself responsible for dealing with people in that gap. This morning, the chief inspector of constabulary said that, when he talked to people who had been in receipt of the service, they found it quite scary when the police turned up, and that that actually made the situation worse for them. Given that the gap needs to be addressed, what more can the cabinet secretary say to assure me that we are shaping services in a different direction to ensure that police officers are not picking up that wider societal problem?

Angela Constance: I very much recognise the frustration. In many circumstances, the situations that Ms McNeill has narrated are unacceptable, from a policing point of view and from the point of view of caring for people. There are examples of good work being done, particularly through community triage models. For example, the data demonstrates that the model in Lanarkshire has had a very good result, which is similarly true for Ayrshire and Arran, and that points to the need to scale up such models at pace.

Regarding mental health provision, Ms McNeill might be interested to know that £3.5 million has been invested to expand the 24/7 response to mental health emergencies, a new crisis framework for children and young people is in place, and NHS 24 mental health support has expanded to include psychological therapies. Those policies have been helpful. There is also cross-collaborative work between the Scottish Ambulance Service, the national health service and Police Scotland to deal with high-intensity users.

Stuart McMillan (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP): The cabinet secretary has touched on

some of these points, but can she outline what further work is being done through improvements such as the distress brief intervention programme and the increased investment in mental health to get people the right care when they need it and reduce the need for police to attend mental health-related calls?

Angela Constance: The investment in the distress brief intervention programme, which has now been rolled out across Scotland, has enabled it to achieve more than 100,000 referrals. The programme also supports the expansion of the NHS 24 mental health hub that I referred to earlier. That helps to support call-handling capacity and to establish the national model of digital and psychological treatments. We continue to fund the Scottish Ambulance Service's mental health paramedic response units, and an evaluation of that support is expected in the coming months. Our investment in those units and in other improvements will continue to ensure that people who experience distress receive the right support at the right time and in the right place, while ensuring that officers are deployed only when necessary.

Violence Against Women and Girls

7. Marie McNair (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP): To ask the Scottish Government what action it is taking to protect women and girls from violence, in light of international women's day last weekend. (S6O-05625)

The Minister for Victims and Community Safety (Siobhian Brown): Violence against women and girls is abhorrent and still far too common. That is why we remain focused on delivering Scotland's equally safe strategy to prevent such violence, which includes seeking to change the attitudes and behaviours that underpin it. The delivering equally safe fund supports 107 organisations, which deliver 115 projects. Between October 2021 and March 2024, those projects supported more than 67,000 adults, children and young people. Next year, the fund will increase by 5 per cent, so over the period from 2026 to 2028 we will make a total investment of more than £46 million to ensure that recipients can continue their vital work to prevent violence and support survivors.

Marie McNair: I extend my gratitude to the minister for meeting my constituent today, to hear from her as a survivor. Does the minister agree that policy on such matters must be informed by people's lived experience? Will she highlight how that approach will continue to shape the decisions that are required to ensure that survivors get the support and services that they need?

Siobhian Brown: I recognise the courage and fortitude that survivors of sexual and domestic

abuse show when they share their personal experiences, whether they do so with ministers, in court or with other people in their lives. I absolutely endorse the sentiment that we need to listen to them in order to learn from their lived experience. That has been very much central to the work that we have done, such as the landmark Victims, Witnesses, and Justice Reform (Scotland) Act 2025, to which the cabinet secretary referred and which will transform our justice system and ensure that victims and witnesses are treated with compassion and are supported throughout the legal process. The importance of learning from lived experience is also one reason for our establishing the victims task force, which is supported by the victim/survivor advisory board to ensure that the task force's work to improve the experiences of victims and witnesses is underpinned by lived experience.

Pam Gosal (West Scotland) (Con): The United Kingdom Supreme Court ruled that single-sex spaces based on biological sex are lawful and that spaces are single sex only if the opposite sex is excluded. However, Scottish Prison Service policy still allows some biological males who identify as women to be held in the female estate. Most women in prison are victims of male violence, and they deserve safety, dignity and privacy. What level of risk to those women does the minister consider to be acceptable?

Siobhian Brown: The Scottish Government accepts the Supreme Court's judgment. We are ensuring—as any responsible Government must—that our policies comply with all our legal obligations, including those set out in the Scotland Act 1998 and the European convention on human rights. The prison guidance has not been changed and, based on the work that the Scottish Government has conducted, it will not need to be changed in the light of the Supreme Court's judgment. There is a live court case at the moment, so I will not comment on the issue any further.

Beatrice Wishart (Shetland Islands) (LD): To coincide with international women's day, Shetland Women's Aid published the results of its voices of women in Shetland survey. Fifty-seven per cent of respondents reported being affected by gender-based violence and, of those affected, nearly 60 per cent did not receive any support and more than three quarters chose not to report incidents to the police. It is concerning to learn that many women who experience harm are unable to access support or to report what has happened.

What is the Scottish Government doing to support public services, including education providers, to challenge the culture of misogyny that makes it harder for gender-based violence to be reported and for survivors to be supported?

Siobhian Brown: I have not seen that report, so I would appreciate it if Beatrice Wishart would send it to the justice team so that we can look at it. As I have said, violence against women is completely unacceptable, which is why we are delivering the equally safe strategy and investing record amounts of money in services that support women who experience domestic abuse. I will be happy to engage further with Beatrice Wishart on the issue.

Modified E-bikes and Off-road Vehicles (Antisocial Behaviour)

8. Michael Marra (North East Scotland) (Lab):

To ask the Scottish Government whether it will provide an update on action it is taking to address the use of modified e-bikes and off-road vehicles in incidents of antisocial behaviour. (S6O-05626)

The Minister for Victims and Community Safety (Siobhian Brown): To tackle such behaviour, we continue to invest significantly in policing, with £1.64 billion of funding provided this year and £1.7 billion provided for the next financial year. Although operational policing decisions are rightly a matter for Police Scotland, I welcome the positive examples of its activity in this area, including the increase in the number of seizures of such bikes and vehicles.

We have also funded a Crimestoppers summer campaign on off-road vehicle misuse, begun to review antisocial behaviour legislation and expanded our cashback for communities programme to divert young people from antisocial behaviour.

The Scottish Government wants to work collectively to address concerns. We recognise that this is a common issue across the whole of Scotland and the rest of the United Kingdom, with some legislation in this area being reserved, so we have proposed further interministerial discussions to consider how we can tackle our shared concern.

Michael Marra: I thank the minister for that update. I continue to hear from constituents in areas of Dundee such as Ardler, Kirkton, Blackness and Dryburgh that modified bikes are being used with seemingly no consequences—that is how my constituents feel—despite their posing a clear risk to public safety and, to be frank, causing mayhem. Given the increasing risks that illegally modified e-bikes and off-road vehicles pose to the public, does the minister believe that the current powers available to Police Scotland are sufficient for it to deal with them?

Siobhian Brown: I am not sure whether Michael Marra is aware that, given that the relevant responsibilities cut across our portfolios, Mr Fairlie and I have been engaging with MSPs on the matter for about the past 18 months. We had a meeting just last week, and we are also engaging

with the UK Government. The issue is complex. For example, the challenges presented in Edinburgh city centre are quite different from those presented in rural areas.

I believe that Police Scotland has the necessary tools at the moment, but more can be done. As we said at our meeting last week, Mr Fairlie and I are keen for that work to be progressed in the next parliamentary session. We heard members' suggestions about what should be done, and we will leave those on the desk of the minister in the next parliamentary session so that they can proceed with that work.

Bob Doris (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP): I was at the meeting that the minister referred to, when we discussed what more could be done to tackle the issues that Michael Marra raised. Representatives of Police Scotland were also in attendance. Can the minister provide reassurance that there will be a cross-party approach to tackling the issue in the next parliamentary session, regardless of whether the power to achieve a solution sits with the Government in Scotland or the Government at Westminster, and that local MSPs will continue to be able to have constructive dialogue on the matter with the Scottish Government?

Siobhian Brown: I cannot speak for the next Scottish Government, but I assure the member that, if the Scottish National Party is back in Government in the next session, we will engage on the issue on a cross-party basis. As I said to Michael Marra, legislation on this matter is quite complex, because it falls between reserved and devolved areas. However, we can do some work on it, and I hope that that work will progress in the next parliamentary session.

The Presiding Officer: That concludes portfolio question time. There will be a brief pause before we move to the next item of business.

Skye House

The Deputy Presiding Officer (Annabelle Ewing): The next item of business is a statement by Tom Arthur on Skye house: progress and assurance. I ask members who are leaving the chamber to do so quickly and quietly, because we are moving on to the next item of business. The minister will take questions at the end of his statement, so there should be no interventions or interruptions.

14:51

The Minister for Social Care and Mental Wellbeing (Tom Arthur): My statement follows the joint Healthcare Improvement Scotland and Mental Welfare Commission for Scotland report on Skye house, NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde's regional adolescent in-patient mental health unit.

Following the BBC "Disclosure" documentary on Skye house, which aired in February 2025, my predecessor, Maree Todd, made a statement to the Parliament on 25 February 2025, setting out the Government's plan for stronger external assurance. That commitment reflected the seriousness of the issues that were identified in the documentary. It included commissioning a programme of joint visits by Healthcare Improvement Scotland and the Mental Welfare Commission for Scotland to every adolescent mental health in-patient unit in Scotland, including Skye house, in order to ensure that concerns were examined thoroughly and independently. I express my thanks to both organisations for the thoroughness with which they have carried out that work, and to all those who contributed to the reviews.

As the Parliament would expect, I will not comment on the detail of individual cases. However, I will specifically address the findings of the joint visit to Skye house, as I know that it is a matter of deep concern to members across the chamber.

I also want to acknowledge, at the outset, the young people and families whose courage in raising concerns, including through the BBC "Disclosure" documentary last year, has helped to bring the issues to light. They should not have had to fight to be heard. They deserved better.

Since the BBC documentary aired, both Maree Todd and I have met several families and young people who were in Skye house. I am grateful to them for speaking so openly about their experiences. I have been deeply moved by what they shared and impressed by their commitment to driving change in the future. Today, I want to reassure those families and young people that

their voices have been heard and that they will shape change.

It is also important to remember that the "Disclosure" documentary had a significant impact on staff. The reviews show that a lot of high-quality critical care is being delivered within in-patient units in child and adult mental health services. I am incredibly grateful to those staff, who are working hard to provide compassionate care to young people in challenging circumstances. However, I am also very clear that the serious issues that were identified in the report are where we need to see improvement.

The issues highlighted range from cultural concerns and staffing pressures to weaknesses in governance, such as inconsistent recording of restraint—I remain particularly concerned about the lack of clarity around the lawful use of restraint during nasogastric feeding. I have met the Children and Young People's Commissioner Scotland to discuss those concerns.

I have also met the health board leadership and been assured that improvements have been made since the inspection took place seven months ago. The chief executive has confirmed to me that the board feels that the risks in Skye house are being actively and appropriately managed each day and that the service is operating safely, while recognising that caring for this patient group involves inherently high levels of clinical risk.

The board has also strengthened its governance through a dedicated executive oversight group, which is chaired at executive level. The group meets regularly to provide direct oversight of Skye house, monitor progress against actions and escalate any concerns immediately to the chief executive.

I understand that a number of new staff are now in post, including eleven new nurses, and that recruitment is nearly complete to strengthen the wider multidisciplinary team. Increasing permanent recruitment should mean less reliance on temporary staffing, which was a key factor in the cultural issues that were identified. I have also been told that the civility saves lives champions who are working in Skye house are helping drive the cultural improvements that are clearly required. That brings with it a zero-tolerance approach to any and all inappropriate behaviour.

The board's action plan demonstrates there has been a drive to improve and reduce the use of restraint. It reports that 99 per cent of Skye house staff have now completed prevention and management of violence and aggression training, with bank staff trained in safe restraint practice. In addition, improvements have been made to the recording and oversight of the use of restraint, with clearer governance and reporting.

Although I acknowledge that improvements have been made, I have been clear that more still needs to be done to ensure that the care at Skye house reaches the high standards that every young person in Scotland has the right to expect. NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde is accountable for care and treatment at Skye house and I now expect the board to be laser focused on driving up those standards of care.

The board has accepted all of the requirements and areas for improvement that are set out in the joint inspection report and now has an action plan in place to address them. I expect that plan to be implemented at pace, so as to improve the experience of young people needing care in our adolescent in-patient facilities.

In respect of the serious issues that were identified around the authority to treat under the Mental Health (Care and Treatment) (Scotland) Act 2003, I understand that weekly checks and audits of all treatment forms are now in place. A multidisciplinary review of legal processes is under way, and the board is working closely with the commission to ensure full compliance going forward.

Members may also be aware that I am taking urgent action to improve the use of restraint and seclusion in in-patient mental health settings by updating the code of practice under the 2003 act. I have also asked the commission to begin monitoring and reporting on the use of restraint and seclusion at a national level to enhance oversight. Following the publication of these reports, I have met with the chief executives of all of the boards accountable for delivery, to ensure that robust improvement plans are in place, and my expectation is that all formal requirements and areas for improvement will be implemented swiftly. I have made it clear that I expect regular updates on progress.

As well as the individual reports on each of the in-patient units, I welcome the national overview report that was recently published by Health Improvement Scotland and the commission. It brings together the themes arising from visits in order to inform future improvements to the quality and safety of our CAMHS in-patient units. In response to those themes, I have considered what national improvements will be required to better support young people and I have highlighted my support for the recommendation that all health boards that are currently responsible for adolescent psychiatric in-patient units should develop a national in-patient service specification and, following the review of care that they have already undertaken, put in place more robust governance and oversight.

A national specification will help to ensure that all settings operate to the same high standards and will clearly set out the role of in-patient care as part of a broader child and adolescent mental health service.

I have written to those same chief executives to ask them to report back to the Scottish ministers after the election with detailed proposals on how, collectively, they will further strengthen CAMHS community services and pathways in and out of in-patient care, improve care at home and ensure that vulnerable young people receive the right support at the right time, in the right place.

For further assurance, the commission will also undertake follow-up visits to monitor progress against the action plans for all regional units. Officials will follow up with the boards on any resulting recommendations through routine engagement and performance monitoring. We are working closely with the commission to explore how to improve routes of escalation between the commission and the Scottish Government. I intend to provide additional funding to the commission for more rigorous visits in future, including for visits over multiple days.

Healthcare Improvement Scotland will monitor progress on the action plan, and has the ability to escalate any issues to ministers and the Scottish Government, if it would be appropriate. Officials will work closely with HIS in the first half of 2026-27 to develop proposals for an on-going programme of CAMHS inspections, with that activity expected to start in the latter half of this year.

The reports set out a number of challenges for the services. They also highlight many positive aspects and, critically, they give us a clear path forward. The young people and families who spoke up did so with extraordinary courage. We owe it to them to ensure that care at Skye house and across all our CAMHS in-patient services is safe, compassionate and rooted in the rights and dignity of every child.

I am absolutely determined that the changes that are now in train are delivered at pace during the remainder of my term in office. I am committed to doing everything in my power to deliver that change and restore public confidence.

To quote the recent inspection reports,

"When a child or young person is admitted to one of Scotland's national or regional mental health units, it is because they require assessment and treatment for complex mental health needs. They are at their most vulnerable and they, and their families, have a right to the highest quality, compassionate care in a safe, clean, welcoming environment. We found that this was the experience of some but not all of those we met with. This is not good enough, all have the same right, irrespective of where the care is provided and by whom."

I invite members to work collaboratively with me on the matter. I know that improving mental health services for children and young people is an important issue to many of us across the chamber. I hope that, together, we can work towards mental health services of the highest standards for all young people in Scotland.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The minister will now take questions on the issues raised in his statement. I invite those members who wish to ask a question to press their request-to-speak buttons. I intend to allow up to 20 minutes for questions, after which we will move to the next item of business.

Meghan Gallacher (Central Scotland) (Con): I thank the minister for advance sight of his statement and, more importantly, for the way in which he has approached the issue—not only meeting me but meeting families—because it is a real and serious issue.

I first raised the issue of Skye house in the chamber almost a year ago. Although I welcome the steps that are now being taken to listen to families and improve services, systemic issues remain. When I raised the issue of the BBC documentary, I revealed that the Government was aware as far back as June 2023 of the abuse that young people were experiencing. I believe that that is yet to be investigated as part of the wider concerns.

I continue to work with affected families because their concerns have not been properly addressed. One family has exhausted every avenue in trying to hold the system accountable for the trauma that their daughter has endured.

An independent review of their case was commissioned, but, when the report was finally published, it was the parents, rather than the professionals who were involved, who were portrayed as the problem. Too often, when families speak up, they are dismissed, ignored or made to feel as though they are the obstacle to change.

My experience in supporting that family points to a culture of closed ranks in parts of our health and social care system. When systems close in on themselves, instead of protecting the most vulnerable, public trust is inevitably eroded.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: We need a question, Ms Gallacher.

Meghan Gallacher: Does the minister support the creation of a new national whistleblowing officer for the national health service and the social care sector who will deliver in such circumstances? Does he honestly believe that the families who have come forward with such harrowing experiences have been treated fairly by the systems that were designed to protect them?

Tom Arthur: I thank Ms Gallacher for her question, for her resolute campaigning on these matters and for consistently working to represent the interests of her constituents and those who have been affected.

It is of the utmost importance to me and the Government that we provide assurance and ensure that public confidence is fully regained, given what we have been contending with at Skye house. As I said in my statement, I have sought a direct assurance from the chief executive of the health board that all appropriate mitigations and safeguards are in place and that day-to-day care is being delivered safely.

I recognise the on-going independent work of the Mental Welfare Commission and HIS in providing such assurance. We are working with HIS to put in place a programme of on-going inspections, the need for which was previously highlighted by members.

With regard to what further assurance can be provided by way of whistleblowing mechanisms, we already have such mechanisms in place, but I am happy to consider further, along with ministerial colleagues, any additional measures. I assure the member, Parliament and, most importantly, families that it is of the utmost importance to me and the Government that we provide such assurance and restore confidence.

Paul Sweeney (Glasgow) (Lab): I thank the minister for his statement, and I again express my admiration for the brave children and young adults who spoke out about their treatment at Skye house at Stobhill hospital. Their courage has helped to realise the improvements that we have heard about today. I am also relieved to hear that staffing levels are finally approaching an appropriate level for a facility as crucial as Skye house.

As adolescent in-patient mental health units are highly challenging workplaces, staffing levels will fluctuate, so it is essential that long-term workforce planning takes place so that, when such rotations happen, staffing levels do not fall back, with the result that the cycle of temporary staffing returns. Will the minister provide an assurance that the health board is undertaking long-term workforce planning for Skye house so that children and families who are affected can have confidence in the quality and safety of care in the long term?

Tom Arthur: I am confident that the health board has a full understanding of the message that is clearly implied in the reports about the link between culture and staffing, and the importance of ensuring that the positions at Skye house are permanent positions. That is reflected in the increase in staffing that we have seen. That link is highlighted in the reports, and the fact that there is a clear understanding of its importance was made

clear to me in my engagement with the chief executive and her team.

Although responsibility for such operational matters sits with the health board on a day-to-day basis, I am confident from the assurances that I have received from the health board that it has a full grasp and understanding of the importance of addressing the staffing situation to ensure that there is a positive culture for patients and staff.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I would call Rona Mackay, but she seems to be busy.

Rona Mackay (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP): Apologies, Presiding Officer.

It is crucial that anyone who enters Skye house, and their family, have confidence in their care and support. How does the minister anticipate that measures such as the introduction of a care manager role as the key point of contact will help to improve trust and relationships with families and carers?

Tom Arthur: The introduction of a dedicated care manager role at Skye house will give each family a clear, consistent point of contact throughout admission. The care manager will also be able to co-ordinate care more broadly. I am pleased to note the positive feedback from families in that regard in the inspection.

NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde has reported that a substantial amount of work has been done to obtain feedback from parents and carers at Skye house to drive further improvements. As I mentioned earlier, I have met several young people who were in Skye house and their families, and I repeat my gratitude to them for speaking so openly about their experiences. I again reassure those young people and their families that their voices have been heard and that they will shape change.

Roz McCall (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con): I place on record my acknowledgement of the fight of young people and families to get us to this point. They deserve so much better. The statement says that NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde is accountable for care and treatment at Skye House, but it seems to me that other than expecting the board to be laser focused, there are no consequences for that lack of accountability.

My question is very simple: how will the Scottish Government hold NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde to account?

Tom Arthur: I have set out very clearly in my statement, as I have set out directly to the chief executive, my expectations of the health board. I understand that it fully appreciates my perspective on the matter and the perspective of families on what is required. It is important to note that there

has been significant change in the health board recently. From what I have been told directly by the health board, I am assured of the gravity with which it treats the requirements and recommendations in the joint report and that it will work at pace to ensure that they are implemented. Notwithstanding that, my officials will continue to engage closely and monitor those matters. I have been very clear with the health board that I expect regular updates and demonstrations of progress.

Emma Roddick (Highlands and Islands) (SNP): A common thread throughout all the reports, as well as conversations in wider society, is the importance of a respectful culture when discussing or working in mental health services. How is the Scottish Government working to champion the rights of vulnerable children and young people?

Tom Arthur: Culture is of the utmost importance. In this specific case, it was clearly highlighted as a key concern in the reports, which is why the actions around culture are so important. I have touched on the importance of ensuring that we have more permanent staffing, which we have seen since the inspections in August last year.

Further to that, I have alluded to the work that is under way to improve the culture in Skye house. I have received assurance from the health board that that work will continue to be implemented. I again make it clear that I expect regular updates from the health board to ensure that that work is taken forward.

Carol Mochan (South Scotland) (Lab): The minister notes the need for national improvements to better support young people in units across Scotland and for robust governance and oversight. Although health boards are working to develop a national in-patient service specification, what assurances can he give to families that their loved ones are being cared for in the way that we would expect, and is he confident in the quality of care and conditions in establishments across Scotland?

Tom Arthur: I thank Carol Mochan for her question. As I said in my statement, I have spoken directly with the chief executives and senior leadership of all three boards where the adolescent in-patient units are located. Different issues were raised across the reports, but there were also some common threads. It is my clear expectation that each board will respond to the issues that have been identified in their respective units. Further to that, a tri-regional review has been commissioned at board level to look at all regions, which will also report. External assurance specific to Skye house has also been carried by the Royal College of Psychiatrists, so further work has been undertaken in that area.

It is clear that there are lessons to be learned nationally. Carol Mochan alludes to the national specification proposal, which we support. Notwithstanding that, there will be on-going engagement between officials and the health boards to ensure that the recommendations and the wider learning from the reports are taken forward and implemented.

Emma Harper (South Scotland) (SNP): The comprehensive training of staff working in services such as Skye house is essential to supporting patients. I ask, as a former clinical nurse educator for the NHS, how is the Scottish Government working to ensure that full staff training is a priority and that patients' welfare is at the core of their care?

Tom Arthur: As Emma Harper will appreciate, responsibility for ensuring that staff are fully and appropriately trained lies with individual NHS boards. Operational workforce decisions, including staff training, development and deployment, are matters for local determination. However, the Scottish Government is clear that boards should prioritise high-quality, comprehensive training across all services, including specialist facilities such as Skye house.

Progress is being made. At the time of publication of the Skye house report, 99 per cent of staff had completed training in the prevention and management of violence and aggression, ensuring that they are equipped to provide safe, person-centred care to vulnerable young people.

More broadly, the Scottish Government continues to invest in the training and development of the health workforce. In 2025-26, more than £31 million was provided to NHS Education for Scotland to support multidisciplinary training and workforce expansion.

Gillian Mackay (Central Scotland) (Green): The inspection report highlighted that the social work post at Skye house has been vacant for around three years. It is unclear whether there are plans to replace that role or, if not, how social work views and knowledge can be accessed. The report states that

"this is clearly a gap."

Will the minister outline how social work will be engaging with the unit going forward?

Tom Arthur: Issues in the wider team were part of the discussions and conversations that were undertaken with the chief executive and her team. Although there has been a significant increase in staffing, as I touched on earlier, there is still work under way to complete that process in order to ensure the correct balance of individuals in positions across a multidisciplinary team.

I will be receiving further updates from the health board, and I will be happy to write to Gillian Mackay to provide further information.

Alex Cole-Hamilton (Edinburgh Western) (LD): We have an inspection regime for a reason—to pick up on deficiencies in practice and care—yet there were no inspections at Skye house between 2017 and 2024. That is an absolute scandal. During that time, teenagers in deep crisis were subject to cruelty and restraint with excessive force, and they were humiliated. Although the national specification that the minister has announced today will go some way to preventing that from happening again, I am still not clear as to why the facility was not inspected for so long.

That raises a question, which I will put to the minister. Are there any other facilities currently going so long between inspections for vulnerable people in their care, where such things might be happening again?

Tom Arthur: I recognise the importance of the independent assurance that is provided through inspection, and I agree with Alex Cole-Hamilton on that. As he will appreciate, both the Mental Welfare Commission and HIS operate independently, and it is for them to take those decisions. However, given the significance of the events that have taken place, a joint inspection report has been undertaken by the Mental Welfare Commission and HIS.

The Mental Welfare Commission will continue to undertake its duties. However, to provide assurance, we are engaging with HIS on the commencement of an on-going programme of inspections of such facilities. As I touched on earlier in my remarks, that is forecast to commence in the second half of this year.

The key learning around the importance of inspection and the role of HIS has been taken on board, and it is subsequently leading to actions that will be implemented—namely, through the inspections by HIS taking place.

Elena Whitham (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP): In the light of the concerns that have been expressed by young people and their families that those with co-occurring neurodivergence, or those who are living with the less-understood eating disorder known as avoidant restrictive food intake disorder—ARFID—do not always get the support that they need at Skye house, how can the Scottish Government support the delivery of services in a way that is grounded in inclusive and trauma-informed practice and reflects the needs of those who are neurodivergent?

Tom Arthur: I recognise Elena Whitham's long-standing championing of these issues, and she will

be aware of the importance that I place on them, too.

It is of the utmost importance that we ensure that all our public services are delivered in a neuro-inclusive way. Indeed, that has been part of our deliberations on the proposed learning disabilities, autism and neurodivergence bill, which will be something to be considered in the next session of Parliament. Some of the provisions in that proposed legislation are, potentially, directly applicable to the issues that Ms Whitham raises.

Notwithstanding that, it is my clear expectation that all our mental health services should be providing an environment that is safe, compassionate and person centred, and that includes being responsive to individual needs, including those that pertain to neurodevelopmental conditions.

Miles Briggs (Lothian) (Con): I welcome the national in-patient service specification; it was something that I tried to progress as part of the bill that became the Health and Care (Staffing) (Scotland) Act 2019, which came into force in 2024.

However, I do not understand, from what the minister has outlined, what escalation of reporting ministers will have beyond the annual report. On staffing, what will the minister actually be told, and on what basis?

Tom Arthur: An executive oversight group has been established by the board to look at the issues at Skye house. The chief executive will be kept up to date, but there is a process in place for the immediate escalation of any serious or urgent matters. The Government's position is that officials will continue to engage regularly. I have set out directly to the chief executive clear expectations of what will be required by way of updates to the Scottish Government across all the issues that have been raised in the report, particularly about staffing, because the correlation between staffing, the type of staffing and the culture and environment is of the utmost importance. I will ensure that the Parliament and members are kept up to date on those matters.

Jackie Dunbar (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP): Although the report by HIS and the MWC is specific to Skye house, does the minister agree that it is important to consider any lessons for improving access to mental health services in Scotland in a wider context?

Tom Arthur: We expect all health boards and their employees to act in line with the values and behaviours that are expected of those in NHS Scotland. NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde has committed to delivering a significant culture change programme that is focused on listening,

transparency, staff voice and psychological safety. There is also a zero-tolerance approach to behaviour that falls below high standards of care. Further action has been taken to strengthen management processes, including through increased internal audits.

Sharon Dowey (South Scotland) (Con): Complaints were received about Skye house for a number of years, but they appear to have been ignored. Last year, I supported a constituent who raised serious concerns about their daughter's treatment at Skye house, including a lack of supervision and a failure to listen to parents. What specific steps will the Government take to ensure that, when families raise concerns about care at Skye house, their concerns are properly investigated and are not brushed under the carpet?

Tom Arthur: I recognise the young people and families who have come forward, spoken directly to me and other members, and engaged in the process. I cannot express my gratitude more profoundly for what they have done. I hope that what I have set out in my statement—the actions that the Government has taken to commission joint inspections; the report from the inspections with its recommendations and requirements; and the Government's direct engagement with health boards setting out our clear expectations that all those requirements and recommendations are implemented at pace—will go some way to providing reassurance and restoring confidence.

I reiterate that, although I have made my statement today, that is not the end of the matter. My officials and I will have on-going engagement with health boards to ensure that actions are taken forward and that, if any issues are identified, they are remedied rapidly. I hope that that provides reassurance to Sharon Dowey.

Assisted Dying for Terminally Ill Adults (Scotland) Bill: Stage 3

15:22

The Deputy Presiding Officer (Annabelle Ewing): The next item of business is stage 3 of the Assisted Dying for Terminally Ill Adults (Scotland) Bill. In dealing with the amendments, members should have the bill as amended at stage 2—that is, Scottish Parliament bill 46A—the marshalled list and the groupings of amendments. The division bell will sound and proceedings will be suspended for around five minutes for the first division. The period of voting for the first division will be 30 seconds. Thereafter, I will allow a voting period of one minute for the first division after a debate. Members who wish to speak on any group of amendments should press their request-to-speak button or enter RTS in the chat function as soon as possible after the group is called.

Members should now refer to the marshalled list of amendments.

After section 5

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Amendment 149, in the name of Brian Whittle, is grouped with amendments 159 and 303.

Brian Whittle (South Scotland) (Con): Here we go again.

The concern that I am trying to address with my amendments in this group is about the protection of patients and their wishes and the protection of healthcare professionals. My amendment 149 seeks to provide clarity on a patient's decision to family members and friends, because the patient's wishes are paramount in such situations. Amendments 149 and 303 seek to make provision for the Scottish Government to bring forward a template advance care directive that expresses the patient's wishes for end-of-life treatment when they are accessing assisted dying. I stress that it would be optional to use the full template or some of the template or to decline to use it at all. The advance care directive could not be used to choose assisted dying in the event of incapacity.

Amendment 159 would create an obligation for medical practitioners to discuss the advance care directive with the terminally ill adult. In response to stage 2 feedback, I have removed the legal requirement for an advance care directive to be completed. A terminally ill adult would have the option of using the template that the Government produced, filling in as little or as much of it as they wanted. A discussion about advance care directives would still be mandatory, so that patients would be aware of all their options.

Overall, this set of amendments would help to avoid doubt about patient intention and would provide clarity to patients, healthcare professionals and loved ones. I have looked at research across the UK and at international examples of what should be included. It is standard elsewhere, and using the bill as a way to introduce the practice would give us a clear way to evaluate how it can work. The advance care directive makes clear the patient's wishes around specific items of care that may prolong their life if they become incapacitated and cannot continue with the assisted dying process, become incapacitated due to the effects of the substance, choose to cancel their declaration, or decide not to use the substance. Again, the advance care directive cannot be used to choose assisted dying in the event of incapacity.

The template requirement is to allow a standard format for the advance directive that fits the needs of healthcare professionals and makes information easy to locate when needed. Power is given to ministers to expand the scope beyond what is listed, if required, in consultation with health professionals. I recognise that the Law Society of Scotland feels that reform of advance care directives should occur more comprehensively. However, as the functions under the bill will be reviewed, this is an opportunity to test-pilot changes around advance care directives.

I move amendment 149.

The Cabinet Secretary for Health and Social Care (Neil Gray): Taken together, the amendments in this group concern the matter of advance care directives.

On amendments 149, 159 and 303, the Scottish Government would highlight that requiring advance care directives as part of the process raises legal and deliverability considerations. At present, advance care directives are not legally binding in Scotland, although they are generally treated as strong evidence of a person's wishes. Mandating their use in this context could create uncertainty for medical practitioners and patients about their legal status and how they should be applied in practice.

I have nothing further to add.

Liam McArthur (Orkney Islands) (LD): Brian Whittle's amendment 149, and consequential amendment 159, would require assessing doctors to make a person aware of the option of making an advance care directive, and they would work along with the consequential regulation-making power in amendment 303.

As I have said previously, I see a great deal of value in advance care directives. I am pleased that the amendment that Mr Whittle has lodged sets

them out as an option rather than as a requirement for those seeking assistance. Advance care planning is a valuable tool in helping people to ensure that their wishes are understood and respected.

To deliver truly patient-centred care, people should be able to decide what care plans they have in place and what medical treatments they do and do not receive, including if they want to refuse treatments or palliative care. General Medical Council guidance already places a duty on doctors to provide relevant information to patients and to have a dialogue with them about the decisions that they may wish to make. It is relevant to note that the bill, as currently drafted, requires the registered medical practitioner to explain and discuss with the person, as far as is considered appropriate, the nature of the substance that might be provided to assist the person to end their own life, including how it will bring about death. The person will therefore be fully informed from the start and, in practice, that provision will likely facilitate a discussion between the person and their doctor about what should happen in all possible circumstances.

I am sure that Mr Whittle would agree that it will be important to ensure that there is clarity around what would happen should somebody change their mind, having submitted an advance care directive.

On balance, I support Brian Whittle's amendments in this area and genuinely thank him for the power of work that he has done not just at stage 3, but also earlier, at stage 2, on the same issue.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I call Brian Whittle to wind up and to press or withdraw amendment 149.

15:30

Brian Whittle: I say at the outset how disappointed I am to hear the Government's position on this. Of course, the Government is right: advanced care directives are not legally binding. That is not why they are there—they are there to give clarity not just to the healthcare professional who is reading the notes, but to loved ones as well. We talked yesterday about coercion, and I think that directives are part of a package.

Daniel Johnson (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab): Does Brian Whittle agree that this is not just about the particular circumstances that we are debating today? It is a good idea for us all to discuss with our loved ones potential health matters that might arise further down the line and what care and treatment options we might want. It is my understanding that Brian Whittle is seeking to establish good practice, regardless of whether we

are talking in the context of assisted dying or generally about healthcare contingencies that might be required later in our lives.

Brian Whittle: I absolutely agree with that. There is nothing contentious about offering an advance care directive in such situations. As Daniel Johnson rightly highlighted, we sometimes struggle to talk about what we want going forward, and the advance care directive is a means of discussing with healthcare professionals what someone wants in a certain eventuality. It is not legally binding, but it sets out what the patient wants, and that is of paramount importance when we are talking about assisted dying. It is not about what everybody else wants; it is about what the patient wants.

I press amendment 149.

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. As this is the first division today in the stage 3 amendment stage, I will suspend the meeting for around five minutes to allow members to access the digital voting system.

15:31

Meeting suspended.

15:37

On resuming—

The Deputy Presiding Officer: We will now proceed with the division on amendment 149. Members should cast their votes now.

The vote is closed.

The Minister for Drugs and Alcohol Policy and Sport (Maree Todd): On a point of order, Deputy Presiding Officer. I would have voted no.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Thank you, Ms Todd. Your vote will be recorded.

The Cabinet Secretary for Constitution, External Affairs and Culture (Angus Robertson): On a point of order, Deputy Presiding Officer. I would have voted yes.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Thank you, Mr Robertson. Your vote will be recorded.

For

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)

Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
 Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
 Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 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)
 Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
 Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (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)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 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)
 Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
 Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (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)
 Dowe, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
 Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Abstentions

Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 63, Against 52, Abstentions 4.

Amendment 149 agreed to.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Group 7 is on assessments, including support, of terminally ill adults. Amendment 150, in the name of Brian Whittle, is grouped with amendments 22, 23, 153 to 155, 157, 26, 28 to 32, 161, 163 to 171, 173, 34, 34A, 176, 179, 9, 183, 183A, 184, 185, 37, 186, 91, 92, 188, 38, 95, 39, 193 to 195, 40, 196, 197, 300, 301, 304, 306, 307, 67, 78, 78A, 79, 81, 83, 83A and 85.

I remind members that, if amendment 161 is agreed to, I cannot call amendment 162, which was previously debated in group 2, on eligibility to be provided with assistance. I also remind

members that, if amendment 125, which was previously debated in group 5, on training, qualifications and experience of health professionals, is agreed to, I cannot call amendment 301, due to pre-emption.

Brian Whittle: I will start with amendment 22, which is a tidying amendment.

The concern here is that those accessing assisted dying should be provided with all options of support, including social care and palliative care.

Amendment 34 would add a reference to a social care assessment to the medical practitioner's statement under section 8, and amendment 34A would add a reference to a palliative care assessment to the medical practitioner's statement under section 8 in relation to Bob Doris's amendment 23, which would introduce a requirement to assess palliative care.

Amendment 78 would add a reference to a social care assessment to the medical practitioner's statement in schedule 2, and amendment 78A would add a reference to a palliative care assessment to the medical practitioner's statement in schedule 2 in relation to Bob Doris's amendment 23.

Amendment 83 would add a reference to a social care assessment to a medical practitioner's statement in schedule 3, and amendment 83A would add a reference to a palliative care assessment to the medical practitioner's statement in schedule 3 in relation to Bob Doris's amendment 23.

At one point, the amendments read "social care or palliative care". I place on record my thanks to Liam McArthur for agreeing to move to "social care and palliative care". Both serve different needs and should be assessed in their own right.

Amendments 150 and 304 are designed to tackle the concern that assisted dying becomes a preferred option to patients because of a lack of palliative care. Amendment 150 seeks to allow the Scottish ministers to define minimum standards of palliative care for those accessing assisted dying. Amendment 304 is consequential.

I have engaged with the third sector on this issue. I understand that it is hesitant that this may become a barrier to accessing palliative care, but access to an acceptable level of deliverable palliative care is an important consideration of the bill. At stage 2, I drafted the amendment to include a requirement that the plan should be costed, to make a point about deliverability. Following feedback about its workability, I have removed that requirement.

Amendment 155 seeks to address the concern that the medical professionals' opinions must be truly independent of each other. It would place limitations on the availability of notes to the independent registered medical practitioner to ensure that they are making their assessment on the exact same evidence as was available to the co-ordinating registered medical practitioner at the point of request.

It should be the case that the independent registered medical practitioner cannot have consulted the co-ordinating registered medical practitioner on the case, except for referral, nor have had access to the notes of the co-ordinating registered medical practitioner regarding the assisted dying request beyond the date on which the request is made.

Stage 2 feedback from the committee was that the amendment needed to be clear that it restricts only information about the person's wishes to access assisted dying, not their entire medical record, as we recognise that those who are terminally ill can have rapidly changing healthcare needs and concerns.

I have tidied up the amendment, which now requires that the independent registered medical practitioner

"has not been provided with any other notes prepared by the coordinating registered medical practitioner regarding the person's request to be provided with assistance to end their own life since the date of the first declaration".

Amendment 193, which is consequential to amendment 174, would require that the statement from an independent assessor be recorded in an adult's medical record.

I move amendment 150.

Bob Doris (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP): My amendments in this group are on three main areas: first, on palliative care; secondly, on the requirements that are set out in the medical practitioner's report; and thirdly, on registered medical practitioners' discretion.

There are five amendments on palliative care: amendments 23 and 165 to 168. I will turn first to amendment 23.

The bill contains a requirement on the registered medical practitioner to ascertain whether the appropriate social care has been provided or offered to any person seeking assisted dying. Amendment 23 would require that the same registered medical practitioner also ascertains whether appropriate palliative care has been offered or provided to that person. That offers a consistency of approach, and I urge members to support it.

15:45

Amendments 165 and 166 would dictate the circumstances in which the registered medical practitioner must refer to a palliative care specialist. Amendment 165 would require such a referral when the appropriate palliative care had not been offered or provided to the person. Amendment 166 would require such a referral when the person's reasons for seeking assisted dying were that they had uncontrolled symptoms, or fears of such symptoms, which is a particularly important issue for palliative care specialists.

Both of those are clear-cut examples of when the input of a palliative care specialist could make a substantive difference to ensuring that the person seeking assisted dying has all the support required to make an informed decision on assisted dying that is relevant to their circumstances.

In the experience of specialist palliative care practitioners, people with a life-shortening condition who express a wish to shorten their life because of distressing physical or psychological symptoms, including common fears, often change their minds. They often go on to enjoy valuable time once those symptoms have been explored, understood and addressed through appropriate palliative care. Indeed, such people will often say later that they are glad that they did not end their life.

It is not reasonable or safe to assume that someone who made a first declaration to seek assisted dying would already have received appropriate palliative care. In fact, a wish to hasten death might be an indication of a lack of appropriate palliative care.

My amendment 167 would ensure that, if a person chose not to have such a specialist palliative assessment, refusal in itself would not make them ineligible for assisted dying. The person's autonomy would therefore be respected. Amendment 168 would allow the registered medical practitioner who was carrying out the assisted dying assessment to take into account, if they wished, a refusal to attend a palliative care assessment in their decision making.

Together, those amendments aim to ensure that no one pursues an assisted death without having first received appropriate palliative care and, more specifically, that someone does not pursue an assisted death because of agony that could be treated or because of fears that could be allayed.

My second set of amendments in the group would create a requirement for a medical practitioner's report to be compiled. The report would set out how any assessment has been reached and would document what evidence was gathered and used to inform the decision and judgment, and the reasons why the practitioner

reached their judgment. Without that, the bill contains what, in reality, would be tick-box forms for recording the outcomes of an assessment.

The information to be contained in the report would not be recorded anywhere else under the current provisions in the bill. My amendment 37 would therefore establish a provision for registered medical practitioner reports to capture such important information. Through that, the evidence and reasoning behind each assisted dying decision would be clear.

The medical practitioner's report would also provide relevant information in case of complaints. It might actually be a source of protection for practitioners when there is absolutely no wrongdoing. Should the bill be passed, those reports would also be an important source to inform understanding of the operation of the act in any review. It is surely only right that, with something as significant as assisted dying, a report is prepared rather than simply a tick-box proforma.

Amendments 38, 39, 40 and 67 are all consequential on amendment 37. Amendment 38 would ensure that, if a request for assisted dying was cancelled, there would be no need to prepare such a report. Amendments 39 and 40 would ensure that the person's general practitioner would be provided with the medical practitioner's report and that it would be added to medical records. Amendment 67 would add the report to the regulation-making provisions in the bill for the Scottish Government.

Finally, my last set of amendments in the group aim to add consistency to the discussions that a registered medical practitioner would have with any person seeking an assisted death. Under the bill as it stands, matters of diagnosis, prognosis, available treatments and palliative, hospice and other care options, as well as the nature of the substance that would be provided to a person, would be explained and discussed with them,

"in so far as the registered medical practitioner considers appropriate".

In reality, that could mean no conversation at all. Amendment 28 would ensure that a conversation would have to take place.

Amendment 32 would ensure that the registered medical practitioner would have to advise the person who was seeking an assisted death to inform their registered medical practitioner that they were seeking an assisted death. They would also be advised to discuss the request with someone close to them.

That was quite a lengthy explanation of my three sets of amendments in the group. All that I would add is that I fully support what Brian Whittle said

earlier and the amendments in the name of Fulton MacGregor, who we will hear from shortly.

Daniel Johnson: So far in stage 3, there has been much discussion about the safeguards that might be provided for in the bill, but in reality that boils down to the judgment of two doctors.

That might be the right way to proceed, but we need to be clear that the opinion of the co-ordinating medical practitioner and the independent medical practitioner would be the safeguard. Yes, that would be subject to guidance, training and consultation with other professionals, as set out in other amendments, but, ultimately, eligibility would be their decision. We need to think carefully about how the judgment is arrived at and in what context, and we must ensure that it is robust, evidenced and accountable. Most critically, what happens if the doctors' opinions are that the person is not eligible for assisted dying? Those questions are the subjects of my amendments in the group.

Amendment 153 would ensure that the medical practitioner makes the assessment in person and that they meet the person on "more than one occasion" before they do so. At stage 2, I lodged a probing amendment that sought to specify how long the doctor had known the patient, because I sought to establish that a good doctor-patient relationship is needed in order to arrive at an opinion. As a bare minimum, two in-person consultations should be needed in order to arrive at that judgment.

Brian Whittle: We are in agreement on this issue. As was raised yesterday, the importance of the doctor-patient relationship is unique. My concern is that that relationship is becoming more distant because people do not see the same doctor repeatedly. Doctors must meet patients face to face in person, because they have to be able to look them in the eye and gauge their feelings and emotions. Does Mr Johnson agree?

Daniel Johnson: I completely agree. It is important that good understanding is established. That cannot be achieved in a perfunctory way; it must be done in person. We do not want the matter to be decided after very short interactions; they must be quality interactions.

I pay tribute to Bob Doris, because he was quite right, and I urge all members to look at schedule 2. In a sense, the form of statements is the device that will evidence the opinion of the co-ordinating medical practitioner. All that is required is the details of the medical practitioner and the individual, a line to specify the condition, a line to be deleted, a signature and a date at the bottom. Given the gravity of the decision, that is not in and of itself sufficient.

Christine Grahame (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP): I will comment on the face-to-face patient-doctor relationship, which Mr Whittle and Mr Johnson raised. I do not know whether Daniel Johnson agrees, but I surmise that, once a person is diagnosed with a terminal illness, the relationship becomes much more personal and face to face, and is not restricted just to phone calls between 8 o'clock and 10 o'clock and getting lines from the doctor. The issue has to be addressed, but the GP and the patient will, in many cases, have much more of a relationship once the diagnosis has been confirmed.

Daniel Johnson: I agree with that. Sometimes, the nature and intensity of the diagnosis produce a very good-quality relationship, which is why, as I reflected at stage 2, the length of time is not a good proxy for that, because sometimes a short but intense doctor-patient relationship is much more valuable than a long but cursory one.

Turning to my amendment 9, I reflected on some of the discussion at stage 2 between Liam McArthur and Bob Doris. Although there is much merit in Bob Doris's amendment 37, which would introduce the requirement for a report, I worry that it might be burdensome, especially given the sensitive timing that is involved in the process. However, at the very least, a statement is required, which is what amendments 9, 183 and 183A would address. The particular point is that it must be recorded when a medical practitioner does not agree that the assisted dying process should proceed. Amendment 9 would ensure that a statement on the assessment is recorded and provided to the patient, which is important because, if the original decision is subsequently reversed, it must be referred to and the subsequent medical practitioner must explain why they have arrived at a different opinion. Given the nature and structure of the drafting, that is provided for in amendment 183A.

It is important that the bill provides for what should happen not just if the decision was to proceed with the process but if the decision was not to proceed with it. My amendments are modelled on the New Zealand legislation, which clearly specifies what should happen if the co-ordinating medical practitioner decides that the person is not eligible or that the process should not proceed.

Amendment 183 specifies that, in addition to the form that is set out in schedule 2, further details would need to be given in the form of an additional statement, which would need to be recorded. That statement would need to set out the nature of the relationship between the patient and the doctor, the doctor's understanding of the nature of the patient's condition, the co-ordinating medical

practitioner's understanding of the patient's capacity and the steps that had been undertaken to assess that. It is important to evidence and record such things, so that we have clarity, robust evidence and accountable decision making on what would, ultimately, be an incredibly important decision by both the patient and the doctor.

Bob Doris: Daniel Johnson referred to my amendment 37, on the medical practitioner's report. He appeared to be supportive of it, but he was concerned that such provision could be overly burdensome or bureaucratic. I reassure him that amendment 67 would allow the Scottish Government to set out in regulations the details of such a report so that that would not be the case. I hope that, on reflection, he will support amendment 37 and its consequential amendments, because it would surely be important to have a rationale for the decision that the co-ordinating medical practitioner arrived at.

Daniel Johnson: Indeed, but I believe that my amendments would require that rationale. Rather than there being a full report, the rationale would be provided in the form of a statement. Having reflected on the stage 2 debate, I think that that would provide the required robustness and clarity. It always slightly concerns me when we leave things to regulations when we could provide clarity. However, if my amendments are not agreed to, I will support Mr Doris's amendments.

Ross Greer (West Scotland) (Green): With regard to Daniel Johnson's amendment 9, where would the statement of dissatisfaction be recorded? Would it go into the patient's medical record? If so—and if amendment 9 is agreed to—I encourage the cabinet secretary to commit to putting that in the guidance. I agree with the purpose of the amendment, but I am not entirely clear where that statement would go and in which record it would be put. I presume that it would be put into the patient's medical record, but it would be useful if it could be confirmed that that is the intention.

Daniel Johnson: That is very much the intention. The fact that it does not say that explicitly in amendment 9 is probably a drafting oversight, which is unfortunate, but that was my intention when I gave my instructions. I, too, would be grateful if that could be clarified in the guidance, because I think that the statement should be recorded in the patient's medical records.

Above all, I say to members that, although the bill sets out what should happen if the decision was to proceed with the process, we should think very carefully about whether the bill provides sufficient clarity about what should happen if the decision was not to proceed. At the very least, some of the

provisions in the amendments in this group have merit and should be agreed to.

Douglas Ross (Highlands and Islands) (Con): Amendment 154, in my name, seeks to strengthen the assessment process by ensuring that registered medical practitioners must fully discuss the range of palliative care options with anyone who is making a declaration. That would include

“symptom management, pain relief, psychological and social support, and end-of-life planning”.

Crucially, the amendment would also require that the patient understood those options and that the discussion was formally recorded.

At its core, amendment 154 is about real choice. As the bill currently stands, a doctor could proceed with assessing eligibility for assisted suicide without guaranteeing that the person fully understood or had access to the care that could relieve their suffering. That is simply not acceptable. If we do not ensure that palliative care is funded and accessible, we risk presenting people with a false choice between unbearable suffering and ending their life prematurely. True autonomy can exist only when people are able to access the care that they need, regardless of circumstance.

16:00

We know from palliative care specialists that suffering at the end of life can often be alleviated with expert support. Pain management, psychological care and holistic support can significantly reduce the desire for an assisted death. That is why it is essential that discussions about those options are comprehensive, understood by the patient and formally recorded. That would not only strengthen informed decision making but ensure a clear safeguard whereby palliative care was fully considered before any assisted death was pursued. If the bill is genuinely to be about choice, it must guarantee that every person knows and has access to the full spectrum of palliative care. Without that guarantee, I fear that the bill risks turning what should be a well-supported, fully informed decision into one that is coerced or coerced by circumstance.

Amendment 154 is a small but crucial step to ensuring that patients would not be left facing a false choice and that the promise of autonomy would be matched by real, accessible care. For those reasons, I hope that members can support amendment 154.

Paul O'Kane (West Scotland) (Lab): I do not intend to detain members for long by speaking on the broader issues and themes that surround amendment 157, because many of them were

raised during the proceedings yesterday evening when we discussed the important role that social work and multidisciplinary approaches should play in the process.

The bill's current wording states that a registered medical practitioner carrying out an assessment must

"consider making enquiries of a health professional, social care professional or social work professional with qualifications in, or experience of, a matter relevant to the person being assessed".

Amendment 157 would instead make it a requirement for a registered medical practitioner carrying out an assessment

"to make enquiries of at least one health professional, social care professional or social work professional who holds qualifications or has demonstrable experience relevant to the condition, care needs or circumstances of the person being assessed".

At a very basic level, my amendment seeks to strengthen the assessment process by replacing the discretionary power that is in the bill as amended with a mandatory requirement. That would ensure that assessments were being informed by appropriate multidisciplinary expertise. It would promote greater consistency in practice and reduce the risk that relevant safeguarding or welfare considerations might be overlooked. I lodged amendment 157 because of all the issues that I have raised and the need for expert professionals to be part of the assessment process of individuals who might demonstrate certain vulnerabilities.

Liam McArthur: I remind members of my declaration of interest relating to the support that I receive from various groups in relation to the bill. Unlike Mr O'Kane, I cannot offer members the reassurance that I will not detain them for a while, given the number of amendments in the group, but I will do my best.

My amendment 26 reflects the fact that the drafting of section 7(1)(zc) is not quite right, as it requires the assessing doctors to "enquire about and discuss" an adult's reasons for wishing to be provided with assistance to die. That could be read more widely than just asking the adult themselves, and it could potentially require the assessing doctors to investigate more widely. That was not the intention of the provision and nor would it be appropriate. Amendment 26 would adjust that wording to make the intent clear. Amendments 79, 81 and 85 would then ensure that, where known, those reasons are recorded in the relevant schedules.

Amendment 29 would make it clear, for the avoidance of doubt, that once the second declaration has been signed, it is up to the

terminally ill person to decide whether to ask for the substance to be provided to them and when.

Amendments 30 and 31 are technical amendments that are consequential to amendments that were made at stage 2. Section 7(1)(b) sets out the information that a registered medical practitioner must provide to the person during an assessment. At stage 2, a requirement was added to inform the person that they may request a social work assessment, but it referred to a subsection that was not agreed to. Amendment 31 would remove the incorrect cross-reference. Amendment 30 is a technical amendment that seeks to maintain consistency in terminology when referring to social work professionals in the bill.

Brian Whittle's amendments 150 and 304 would mean that a terminally ill adult who has made a first declaration may request to be provided with a palliative care support plan, with minimum requirements to be set out in regulations. I have always been clear that it is not a case of either/or in relation to palliative care and assisted dying, as international evidence clearly shows. Therefore, I support those amendments.

Marie McNair (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP): Does Mr McArthur acknowledge that, without first-rate palliative care being available, the bill does not offer terminally ill people a real choice? I know the importance of that point from my own experience. I have seen people coming into the hospice in extreme pain and distress and wishing to be put out of their misery but, within a few days, when their pain was under control and their quality of life had improved dramatically, they wished to live again. Why does the bill not take every step to ensure that people have the opportunity to have not just a discussion but a guarantee of access to such care?

Liam McArthur: I think that the bill provides safeguards in that regard. The discussions that would need to take place with the individual who is requesting the choice of an assisted death would have to include discussions of palliative and other care options. As we see in other jurisdictions that have introduced laws of this kind, those discussions demonstrate an improved engagement with palliative care that is not there at the moment. I see no reason why that cannot be the case here.

Michael Marra: Will the member give way?

Liam McArthur: Not at the moment.

I worked with Brian Whittle on amendments 22, 34, 34A, 78, 78A, 83 and 83A. I thank him very much for his constructive approach on those amendments and I encourage members to support them. Amendments 34A and 78A are

consequential to Bob Doris's amendment 23, which requires a doctor to be satisfied that any eligible patient has been offered or provided with palliative care. As I have said, the interaction with palliative care is extremely important, so I support amendment 23.

Daniel Johnson's amendment 153 would require the registered medical practitioner who is carrying out the assessment under section 6(2) or the independent assessment under section 6(4) to have met the person who made the declaration on more than one occasion. I would expect that to happen in the vast majority of cases, not least for the reasons that Christine Grahame mentioned in her intervention. I am concerned about removing discretion from doctors who are involved in making decisions that are appropriate to the circumstances of the individual. Although there is obvious value in in-person consultations, mandating them in primary legislation reduces the flexibility that some terminally ill people may need for whatever reason. I believe that it would be more appropriate for clinical practice guidance to strongly recommend face-to-face consultations and to permit consultations to be held virtually only in exceptional circumstances and where appropriate.

Ross Greer: To return to what the member said about remote consultations taking place in exceptional circumstances, the concern is that the practitioner cannot see who is out of view of the camera, and that is where concerns about coercion come in. Can Mr McArthur detail how that can be mitigated? I am torn on the issue. My default position is that I think that such consultations should be held in person, because I am just not clear how the issue that I raise can be mitigated.

Liam McArthur: That is a valid concern. As I said, I would expect consultations to take place in person in the vast majority of instances. However, as Christine Grahame amplified in her intervention, there are likely to be many occasions on which such conversations take place, and there may be instances in which the medical professional feels that it is appropriate for a remote consultation to take place. Nevertheless, the possibility that there would be no face-to-face interaction with the patient seems to me to be vanishingly small. However, I think that it is more appropriate to capture that in the clinical guidance than in the bill. As I said, it would be reasonable for clinical practice guidance to strongly recommend face-to-face consultations and to permit them virtually only where appropriate and in exceptional circumstances.

On Douglas Ross's amendment 154, I fully support terminally ill people having access to appropriate advice and support about palliative

care, and I am sympathetic to the aim of the amendment. However, as drafted, section 7(1)(a)(iii) requires any doctor undertaking an assessment to discuss and explain to the person

"any palliative, hospice or other care available, including symptom management and psychological support".

They must also inform the person

"that they can be referred for a palliative care assessment to explore whether any additional support could be provided to them",

and must make a statement on that, as per schedule 2.

As such, the bill already includes provision to ensure that explanation and discussion about palliative care are available, as is referral for an assessment. Doctors already keep records as a matter of practice and in accordance with requirements. However, although I am not persuaded that amendment 154 is necessary, due to the bill's other provisions, I am content to accept it should the Parliament consider it necessary and helpful.

Brian Whittle's amendment 155 would add that the independent RMP could not have consulted with the co-ordinating RMP on the case; and would not have been provided with access to any notes prepared by the co-ordinating doctor. There is a risk that the amendment could be counterproductive. In practice, the co-ordinating doctor may record in the patient's notes concerns or contextual information that highlight important aspects of the person's condition. Those notes could help the independent doctor to make a fully informed assessment. Preventing that doctor from consulting the co-ordinating doctor's notes could mean that that crucial context is missed.

Brian Whittle: Liam McArthur and I have discussed this at length. My concern is that we are asking two independent medical practitioners, who—we would assume—have a high level of expertise, to come to the same conclusion about the same set of medical conditions. I introduced the amendments because they would ensure that one practitioner could not influence the other.

Liam McArthur: Brian Whittle is right to observe that we had that conversation at some length at stage 2. I understand the sentiment behind the amendment, which is to ensure that the process being undertaken is independent, but, for the reasons that I have suggested, denying the independent doctor access to those notes is not necessarily in the interests of the patient. As it stands, they are safeguarded under clinical practice.

Paul O'Kane's amendment 157 would make it mandatory for doctors to make inquiries of at least one health, social care or social work professional

with experience directly relevant to the person's condition, rather than their just having to consider doing so. Section 7 as drafted already requires that, where it is considered appropriate, the assessing doctor make inquiries of health professionals who have recently provided care to the person. They will know the person and have an understanding of their circumstances, enriching some assessments. I am confident that the provisions in the bill will ensure that appropriate inquiries are made with experienced professionals, while allowing for the exercise of professional judgment. Therefore, I do not support amendment 157.

Paul O'Kane: Mr McArthur seems to accept the broad concept that such inquiries are an important innovation for how we understand all the circumstances that surround a person's life and their decision. I wonder why he thinks that they should not be mandatory. If there is nothing to worry about and we agree that they are a positive thing, surely they should be done as a matter of course. If there are no concerns, that would be identified quickly and the person could move on.

Liam McArthur: As Paul O'Kane and I discussed in exchanges yesterday, I admit at this stage that in the bill as introduced to the Parliament, one of the obvious omissions was that of recognising the importance of the involvement of social work and social care in the assessments that would be required of medical professionals. I have a concern that we seem to be lurching between banning things and making them mandatory, which crowds out the ability of those who have the experience, training and qualifications to exercise medical judgment.

In relation to Bob Doris's amendments 28 and 32, although the provisions in the bill were drafted with the aim of centring the professional judgment of medical practitioners, I appreciate the additional safeguard that those amendments seek to provide and I am content to support them.

My concern about amendments 161 and 163, in the name of Stephen Kerr, is that mandating specialist assessments in every case would remove the ability for doctors to take into account individual circumstances, including when there is no clear basis for referral. The effect of the amendments would be to add an unnecessary burden on many applicants about whom there is no doubt as to their terminal illness or their capacity. Thus, there would be no additional safeguard. International evidence does not support that approach and I do not support those amendments.

On Jackie Baillie's amendment 164, I am wholly sympathetic to the aim of ensuring that we safeguard young adults in such a situation, as well

as those with diagnoses that are fluctuating in nature. I also appreciate Jackie Baillie's flexible approach, which relies on professional judgment about the degree of involvement from psychiatry and social work professionals to support assessments. The approach is proportionate, especially given the extremely low number of people likely to be affected, and I am content to support amendment 164.

16:15

Similarly, I am inclined to support Bob Doris's amendments 165 to 168, which would require a specialist palliative care referral to be made in instances in which a patient has not been offered or provided care, or is motivated by the prospect of uncontrolled symptoms. Those amendments would also allow a patient to decline such a referral without being denied access to assisted dying. I think that that strikes a reasonable balance.

On Miles Briggs's amendment 169, although my bill already requires assessing doctors to inform the person that they may be referred for a social work assessment, the inclusion of such a requirement in relation to mental health services would add an additional safeguard that I believe is both sensible and welcome.

On amendment 170 and the related consequential amendments 300 and 301, I recognise the important role that social work and mental health services play and the value that they can add in the various circumstances that are listed in amendment 170 and in ensuring that protections are in place for young adults. However, I am also conscious that the proposed regulating power in relation to practitioner training may raise the same concerns as other training provisions in the bill, which should be dealt with under the section 104 order. In addition, the Scottish Government has raised deliverability and potential equalities issues that would arise from a difference in treatment on the basis of age, as well as legislative competence issues. In the light of that, although I very much accept the principle, I ask Mr Briggs not to move amendment 170. If he does, I ask Parliament not to support it.

On Fulton MacGregor's amendment 171 and consequential amendment 306, protecting vulnerable adults is of the utmost importance, so I am very sympathetic to Mr MacGregor's aims. However, the bill already includes clear and strong safeguards to ensure voluntariness and capacity, by providing for two independent medical assessments, specific checks for coercion and referrals to a psychiatrist if there are any doubts about someone's capacity.

The bill seeks to put in place a legal framework that exceeds what is in place to protect people who

make other end-of-life decisions. It would allow an assessing doctor to make inquiries and to seek the views of health, social care and social work professionals and those who have provided or are providing care to the person, as the health professional considers necessary. Fulton MacGregor rightly pressed for the inclusion of that provision at stage 2, and I am grateful to him for that.

Pam Duncan-Glancy (Glasgow) (Ind): How would the member address the fact that many of the professionals he has described—GPs, social workers and others—have said that they would find it difficult to make judgments about capacity and coercion within the existing structures?

Liam McArthur: I am not sure that that is what the Health, Social Care and Sport Committee heard in the stage 1 process. As I have said, we can see such a system operating in other jurisdictions. The capacity and coercion assessments that are routinely made in relation to other types of medical treatment would be made in this context. I fully accept that further and on-going training would be required. Yesterday, we touched on some of the issues in relation to coercion. We are developing our understanding in areas such as coercive and controlling behaviour. All those things could be factored into the training that is already provided.

I believe that the approach that is taken in the bill is a more appropriate approach than the blanket requirement that Fulton MacGregor's amendment 171 proposes. I am also mindful of the Government's position, which was that similar amendments at stage 2 presented a deliverability challenge, as legal and operational issues would cut across existing duties, which, in turn, could lead to duplication and potentially disproportionate intervention.

With regard to Audrey Nicoll's amendment 173, I consider that the existing reporting requirements in the bill are comprehensive, and that amendment 173 would duplicate many of those.

I cannot support Alasdair Allan's amendments 176 and 179. The bill already requires the undertaking of multiple assessments, which, in practice, clinicians will normally conduct in person. As I said earlier, placing a rigid requirement in primary legislation that assessments must be carried out in person would remove flexibility in circumstances in which remote consultation may be clinically appropriate. Although I would expect the vast majority of assessments to be conducted in person, I am cautious of adding an explicit requirement that could create a potential barrier in a specific future case in which more flexibility may be necessary and felt appropriate. As Alasdair Allan and I both know and accept, given the

constituencies that we represent, decisions on when online consultations with patients are and are not appropriate are rightly left to medical judgment.

Daniel Johnson's amendment 9 would require, if the assessing doctor is not satisfied that a person who is seeking an assisted death is eligible or is acting voluntarily, that a statement be made to that effect and provided to the patient. Requiring practitioners—

Daniel Johnson: Will the member give way?

Liam McArthur: Daniel Johnson might be pre-empting me, but I will give way to him.

Daniel Johnson: I am very grateful to Liam McArthur for giving way and to parliamentary staff for knowing our work better than we do. I point out that amendments 194 and 195 would mean that the statements are recorded in line with other statements, so I had actually done a more comprehensive job than I realised. I hope that that reassures members; of course, I would not want to mislead Parliament on such an important matter.

Liam McArthur: I am grateful to Mr Johnson for raising that as an intervention on me and not a false point of order.

Requiring practitioners to record and explain decisions where eligibility criteria are not met will also help patients to understand the outcome of their assessment and the reasons for it, which is in line with patient-centred care, so I support amendment 9 and the consequential amendment 194. I also support Daniel Johnson's amendments 183 and 183A, with consequential amendments 185 and 195, which add detail and require an additional statement concerning the relationship between the assessing doctors and the patient, as well as the rationale given if a doctor reaches a different conclusion on a patient's eligibility from a previous doctor.

I cannot support Jeremy Balfour's amendments 184 and 307, which would prevent a person who is assessed as ineligible from making another request for 12 months. Apart from anything else, that ignores the fact that a lot can change in an individual's disease or condition over such a period.

I am inclined to support Bob Doris's amendments 37 to 40, 60 and 67, which would require a co-ordinating medical practitioner to produce a comprehensive report on the assessment, which will in turn facilitate extensive data gathering with Public Health Scotland.

However, I do not consider Stephen Kerr's amendment 186 necessary. The bill already makes sufficient provision for medical practitioners to seek advice or input from other professionals

with relevant knowledge and expertise where they consider it appropriate. That, of course, is in addition to the existing expert knowledge of the assessing doctors themselves. Referral to relevant experts is already a well-established feature of clinical practice.

Sue Webber's amendments 191 and 192 would also add unnecessary barriers, in my opinion, by requiring further assessments after both doctors have undertaken independent assessments and confirmed that they are satisfied that the criteria have been met. Given that the bill provides that, at the point of witnessing the second declaration, the co-ordinating doctor must remain satisfied with the criteria that are set out in section 8(1), I see no purpose for the further requirement, which would simply be an obstacle rather than a meaningful safeguard.

On Alasdair Allan's amendment 188, although there is value to the second declaration process being done in person, again mandating it in primary legislation reduces the flexibility that some terminally ill people may require. The bill would require the declaration to be witnessed, so that would remove telephone consultation but may include video consultation. Again, robust clinical guidelines are the best way of safeguarding that part of the process, so I do not support amendment 188.

I am content to support Jackie Baillie's amendment 95, which would require any information obtained from inquiries of social care, social work and healthcare professionals to be shared with a person's GP and included in medical records.

As regards Jeremy Balfour's amendment 196, the bill would already require multiple independent assessments, and the process cannot proceed if a person is found ineligible. Clinicians would be required by the bill to refer the person to a specialist if there are any doubts about the person's illness or capacity. Amendment 196 would risk duplicating those safeguards and adding unnecessary complexity to an already robust process without changing the fact that if any of the clinicians involved have doubts about a person's illness or capacity, that person is not eligible to proceed with an assisted death. Therefore, I cannot support amendment 196.

Finally, although Liz Smith's amendment 197, on recording of cancelled declarations, is well intentioned, it seems unnecessary due to the existing systems of professional standards. I am also conscious that professional conduct matters and deciding on conduct breaches are within the GMC's remit, and that each regulatory body will have its own system for such matters, which could raise the prospect of legislative competence

issues. As such, what Liz Smith's amendment 197 seeks to achieve can and will be met, so I do not support it—although her intention is laudable.

Stephen Kerr (Central Scotland) (Con): The interesting and perhaps liberating aspect of our deliberations yesterday, today and probably tomorrow is that we are speaking very much on the basis of our own positions.

I want to reflect on Liam McArthur's responses to many of the amendments in the group. There was an exchange between Christine Grahame and Daniel Johnson about the frequency with which a doctor might see a patient in a life-threatening situation. It strikes me that, in this debate, there is an overriding assumption that everything will happen. It is assumed that palliative care will be on offer on an equal basis to any patient in any given situation in any part of Scotland, but that is simply not the case.

Liam McArthur: I certainly echo Stephen Kerr's sentiments about the nature of the debate. Some members may find it liberating, while the whips may disagree.

However, with regard to the assumptions that are made, I point to the evidence on the way in which such laws work in practice elsewhere. We may disagree about the principle, but members can look at the data that has been gathered on who accesses assisted dying, with what conditions and for what reasons, and how the safeguards work in practice. These are not assertions—they draw on the evidence.

Stephen Kerr: That actually goes to the heart of the issue, because, when we look at the evidence, including the case studies that are offered to us from other jurisdictions, we see that it is not quite as black and white as Liam McArthur makes out. Some of the generalisations that have been made about some of the evidence that has been offered are not helpful in our consideration of the bill.

As I said, the assumptions undermine the possibility of us making good law in this area, because they assume a homogenous fairness. For example, to go back to an issue that another member raised in relation to one of the amendments on palliative care, equal access to such care does not currently exist for people across Scotland. Until that situation is remedied, I feel that we are in very troubled waters.

Sue Webber (Lothian) (Con): I am looking back at some evidence that I have seen from elsewhere. A report called "Assisted Dying/Assisted Suicide" by the Health and Social Care Committee at Westminster notes:

"The Cicely Saunders Institute of Palliative Care, Policy and Rehabilitation at King's College pointed to examples of findings from Canada that 'palliative care resources were

disproportionately consumed by MaiD requests, while non-MaiD patients had reduced access to palliative care’.”

Does that sound fair to Mr Kerr?

Stephen Kerr: It does not, and it creates the shades of grey that we should accept exist in the evidence that is available to us from other jurisdictions.

Rona Mackay (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP): The 14-month House of Commons inquiry found no evidence

“of palliative and end-of-life care deteriorating ... following the introduction of”

assisted dying in other jurisdictions. Indeed, the inquiry observed that it had often acted as a catalyst for improvement.

Stephen Kerr: Well, there is a perfect illustration of the issue. We had an intervention from Sue Webber, who quoted academic research that suggests that there is such evidence, and then we had an intervention to say that there is not. That highlights the issue that is at the heart of some of the assumptions and generalisations, which we should beware of.

Michael Marra (North East Scotland) (Lab): At stage 1 and in our deliberations throughout the bill process, there has been a general consensus that we want access to palliative care to be increased, as Mr Kerr set out. However, does he agree that not a single line in the Scottish spending review identifies further resource for palliative care and that there is no additional money in the budget that the Parliament has just passed to expand such care? It is a matter of looking at the facts, which show that an expansion of the availability of palliative care is not going to happen.

Stephen Kerr: I could not agree more with what Michael Marra has just said. These are the troubled waters that we are in. As I said, we are talking about a set of ideals that do not exist. There are no plans to create such a palliative care offer across Scotland on an equal basis and, until there are such plans, the consideration of measures such as those in the bill is fraught with moral difficulty. Until that situation arises, we would not be giving people fair choices at all. That has been reiterated by a number of members who have spoken to amendments not only in the current group, but in previous groups.

I will now refer directly to my amendments in the group. This group of amendments relates to an issue that Daniel Johnson raised in his remarks: the fact that, fundamentally, this comes down to doctors’ judgments. We are talking about how a request for an assisted death would be assessed. Under section 6 of the bill, a single registered medical practitioner may be required to make a life-and-death assessment. We have heard a

back-and-forth debate on whether that should be an in-person assessment. To be frank, I find it mind blowing that, on something as vital as this, we would not insist on that. Ross Greer made a timely intervention about that, and it is why I lodged my amendments in the group.

16:30

Under the bill, referral to a specialist would happen only if the practitioner believed that there was doubt about eligibility or capacity. That is a heavy burden to place on a doctor and it is a thin safeguard for a decision of such consequence. Amendments 161 and 163 seek to correct that by replacing discretion with clear requirements. Under those amendments, every person who underwent an assessment would be referred to appropriately qualified specialists who could confirm the nature of the person’s terminal illness.

I remind members of evidence that I think should weigh on our minds, which has been referred to previously. Professor Scott Murray, who is an emeritus professor of palliative care at the University of Edinburgh, has pointed out that the accuracy of prognosis in such cases can be as low as 23 per cent. I hope that members are familiar with his column that appeared in *The Times*, in which he warned:

“While those facing death cannot access the high-quality palliative care they need, such legislation risks becoming a simple and dangerous cost-saving measure.”

Those are heavy and troubling words.

My amendments seek to ensure that the individual would be referred to appropriately qualified specialists. One would confirm the nature of the terminal illness and another would examine questions of capacity, where that was relevant. That matters because such situations are rarely straightforward. As I have highlighted, prognosis can be uncertain and capacity can fluctuate. Depression can exist alongside serious illness and the circumstances surrounding a request may involve pressures and, certainly, vulnerabilities. I cannot imagine a more vulnerable individual than someone who has received a diagnosis of a terminal condition, and some of the vulnerabilities may be added to by things that are not immediately visible.

If the law is to permit assisted suicide at all, we must have safeguards that are designed for the most difficult cases and not for the easiest and, perhaps, more straightforward cases, although I hesitate to use that term. When the law contemplates the ending of life, the protections around the decision must be stronger than our uncertainties and not weaker than them. Specialist scrutiny should not depend on whether a doctor happens to feel uncertain on a particular day.

Rather, it should be part of the process from the beginning.

My amendments would move the bill away from relying on a single practitioner's judgment towards a process that was informed by specialist expertise and proper professional scrutiny. I took that away from what I thought was an excellent contribution yesterday from Michael Matheson, who drew on his experience related to another piece of legislation. I felt that he made a forceful contribution to our consideration of the issue.

Lorna Slater (Lothian) (Green): Stephen Kerr said that the judgment should rest with two doctors, as the bill currently proposes. At no point in his contribution has he said that the person whose judgment matters is the patient or that it is their choice to make. I very much hope that the member has good intentions and that he is not attempting to set an impossible bar that cannot be achieved. He is moving the decision further and further away from the patient, yet it is the patient's decision that we wish to enable. The patient must be fully informed and fully consenting, but their decision is the important one. *[Applause.]*

Stephen Kerr: The wellbeing and welfare of the patient is at the heart of my amendments. I am at a bit of a loss as to why some colleagues felt that Lorna Slater's intervention was somehow a contribution that merited their applause. To be frank, I am not suggesting anything other than that we should be extremely careful about how we scrutinise this process, and that we view it as a process, rather than two doctors with the heavy burden of making those decisions. I do not think that that is fair on the doctors, and I certainly do not think that it is fair on the patient. I am taking a holistic view of how an individual may reach a decision about requesting and applying for assisted suicide.

Amendment 186 addresses a related concern. The bill would leave doctors largely on their own when carrying out assessments, yet the questions that they may face can be extraordinarily difficult. For example, they may involve concerns about mental health, the possibility of coercion or complex family circumstances. Amendment 186 would establish an independent panel of experts to provide guidance in those situations. The panel would include expertise in psychiatry, palliative care and safeguarding. Where there were doubts about capacity, mental health concerns or the possibility of coercion or undue influence, the case would have to be referred to that panel.

In further answer to Lorna Slater's intervention, I note that that is deliberate, because I want us to keep our eyes firmly on the patient and their concerns, and pressure on vulnerable people is not always obvious. A person may speak about

autonomy while quietly feeling that they have become a burden. Those arguments are being rehearsed over and over again in our debates on amendments to the bill, because they should concern us. Someone may appear calm while experiencing treatable depression. Those are human realities that clinicians encounter every day. For decisions of this magnitude, it is not reasonable to leave a single doctor to carry out that responsibility alone.

Some will point out that establishing such a panel would come with a cost, and that is true. However, when the stakes involve human life, the cost of proper oversight is not an optional luxury; it is part of legislating responsibly.

Taken together, my amendments in the group would not simply add procedural detail but address a fundamental weakness in the bill. They would introduce specialist scrutiny, independent advice and clearer safeguards where the bill currently relies too heavily on individual judgment. I repeat my concern about the nature of many of the assumptions that we are making. For decisions such as this, which cannot be reversed, the Parliament should insist on nothing less.

The Presiding Officer (Alison Johnstone): I call Jackie Baillie to speak to amendment 164 and other amendments in the group.

Jackie Baillie (Dumbarton) (Lab): I will concentrate specifically on two amendments. I will start with amendment 164, which I have lodged on behalf of Children's Hospices Across Scotland.

The amendment focuses on ensuring that young people under the age of 25 with complex or unstable conditions receive specialist multidisciplinary input during assisted dying assessments. That protection is needed because we know that young people with serious conditions often have enhanced safeguarding needs. We know that their capacity can fluctuate, that communication methods may vary, and that decisions may involve significant family or social dynamics. Access to specialist psychiatry and social work would ensure that risks are fully explored and fully addressed.

Given that context, amendment 164 would require doctors to involve psychiatry and social work professionals when assessing young adults under the age of 25 who have an unpredictable or fluctuating condition. That would mean that there is appropriate and essential multidisciplinary support and specialist input for young adults under the age of 25, and it would provide a consistent national approach to ensure that the vulnerabilities of young adults are not overlooked. I commend amendment 164 to Parliament.

I will move on to the second amendment in group 7 that I wish to speak to. I forget the number of the amendment, but it will come to me—it is amendment 95, which I have lodged on behalf of the Royal College of Nursing Scotland.

Section 7(1)(za) and (zb) provide that

“a registered medical practitioner carrying out an assessment under section 6 must”

make or consider making enquiries of professionals who are involved in the individual's care or who have relevant expertise. The RCN agrees that the doctor responsible for making the assessment should be able to draw on the expertise and experience of the multidisciplinary team; however, it calls for a provision to be added to the bill to ensure that those inquiries are properly recorded. It believes that that is important should the results of the assessment be challenged or scrutinised at some point in the future.

Amendment 95 would introduce a new section, after section 12, which would apply where such inquiries have been made of other health, social care or social work professionals. Information would need to be recorded on what inquiries were made and the name and profession of the person who was asked, along with

“a summary of the information provided by that”

person. That information would be recorded in the adult's medical records, which aligns with the requirement for patient declarations and medical practitioners' statements to be recorded in an individual's medical records.

Bob Doris: I am sympathetic to amendment 95 and I am listening with interest. Listening to the information that would have to be captured and written down persuades me that my amendment 37, on the establishment of a medical practitioner's report, where all of that information would be captured in one place and then put into medical records, is even more important. Would Jackie Baillie agree?

Jackie Baillie: I absolutely would. I also make the comment that this group has a huge number of amendments, which I think is a measure of the concern that we absolutely get this right. It is not just Bob Doris's amendment 37 that is worthy of support; the RCN has noted that there is overlap with amendment 173, in the name of Audrey Nicoll, which would require a registered medical practitioner who is carrying out an assessment under section 6 to

“prepare and retain a written record”.

Although amendment 173 would require all inquiries made under section 7(1)(za) and (zb) to be recorded, it would not require a summary of the

information provided by other professionals to be recorded. The RCN's position—and my position—is to ask MSPs to support my amendment 95 and Audrey Nicoll's amendment 173.

I welcome Liam McArthur's support for the amendments that I have addressed.

Miles Briggs (Lothian) (Con): Like Jackie Baillie, I have worked with Children's Hospices Across Scotland to lodge amendments 169, 170, 300 and 301, which would ensure that anyone who is being assessed for assisted dying is made aware that support is available, including social work or mental health services. The amendments would strengthen protections for under-25s by making certain referrals automatic, including a requirement to refer anyone under 25 for social work or mental health support if certain indicators are present, including concerns about capacity, fluctuating or unpredictable diagnoses, safeguarding issues, communication needs, multiple disadvantages or limited or no social support.

The amendments would also allow ministers, following consultation with relevant professional bodies, to set additional rules about the training and qualifications needed for practitioners who make those referrals.

My amendments would ensure that the Parliament can set clear regulations that support safe and consistent referral processes for young adults under the age of 25. Importantly, I believe that they would maintain coherence across the bill and ensure that there are no gaps in ministerial powers.

Fulton MacGregor (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP): I refer members to my entry in the register of members' interests—I am registered with the Scottish Social Services Council.

I will focus my remarks on my amendments 171 and 306, not least to stay on the good side of the business manager. I place on record my thanks to the Scottish Association of Social Work, which has been pivotal in bringing the amendments to fruition.

Supporting amendment 171 would ensure that social work services are encoded as a statutory safeguard within the assessment process for assisted dying. Whatever view members across the chamber hold on assisted dying, we all share a duty to ensure that the safeguards in the bill meet the essential minimum required to protect those who might be vulnerable. Where a decision is irreversible, our safeguards must be beyond question.

Scotland already has a strong, carefully constructed legal framework that is designed to

protect adults who might be vulnerable due to incapacity, mental ill health, abuse or coercion. The Adults with Incapacity (Scotland) Act 2000, the Mental Health (Care and Treatment) (Scotland) Act 2003 and the Adult Support and Protection (Scotland) Act 2007 are all key pieces of legislation that form the backbone of Scotland's safeguarding system.

16:45

The Deputy First Minister and Cabinet Secretary for Economy and Gaelic (Kate Forbes): I commend Fulton MacGregor on his amendments. Social workers are versed in spotting coercion, and we heard from Michael Matheson yesterday about how critical such long-term relationships are. Does Fulton MacGregor feel—as I think that he does from his amendments—that involving social workers will inevitably mean that safeguarding issues are more quickly identified than by some healthcare professionals, who might meet somebody for only a short period of time?

Fulton MacGregor: I will come on to that point.

The acts that I mentioned were designed to ensure that, when decisions carry profound consequences, they are made with proper scrutiny, appropriate expertise and a full understanding of a person's circumstances. However, the bill as it is currently drafted risks bypassing the safeguarding structures that the Parliament has already put in place.

Medical practitioners would be central to the assisted dying process—no one is doubting that—but they cannot be expected to assess alone the complex issues of social risk, coercion or safeguarding that may shape a person's decision. Those factors are social, relational and often deeply contextual.

Social workers and safeguarding professionals hold expertise in identifying coercion, undue influence, domestic abuse, financial exploitation and situations whereby individuals may feel pressure. Those pressures might be from others, from circumstances or even from the self-belief that they are a burden.

Local authorities also hold statutory duties and records that might be directly relevant to an assessment of a person's capacity and vulnerability. Without consultation, medical practitioners would simply not have access to that information.

Members should consider what that could mean in practice. A person seeking assisted dying might already be subject to safeguarding inquiries, capacity assessments or protective measures under existing law. However, if the co-ordinating

medical practitioner would not be mandated to consult the local authority, those safeguards could theoretically remain unknown, which cannot be considered safe.

Amendments that were agreed to at stage 2 recognised the importance of multidisciplinary input by allowing referral to social services. I note that the member in charge of the bill, whose engagement on these matters I welcome, has stated his belief that the discretionary inclusion of social services would be a proportionate measure. However, I disagree, because I do not believe that leaving such a referral solely to the judgment of the co-ordinating medical practitioner would resolve the problem. Medical practitioners cannot reasonably be expected to determine whether social work input is required if they do not have the information or the training that is needed to identify safeguarding risks in the first place.

Evidence from jurisdictions that are examining similar legislation increasingly highlights the need for multidisciplinary assessment. The recent review by the assisted dying citizens jury and the review panel in Jersey concluded that clinicians alone cannot always identify coercion, safeguarding dynamics or complex capacity issues without input from professionals with expertise in social care and safeguarding.

The Parliament had a lengthy debate yesterday on the existence of coercion. We heard a range of views on the prevalence of coercion and the potential for coercion in other jurisdictions. Whatever side of that argument members may be on, we must try to avoid having confirmation bias, whether that is that coercion is not an issue or that it is a problem that cannot be overcome. If practitioners do not have the tools and resources to identify coercion, it will self-evidently be difficult to confirm that it is taking place at all.

As we all know, coercion is rarely obvious. It might not present as an overt force or threat, and it might instead appear through subtle family dynamics, emotional dependency, financial pressure or, as was mentioned earlier, an internalised belief that one's life has become a burden.

Coercion can also be systemic. Societal narratives about the cost of care, the strain on families or the value of independence can shape a person's decision in ways that are deeply powerful and extremely difficult to detect in a purely clinical assessment. For that reason, safeguarding against coercion requires multidisciplinary scrutiny.

My amendment 171 would establish a simple but essential safeguard, which is a duty for the co-ordinating medical practitioner to consult the local authority and ensure that relevant information

about safeguarding, capacity assessments or existing statutory processes is taken into account.

If members do not think that coercion is a major issue, they should know that the amendment would give added peace of mind to those who believe that it is. If members are concerned about the costs of such a proposal, I would note that, in most cases, it would amount to a simple background check. If nothing is found, there would be no need for further social service involvement. However, if something is found, would that not make the proposal worth while? Is that not what we are trying to identify?

This may also lead to arguments about resource implications. However, I want members to note that the Scottish Association of Social Work, Social Work Scotland and the Scottish Social Services Council welcome the amendments. In fact, they insist that we vote for the amendments today, which I will come back to. They welcome the additional work—minimal as it would be—because they believe, as I do, that our primary consideration should be safety, not finance.

Another argument is about autonomy and whether someone would wish for a social work referral. I do not believe that the amendment would impede a person's autonomy, as a person's choice can be truly autonomous only if it is made free from coercion, free from hidden pressures and with full understanding of their circumstances. Ensuring consultation with social work services would allow medical practitioners to make decisions with the fullest possible picture. That would strengthen the integrity of the process—

Emma Harper (South Scotland) (SNP): Yesterday, it was mentioned in the chamber that the education on coercion that is provided in Western Australia takes five minutes and comprises a couple of PowerPoint slides. I followed that up with a former Western Australia MP, Dr Sally Talbot, who got back to me at 11.05 last night after I messaged her at 11 o'clock. She told me that Western Australia's coercion education consists of up to 10 hours of training, including nine e-modules. She also mentioned that those participating are already experienced doctors and that those taking the exam must achieve a 90 per cent score.

I wanted to highlight that to show that coercion is taken really seriously in Australia. However, a broader issue is including the wider multidisciplinary team in that. Does Fulton MacGregor agree and acknowledge that coercion is not taken lightly in the Western Australia model?

Fulton MacGregor: I thank the member for painting a picture of the Western Australia model, and I welcome her putting that on the record.

The point that I have been making in my contribution today is that coercion is a very complex area, and we have heard that across the board. I think that my amendments today would add another safeguard to the bill, and would strengthen the integrity of the process and the confidence that the public can have in it.

Paul O'Kane: I agree with many of the amendments that Fulton MacGregor has lodged—indeed, I spoke to that yesterday evening.

I do not mean to conduct a debate through Fulton MacGregor in response to Emma Harper's intervention, but—*[Interruption.]* I do not think that this sort of barracking is very helpful, given the seriousness of the issues that we are discussing.

I will not get into the debate about the Western Australian issue, because I did not raise it in the chamber. However, if we are talking about exam-level conditions for training—and all the things that Emma Harper has laid out, which she says that she has evidence of—none of that is in the bill. There is no requirement in the bill for education for professionals at any level. I would also put on the record that my amendment, which seeks to bring in mandatory training for practitioners, will potentially not be backed.

Does Fulton MacGregor, as a social work professional himself, recognise the concerns that social workers are raising that, if his amendments are not agreed to, the social work profession would not have confidence in the legislation—not because of their stance on assisted dying itself, but because the system would be wrong?

Fulton MacGregor: I thank the member for that intervention and for taking the opportunity to put on the record what he wanted to. I recognise what he said at the end of his intervention, and I will come to that.

Without the safeguards that are being proposed here, we risk creating a system that overlooks the very protections that Scottish law has spent decades building up.

Members may differ on the principle of assisted dying—we can hear that in the chamber—but surely we can all agree that, if the law is to exist, it must operate with the highest standards of safety, scrutiny and care. When Parliament legislates on a matter of life and death, we must do so with the full weight of our safeguarding system behind us.

As Paul O'Kane mentioned, a joint briefing to MSPs that was circulated by the Association of Palliative Care Social Workers, the Scottish Association of Social Work and Social Work Scotland, states that, without support for amendment 171, the bill would not reach a minimum safe threshold from a social work perspective and would be unsafe for the people of

Scotland. In addition, the chief executive of the Scottish Social Services Council, Maree Allison, has specifically said that amendment 171 is the most direct way to ensure that the bill aligns with existing safeguarding frameworks and avoids preventable harm.

Ross Greer: I sympathise with the member's broad desire for safeguards. However, on a point of clarification, my reading of amendment 171 is that it would require a referral even if the patient confirms that they do not have a social worker. I am not sure about the operability of that, particularly given that it would require the council to return the information within what is described as "a reasonable period", which would be set by ministers. Given that local government in Scotland is not famous for smooth and rapid bureaucratic processes, I am concerned about the operability of the amendment, particularly if it would apply to every patient, including those who do not have a social worker. Could the member clarify that?

Fulton MacGregor: I am happy to do so. We think that, in the majority of cases, the consultant would check with social work. That would be a simple check of the records to find out whether the person is known and whether there are any safeguarding concerns. Ross Greer is right to raise that point, but we do not see that as a concern. All the social work agencies have told us that they feel that they can easily manage that in their current systems.

For the reasons that I have given, I urge colleagues across the chamber, whether they are for or against the bill, to consider my arguments and to please vote for my amendment 171, and for amendment 306, which is consequential.

Audrey Nicoll (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP): Before I speak to my amendment 173, I say that I fully support Fulton MacGregor's amendment 171. It is a practical provision that shows the intersection between issues such as adult support and protection and observing the rights of adults with incapacity, on the one hand, and the legislation that will be enacted should the bill be passed, on the other.

Amendment 173 is designed to improve transparency and accountability and to promote robust record keeping. It would introduce a mandatory requirement for registered medical practitioners who carry out assessments under section 6 to prepare and retain a comprehensive written record of the assessment process. That would cover all inquiries made of other professionals; discussions with the person being assessed; explanations that have been provided regarding diagnosis, prognosis, treatment options, palliative care and the nature of any substance that might be provided; and advice given, referrals

made and the clinical reasoning for decisions, including any instances in which inquiries or referrals were not completed.

There is a high prevalence of people choosing to die because they feel that they are a burden on others. For example, in Oregon and Canada, close to 50 per cent of people cite that as one of their main reasons for wanting to take their life early under assisted dying provisions. That raises serious questions about the prevalence of coercion. There are also issues such as the postcode lottery that exists in the provision of palliative care. Some people have excellent care at the point of need, but others receive too little, too late. Given such factors, it is incumbent on us to ensure that robust information is recorded so that the potential reasons driving the choice of an assisted death have been discussed fully; so that all possible help is provided to ensure that someone is not driven to take their life when they otherwise would not consider it; and so that the process does not become a tick-box exercise.

We have heard evidence from abroad of what is called "doctor shopping". That is where patients are turned down for assisted dying because doctors who know them and their conditions well deem that they do not qualify, but those patients keep applying to different doctors until they find one who applies the eligibility criteria liberally—for example, by approving a disabled person who has many comorbidities.

That might explain why, in places where the law has not technically expanded beyond the terminal illness eligibility criteria, people with non-terminal conditions have nonetheless been approved for assisted dying. In Oregon, Government data shows that people with conditions such as arthritis and anorexia have been approved. An anorexia charity has found from whistleblowing doctors across the US at least 60 confirmed cases of people struggling with anorexia—mainly young women—being given drugs to end their lives under assisted dying laws.

17:00

Clare Haughey (Rutherglen) (SNP): I have been listening carefully to what Audrey Nicoll has said. Does she recognise that the situation in the jurisdictions that she is talking about—where people go "doctor shopping", as she labelled it—is not the same as it is here because of our national health service? In those places abroad, the vast majority of access to doctors, medical care and hospital care is private, so it is much easier for people to go to different medical professionals to try to access whatever it is that they seek.

Audrey Nicoll: Clare Haughey has raised a valid point, which I absolutely recognise. It is

important to set the context of the discussion, given the differences in healthcare provision.

Nobody in the Parliament wants people with eating disorders or similarly vulnerable people to be given drugs on the NHS to take their lives in Scotland, so I am certain that amendments that seek to promote strong data collection to improve the accountability of doctors will be welcomed. This afternoon, the point has been made several times that a huge responsibility rests on the shoulders of two medical practitioners. In my view, detailed and comprehensive recording is extremely desirable and important, not only to support those professionals to fulfil their role but for reasons of accountability and transparency.

Carol Mochan (South Scotland) (Lab): I am very sympathetic to Audrey Nicoll's points. For a number of years I worked in quite a complex area of healthcare, in which many of our medical professionals are used to making complicated and difficult decisions. I put that on the record to help members to understand that, every day, medical practitioners work with their patients to make complex decisions, but they also allow patients to make decisions themselves, which is the point that we are trying to get to. I am very sympathetic to the proposal to record information, but it is important to understand that such decisions are probably being made every minute in our health service.

Audrey Nicoll: I completely agree with Carol Mochan's comments. It is important that we strike a balance in recognising the role of medical professionals and the role of a patient in that space. That makes it all the more imperative that detailed reporting should take place to support the decision-making process.

The purposes of amendment 173 are to promote transparency, consistency and accountability in the assessment process and to ensure that a clear audit trail is available for regulatory review or professional oversight. Given the instances in which a lack of scrutiny can allow abuse of legislation and significant failures for very vulnerable individuals, I hope that members can see why amendment 173 is necessary and will support it today.

Bob Doris: I thank Audrey Nicoll for her excellent contribution. I fully support her excellent and robust amendment 173, which was mentioned alongside my own amendment 37. Does she agree that it is vital that, should the bill pass, we collect all relevant data and detailed case-study information to give proper meaning to the annual reports on the legislation's workability and on the review period? That information will be essential if there is to be a credible review of the bill.

Audrey Nicoll: The simple answer is yes. Case study review is a critical part of the overall function that we need to undertake with regard to the operation of any legislation, particularly in the context of public protection. I fully endorse and agree with Bob Doris's points. I ask members to support amendment 173.

The Presiding Officer: I call Alasdair Allan to speak to amendment 176 and other amendments in the group.

Alasdair Allan (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP): I will speak to my amendments 176, 179 and 188.

Normally, members hear me urging the NHS to do more of its work online to avoid unnecessary and gruelling travel for patients in the Highlands and Islands, so I appreciate the points that have been made by Mr McArthur, who makes the same case regularly.

However, I believe that the matter that we are discussing today is in a different category. Whatever members' views on the bill's merits might be, I hope that we can agree that a person should not be put in a position where they have to make, via Zoom, a decision about ending their life.

On the point that was alluded to, about allowing for flexibility, I ask members to forgive me if I am ignorant in this regard, but I honestly cannot see circumstances in which a doctor should not make the effort to visit such a patient. I have doubts about whether the bill would allow enough time for proper face-to-face consultations, particularly for the first and second declarations that are set out in it.

John Mason (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind): I wondered how the bill's provisions would work in rural areas. Alasdair Allan represents quite a rural and spread-out constituency. Does he think that it would be okay for people in such areas to have in-person visits?

Alasdair Allan: I do not think that there should be fewer protections in rural areas than there would be in urban areas. It seems to me that there should be a pretty basic obligation on doctors to visit patients in such circumstances and that that should apply throughout the country.

At present, the bill seems to assume that consultations could be done remotely—or, at least, it does not rule out that possibility. Identifying coercion over video must be extremely difficult—I would judge it to be impossible—because professionals cannot reliably see the subtle cues, hesitations or dynamics that indicate that someone is under pressure. That is not a theoretical concern. In a remote meeting, it is not even necessarily apparent to all participants who else is in the room or what is being said off camera, as Mr Greer pointed out. To be frank, regardless of

whether a patient is in a city or on an island, the professionals involved—

Daniel Johnson: Alasdair Allan makes an excellent point about the subtle cues in detecting coercion. Does he agree that the point about communication goes in the other direction, too, regarding the information that a patient might seek when communicating with the doctor before making a very difficult decision? There is an issue in relation to detecting coercion and another in relation to the patient themselves. Nobody makes a decision by themselves—we are social beings—so it would be vital for the patient as well as for the doctor that there was good-quality interaction.

Alasdair Allan: I fully agree. Anyone who has attempted to ask a question in a hybrid meeting will be able to readily identify with what Daniel Johnson has said.

Ross Greer: I would very much like to support Dr Allan's amendments, but I have a point of clarification on the assessments required under sections 6 and 7. Section 7 would require the co-ordinating medical practitioner not just to conduct assessments with the patient but to make inquiries with other professionals. My reading of section 8 is that, once Dr Allan's amendments were inserted, its provisions would relate only to the assessment between the medical professional and the patient; the consultation with other professionals would not need to be in person. Will Alasdair Allan clarify whether that is his intention? If it is, I would be keen to support his amendments.

Alasdair Allan: That is my understanding of the way in which the amendments have been written.

In my view, my amendments would at least ensure that the crucial decisions would be made with everyone in the same actual, rather than virtual, room. Therefore, I ask members to back my three amendments in the group.

The Presiding Officer: I call Jeremy Balfour to speak to amendment 184 and other amendments in the group.

Jeremy Balfour (Lothian) (Ind): I will limit my comments to the amendments in the group that are in my name. Amendment 184 concerns an issue that sits at the very centre of the debate that the Parliament has been having about the bill. It is an issue that we have been hearing about over the past few minutes from different members. Throughout the scrutiny of the bill, Mr McArthur and others have repeatedly given assurances that the legislation will contain robust protections for vulnerable people. Supporters of the bill have pointed to the role of two doctors—the co-ordinating practitioner and the independent practitioner—as one of the key safeguards in the system. If their medical assessments are to play

such a critical role, it is essential that the outcomes of those assessments are clear, transparent and properly recorded, particularly when a doctor concludes that the criteria that are set out in the bill have not been met.

Amendment 184 would therefore introduce a straightforward but important requirement. It would mean that, when either the co-ordinating registered medical practitioner or the independent registered medical practitioner carried out the assessment and was not satisfied that the individual met the conditions that are set out in the bill—whether that was because the person was not terminally ill, because the person was not eligible under the legislation or because there were concerns that the declaration might not have been made voluntarily—the practitioner would have to make a formal statement explaining that conclusion. The statement would need to set out the reasons why the practitioner was not satisfied, be signed and dated, and be shared with the individual concerned. In other words, the amendment would mean that, where a doctor determined that the legal tests in the bill had not been met, the decision was clearly documented and properly communicated.

Amendment 184 goes further than that, because it also addresses an important practical concern. Without the safeguard that the amendment proposes, there is a risk that the individual who has been assessed and found not to meet the criteria could simply seek another practitioner and begin the process again immediately.

I accept that, as Clare Haughey said in her intervention a few moments ago, under the bill as it stands, most of that process will be done within NHS Scotland. However, my understanding is—I am happy to be corrected on this—that there is provision within the bill for those in private business to set up such a service. That means that we could end up with a situation in which a person goes to see their GP, the GP carries out the assessment and says, "No, you don't meet the criteria," and the person simply goes to a private company, whether it is in another part of Scotland or in the same part that they live in, which could start the process and might come to a different conclusion. That raises the possibility of what we have heard described as doctor shopping, when someone continues to seek further assessments until they eventually find a practitioner who is willing to reach a different conclusion. I worry that people with certain conditions might do that.

I am sure that we all have a preferred doctor. I have a favourite GP at my practice. When I have previously had to go for surgery, I have perhaps hoped to see one consultant over another. That is human nature. However, in the context of the bill, we must prevent situations where an individual

who has been refused an assisted death by one doctor simply goes on until they find someone else. Given the point of the bill and its seriousness, I do not believe that such a situation could provide the robust safeguards that the Parliament has been told the bill will contain.

Amendment 184 would therefore introduce a clear provision whereby, when a practitioner records that they are not satisfied that the legal criteria have been met, no further assessment under the bill may take place for a period of 12 months.

Jamie Hepburn (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP): I want to come in on that point. I appreciate that Mr Balfour lodged his amendment before we agreed to insert a six-month prognosis provision. However, I wonder how he can reconcile a 12-month period for reassessment with the fact that we have now accepted that the bill should include a six-month provision in terms of when it is likely that a person will die.

17:15

Jeremy Balfour: What we agreed last night was a time period within the realms of six months. My older brother, who has just retired as a GP, is getting tired of me telling this story, but, a few years ago, a person walked into his surgery with a very serious condition and asked, “How long do you think I have to live?” It was late summer, and my brother said, “Well, you won’t see Christmas.” I am pleased to say that that person is still alive and playing golf today. There will be situations in which people survive longer than the six-month period that Parliament agreed to include in the bill, and that is why I think that we still need the 12-month rule.

Daniel Johnson: I understand the intention behind the member’s proposal—indeed, in some ways, it is similar to the amendments that I have lodged. However, I worry that the 12-month stipulation is overly burdensome, particularly because, although he is correct to say that the six-month rule is not definitive—I would describe it as more of a yardstick—we are nonetheless dealing with people who probably have only months to live.

The member is right that we do not want doctor shopping, but we must acknowledge that doctors’ opinions are fallible and that, therefore, it is not unreasonable for someone to ask for a second opinion. Does he note that my amendments would require that, if a subsequent decision were made that was contrary to a previous decision, it would need to be explained? Might that compromise be acceptable to the member?

Jeremy Balfour: I fully accept that doctors get it wrong on occasion. However, what concerns me is that, without the 12-month rule, we could still end

up with individuals shopping around until they find somebody who agrees with them.

Lorna Slater: I am slightly horrified by the scenarios that the member is maybe inadvertently bringing into play. Imagine that someone is dying and is suffering badly, even with excellent care, and they might be at risk of losing their capacity at some unknown time because they are so very ill. They might not want to take months to die slowly, gasping, at an unknown time; they might want to do it peacefully and at a time of their choosing. However, maybe they do not vibe with the first doctor they talk to—perhaps they got off on the wrong foot with them—but they are still desperate. They are still perhaps months or weeks away from dying, yet they are now being told that the choice is taken away from them because they did not get off on the right foot with that doctor. Of course they should be allowed to go and talk to a different doctor and see if they can have a refresh of that conversation. The second or third doctor they talk to will have the same level of qualifications, and they may understand the person’s situation better.

Jeremy Balfour: I think that Lorna Slater is advocating that the person should find various doctors until they get the decision that they want—that it does not matter whether they have a terminal condition, have the appropriate capacity or any of that, and that they should just keep going until they find the doctor who will give them what they want. As Lorna Slater said, there could be doctor 2, doctor 3, doctor 4 and doctor 5. That is simply misusing the system, and it is not what I—

Lorna Slater: That is not what I said at all.

Jeremy Balfour: Let us see what the record says at the end of the day.

I do not want to delay us longer, but I will make a couple more points. I agree with Mr Johnson that his amendments would at least take us further down the right road than what is in the bill at the moment, and, if members are not willing to support my amendments, I hope that they will support his.

Bob Doris: After Mr Balfour’s exchange with Ms Slater, I want to put on the record—I am sure that members will agree—that, irrespective of our views on the bill, we respect the professionalism of doctors, irrespective of whether they got off on the wrong foot with someone. Doctors are professionals and they will simply do their job.

Jeremy Balfour: As always, Mr Doris is absolutely right—[*Laughter.*] Well, not always, but in this case he is. I am glad that, as he would say, we have put that on the record.

Amendment 196 would complement my proposal by introducing additional clarity through notification requirements and an oversight mechanism. It requires the co-ordinating

registered medical practitioner to notify all assessors, witnesses, proxies and legally authorised representatives within 24 hours of a statement being made. That would ensure that the professionals involved were informed promptly, reducing the risk of miscommunication or oversight.

Importantly, amendment 196 would provide a formal pathway for assessors to record in the individual's medical records any concerns about eligibility. It would mean that, when disagreements arose, no further action could proceed until the matter was reviewed by an independent panel comprising a medical practitioner with expertise in end-of-life care, a legally qualified professional and an ethicist who specialises in end-of-life decision making. The panel would provide a written determination within 14 days.

Taken together, amendments 184, 196 and 307 would safeguard vulnerable adults, reinforce professional accountability and provide a structured and transparent framework for resolving disagreements. They would ensure that refusals were respected, that professional concerns were independently reviewed and that the process was rigorous and consistent. I ask members to support them.

Sue Webber: First, I thank my colleague Stephen Kerr, who spoke to my amendments in group 2 yesterday.

My amendments 91 and 92 seek to reinforce the safeguards that exist earlier in the bill. They are not there to serve as any form of obstacle. I note that the Parliament has agreed to redefine terminal illness—or to refine the definition—to include only those who are expected to die within six months. That amendment has consequences that should be reflected elsewhere in the bill.

It is imperative that, at the second declaration, the doctor once again considers that prognosis. We have heard from colleagues just how arbitrary the six-month timescale can be, and we all have friends and family members who have outlived the timeframe that doctors have given them. Indeed, Esther Rantzen, who has campaigned vigorously for the similar bill to pass in England, has had a much longer life due to new treatments becoming available.

Scott Murray, emeritus professor of palliative care at the University of Edinburgh, in correspondence with members of the Scottish Parliament, pointed out that accuracy rates in prognosis were as low as 23 per cent. Writing in *The Times*, he said:

“While those facing death cannot access the high-quality palliative care they need, such legislation risks becoming a simple and dangerous cost-saving measure.”

Those are chilling words from those who are working on the front lines of our health service.

Given that, as we heard earlier, prognosis is so flawed and inaccurate, it is vital that a further assessment is made at the second declaration. If it is found that the individual is doing better, that treatment is working or that palliative care is giving a better quality of life, the process should be halted and referred to a panel. If the prognosis has changed, there must be a mechanism to deal with it. As we have just heard, we must ensure that people are not able to doctor shop and that they can be given a decision quickly and clearly.

Colleagues, you can see how complicated all this is. The member in charge is keen for you to believe that it is the simplest thing in the world, that other countries have done it easily and that there is nothing controversial in the bill. That is simply not the case. Every time we scratch the surface of this bill, we open up another load of questions and issues. What happens if the prognosis at the second declaration is different from that at the first? What are the options for the doctor and the patient? There is no panel to adjudicate on decisions, such as the one under the Westminster bill.

This is a flawed bill. We can tighten one bit, but that just exposes issues elsewhere.

Lorna Slater: Will the member take an intervention?

Sue Webber: I will not, thank you, Ms Slater.

A six-month prognosis provision has been introduced, but there is no mechanism for solving the issue if that prognosis changes at the second declaration. Even that small, simple amendment throws up a huge number of issues about coercion, benefit, the involvement of professionals and what happens if another doctor's opinion is different from that of the first. None of those situations are rare and none are unusual.

I lodged amendments 91 and 92 to try to tighten up just one small flaw. By doing that, we open up other issues. The second declaration should, and must, be an assessment to see whether anything has changed since the first declaration and it should, and must, be recorded properly.

Liz Smith (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con): Amendment 197 would address a practical but, nonetheless, important gap in the bill—namely, what happens when a cancellation is not recorded. The bill requires that a cancellation of a first or second declaration be recorded within seven days but, as drafted, it is silent on the consequences if that does not happen. In legislation of such complexity and sensitivity, that silence could be taken as uncertainty. If the bill is to proceed, the law must be absolutely clear on the responsibilities

and on what happens when those responsibilities are not met.

Amendment 197 therefore seeks to introduce a clear accountability mechanism. If a cancellation is not recorded within the required seven-day period, the responsible medical practitioner must face professional accountability. I heard what Mr McArthur said about amendment 197, but I know from my work in this Parliament that, sadly, there are times when medical practitioners are not always entirely professional in their oversight activities. Amendment 197 would require the medical practitioner to issue a written apology to the adult for any distress that had been caused and to confirm in writing that the cancellation had been properly recorded.

That requirement matters, because the recording of a cancellation is not merely an administrative step. A cancellation represents a fundamental change of an individual's decision. If such a change was not properly recorded, there would be a risk of the system proceeding on the basis of information that was simply wrong. Colleagues should consider the uncertainty that could arise if a cancellation was made but not formally recorded. That could give rise to problems in relation to who would be responsible, what safeguards would be triggered and how we would ensure that the individual's changed wishes were respected.

As it stands, the bill does not address those matters with sufficient clarity. Amendment 197 seeks to provide the necessary clarity. It would reinforce the expectation that decision making in this process must be recorded accurately and promptly, and it would ensure that there were consequences if that did not happen.

Pam Duncan-Glancy: I recognise that some of the amendments in the group seek to remove the possibility of improper motives influencing the process while others seek to include additional steps on assessment. It is crucial that all of that is reported and recorded, and I understand what motivated the amendments that seek to provide for that.

However, it is important to note that, although many of the amendments in the group seek to ensure that people would be asked about support and that conversations would be had and recorded, which is crucial, none of them guarantees that such support would be provided. I want to make a few points about that.

The amendments that would provide for information to be recorded but would not deliver the additional support that is needed would not address the unmet needs or health inequalities that exist throughout life and at the end of life.

The amendments that would require referrals to be made to others—especially those that relate to young people—are helpful. Given how hard it is to grow up with a disability, many disabled people have said that they would have considered using the option of assisted dying, had it been available. Therefore, those amendments are really important. However, we all know that referrals are not always actioned, waiting lists are long and referrals do not always result in the delivery of support. We must remember that in the context of what we are being asked to do.

My biggest concern is that none of the amendments in the group would address the fact that some people might have needed support, social care or otherwise throughout their lives, but it has not been there. The absence of that support and the relentless fight for it that many people can face could lead them to feel that not going on was an attractive option.

At stage 2, I lodged amendments that would have meant that support such as social care had to be available, accessible and affordable, and that packages ought to be in place to support disabled people to lead an independent life before the bill was implemented, in order to address that concern, but I was told that they were out of scope. I understand that, but I guess that that is the point. We cannot address the risks that the bill presents by providing for assessment in the bill, because of the existence of other factors that motivate the choice to end a life.

For that reason, although many of the amendments in the group seek to improve the process—I recognise that, and the motivation behind them—if we are to genuinely protect people, we must ensure not only that support is discussed or signposted, but that people are able to access the support that they need in order to live before we consider making it easier for them to choose to die. I do not think that we can ensure that that will be the case through the amendments in this group, or, indeed, through any of the amendments that we will debate over the coming days.

Christine Grahame: There are many amendments in the group with which I agree and some with which I disagree, but, mercifully, I will speak to only one of them: amendment 154, in the name of Douglas Ross, which I support. My support for the amendment has nothing to do with his proxy declaration for independence yesterday.

17:30

I think that the issue that amendment 154 addresses is very important. As a firm supporter of the bill, I want to put on the record that, for me, when it comes to end-of-life assistance and

palliative care, it is not an either/or. Both should be available. It is about what is appropriate for the individual, so I very much welcome nailing this down.

Douglas Ross's amendment says that, when assessing a declaration, the doctor "must"—it would be mandatory, which is great—discuss available "palliative care options". That is excellent, because we know that palliative care comes in many forms. It is not necessarily given in the hospice or the hospital; it could also be given at home by Macmillan nurses. There are many ways and different times that it can be delivered to the individual. We must ensure that the person understands all that and that the discussion that the doctor has with the patient is formally recorded. I absolutely support that.

I hope that, if the bill is agreed to, there is a huge improvement in palliative care, so that it is not a case of somebody thinking, "Palliative care is not available or suitable for me; therefore, this is what I must do." I want both choices—for myself and for everybody else.

So, for probably the first and last time, Mr Ross, I support you.

Jamie Greene (West Scotland) (LD): I will keep this brief. This is the first time that I have spoken in these proceedings, although I have been following them intently. I suspect that, like me, all members are trying to do the right thing. Particularly due to having free votes, it has been an exercise and a half to get my head around the amendments, but I have listened intently to them all.

I lost some sleep last night over a couple of today's amendments, such as Daniel Johnson's and Alasdair Allan's amendments on in-person interactions. From conversations that I have had in the past 24 hours, I know that other members have been wrestling with that issue, too.

At the moment, unfortunately, I feel that some members are in an invidious position in relation to the apparent status quo of the bill as drafted, which means that, in theory, all interactions with both medical practitioners could be virtual, although that is a very unlikely scenario. On paper, it could be that the only physical or face-to-face interaction that some patients would have is at the point of the administration of the substance. I am not comfortable with that, and I do not think that any patient would want to be in that situation.

However, the options that are being presented seem to be at the other end of the spectrum, forcing us into a position in which all interactions must be in person. As Mr McArthur pointed out, that would remove any flexibility to allow for a scenario in which it might be suitable for one or

more of the interactions to be virtual or by some other method. This has put many of us in a difficult position. I am keen to support Mr Johnson's and Mr Allan's amendments, which would amend the bill to say that there must be some physical interaction between patient and doctor.

Having lived through the Covid years, we have accepted new ways of doing things in healthcare. However, that is for normal circumstances; when it comes to the issue of life and death and the signing off of the schedule 2 statements that doctors would have to make, my gut feeling is that a doctor could and should do that only once he has sat with a patient in person and looked them in the eyes. However, there should also be flexibility.

I know that the Government has taken a neutral position on the majority of the amendments, which is helpful, in some cases. However, to get ourselves out of the conundrum that some of us will find ourselves in when it comes to voting on these amendments, will the Cabinet Secretary for Health and Social Care say in his summing up whether the issue could be resolved in the guidance that would be issued to practitioners? I am looking for some comfort and reassurance on that, because it feels that that might be a way out of the conundrum. If the cabinet secretary cannot robustly, honestly and directly give that reassurance—that is not a criticism in advance—I would be minded to support the amendments that would add the physicality element to the bill.

I will leave it at that. I wanted to raise those issues, because I have wrestled with them, and other members might have done the same. As I said at the beginning of my comments, we want to get the legislation right, no matter what side of the bill we land on. We are approaching the amendments one by one to get them right for the patients who might benefit from the bill, if it is agreed to.

Neil Gray: Once again, before I set out the Government's position on amendments in the group, I note that do not have any comment to make on colleagues' contributions or the merits of those contributions, nor do I have any comments on the organisations that have in some cases asked for issues to be raised.

I have heard contributions on the amendments in this group from many members with compelling cases to make, but I cannot comment on them—I must only set out the potential implications so that colleagues can take an informed position.

For most of the amendments in this group on which I will comment, I am referring to their deliverability, practicality or potential financial implications, except one, which I will refer to in respect of legislative competence.

Amendment 29 has potential implications for service delivery as it may require medical professionals to accommodate a wider range of timings and settings in relation to provision and oversight, with associated impacts on workforce capacity, scheduling and resource planning. Amendment 31 is a necessary technical amendment that corrects an erroneous cross-reference in section 7(1)(b).

With regard to amendments 91 and 92, the addition of a further layer of assessment would have financial and resource implications for the NHS. On amendment 95, the introduction of new requirements for recording and sharing information relating to assessments could raise deliverability issues around information flows, duplication of records and a need for clarity around who can access or use recorded data. Further consideration would need to be given to alignment with existing legislation, in particular the Adult Support and Protection (Scotland) Act 2007.

Amendments 153, 176, 179 and 188 could lead to some issues around accessibility of assisted dying, particularly for those living in rural and island communities, where there may be fewer registered medical practitioners who are available and willing to be involved in the provision of assisted dying, and potentially greater reliance on digital healthcare.

Amendment 157, which would require the assessing registered medical practitioners to

“make enquiries of at least one health ... social care or social work professional”,

would have clear resource implications that would have to be considered.

With regard to amendments 161 and 163, the requirement for referral would be costly and resource intensive, as it would result in both the co-ordinating and independent registered medical practitioners having to make those referrals, regardless of their own medical judgment and whether or not they felt that they required a second opinion. The amendments could require individuals who were seeking assistance to undergo potentially six separate assessments, given that both the initial two assessments would be required, as well as the co-ordinating and independent registered medical practitioners each having to make two referrals.

It is not clear what would happen in a circumstance in which the co-ordinating and independent registered medical practitioners held the relevant experience, nor whether those referrals could be made to the same registered medical practitioner holding the relevant experience.

Amendment 164 may raise equalities issues on the basis of a difference in treatment depending on age. In addition, from a deliverability perspective, consideration must be given to the availability of suitably qualified

“social work and psychiatry professionals”

and the potential impact on assessment timescales and service capacity.

Similarly, amendment 170 may raise equalities issues on the basis of a difference in treatment depending on age. The amendment may also raise issues of legislative competence in providing for regulations that include provision about

“the training, qualifications and experience of the practitioner making the referral.”

From a deliverability perspective, amendment 170 may raise concerns about service capacity, consistency of application and timely access to appropriate support. Several of the indicators listed may be common among the specified age group and could place additional pressure on social work and mental health services, with implications for capacity, prioritisation and waiting times. There are also challenges associated with the interpretation and consistent application of the indicators.

Jamie Hepburn: Will the cabinet secretary give way?

Neil Gray: I will do, shortly.

The effectiveness of the amendment would further depend on the availability of clear referral pathways and timely access to appropriate services, otherwise it could potentially impact on access to assisted dying for those aged under 25 years of age. In addition, from a technical perspective, it is not clear if it was intended that that provision would relate to the practitioner making the referral, rather than the practitioner receiving it.

I give way to Mr Hepburn.

Jamie Hepburn: I have been trying to communicate telepathically with Jamie Greene to see if he would intervene, but he has not done so, so I will. It is on the point that he raised. I, too, am inclined to believe that the assessments should be face to face, but I was taken with his point about how that could be inflexible in some circumstances. The cabinet secretary has laid out some of the practical issues, but I wonder whether he could comment—I appreciate that it might be difficult, because I completely recognise that the Government is neutral—on the point that Jamie Greene raised about whether such circumstances could be accounted for in guidance.

Neil Gray: That would need to be considered in the implementation of the bill, if it is passed. I

cannot give any further commentary as to whether that would or should happen, because the Government is neutral on the bill and we would need to consider that at the point of implementation. I am afraid that I cannot provide any further assurance or commentary for Mr Hepburn or Mr Greene on that.

Amendment 171 may present operational challenges, as it raises questions about local authority capacity and alignment with existing social work and safeguarding frameworks. In practice, there is no single consolidated system through which local authorities can readily confirm an individual's status across the different legal frameworks that the amendment refers to. Responding to such requests may therefore require additional checks across multiple services, potentially increasing administrative burdens and affecting the timeliness of responses. The mandatory referral to a registered social worker where a statement indicates that a person is deemed unable to protect their own interests or where undue influence is identified risks conflating existing statutory safeguarding processes with a broader non-specific referral requirement. That may result in the duplication of existing assessments or referrals being made in circumstances in which appropriate support or protections are already in place.

There are potential challenges around the interpretation and consistency of concepts, such as a person being

"deemed unable to protect their own interests".

That could lead to variability in the production of local authority statements and in their interpretation by practitioners.

In relation to amendment 173, it is unclear how or where those records are to be maintained. The reference to any regulatory or oversight body exercising statutory functions under the bill or other related legislation is unclear, so the purpose of the proposed record keeping is also not clear. If it is intended that the records should be used by Public Health Scotland for its duties under section 24 of the bill, it is not clear that the information to be recorded and retained would all be necessary. If it is to be used to support investigations into any offences or wrongdoing under the bill, the provision does not seem to support a professional regulator's access to the information, as they would not be exercising statutory functions under the bill or, arguably, under any related legislation. Without having clarity on the purpose of the record keeping, it would not be possible to say whether 10 years is a suitable retention period.

On amendments 183, 183A, 185 and 195, the requirement for additional accompanying statements, particularly where practitioners must

explain divergence from an earlier assessment, may add to the administrative burden. There are also concerns that mandating detailed written justifications could deter clinician participation, lengthen processes and duplicate information that is already required elsewhere in the bill and supporting guidance.

Amendment 184 provides that, should someone be found to be ineligible to request an assisted death, they could not undergo further assessment until a period of 12 months had lapsed. That could result in a person who was otherwise lawfully eligible to be assisted to die being prevented from accessing an assisted death.

On amendments 186 and 196, setting up a panel would be likely to have major financial implications.

I have already spoken about amendment 193 in the debate on group 4, as it relates to amendment 174 in that group. Taken together, the amendments could add procedural complexity and delay without clear evidence that they would improve outcomes beyond the safeguards that are already provided in the bill.

Amendment 197 may give rise to issues of legislative competence in so far as it relates to the G2 regulation of health professions reservation in the Scotland Act 1998. From a delivery perspective, it is also not clear how the provision would be monitored or enforced. The amendment is also very prescriptive in assuming the reaction of the adult involved.

The Scottish Government has no comment on the remaining amendments in the group other than technical points, which can be found in the commentary.

Michael Marra: On a point of order, Presiding Officer. I wish to briefly correct the record relating to my contribution in proceedings yesterday on the mandatory training for participation in assisted dying by a physician in Victoria, Australia. Our colleague Emma Harper set out the full mandatory training requirements for participation in assisted dying. My contribution related specifically to training on the identification of coercion. The video that must be watched by candidates is not two minutes, as I stated; it is two minutes and 22 seconds. I hope that that corrects the record.

The Deputy Presiding Officer (Annabelle Ewing): That will be duly noted on the record.

I call Brian Whittle to wind up and to press or withdraw amendment 150.

17:45

Brian Whittle: This is a large group of amendments, and the Deputy Presiding Officer will

be pleased to hear that I will not speak to every single one of them.

As one would imagine, given that we are discussing assessments of and support for terminally ill adults, most of the contributions from across the chamber have been considered and well made. We talked initially about the impact of the option of palliative and social care. However, I say that that should not be an option; rather, it must be offered. I am pleased that everybody is in agreement on that because, in reality, we cannot separate access to palliative and social care from assisted dying.

I was interested in Rona Mackay's intervention about what has happened in other jurisdictions, on which we also heard evidence in the Health, Social Care and Sport Committee. There are jurisdictions in which, when assisted dying has been implemented, there has been an improvement in palliative care. However, improvement is not enough. Palliative care has to be consistent and at a certain level before we can consider assisted dying. That is why I was pleased that my colleague Douglas Ross lodged his amendment 154, which once again reminds us that it has to be a real choice for everybody, irrespective of background or personal circumstance.

I listened to the contributions from Bob Doris, Jackie Baillie, Daniel Johnson, Miles Briggs and Fulton MacGregor, who have amended and lodged similar amendments to those that they lodged at stage 2. The stage 2 amendments were eminently sensible, in the direction in which they were going, and they have been amended to fit the bill. I will not go through them all, but I am very pleased that they have been lodged, and they have my support. Paul O Kane's amendment, which would make it mandatory to seek the appropriate advice, is a crucial amendment, and I ask the chamber to support it.

However, I really want to speak to my amendment 155. Once again, I make the point that, once a request for assisted dying has been made, it is imperative that the professional judgments that come from the two healthcare professionals are made independently. That must be done independently. The amendment would ensure that those judgments were made independently, and I imagine that that would give a certain amount of comfort to the medical professionals themselves, in making such a huge decision.

I have to say—and I do not say this lightly—that the Scottish Government has been particularly unhelpful as the bill goes through stage 3 in declining to give us any steer at all as to what could be legal or otherwise. I was interested in Stephen Kerr and Michael Marra's discussion of the impact

on the Government's finances. On Michael Marra's point, I note that there is nothing in the budget that improves investment in palliative care. We are working with a bill at stage 3 without a properly costed and agreed financial memorandum. If the bill passes, it will be incumbent on the Government to ensure that the finances are available to deliver the palliative care that is necessary. If we cannot deliver the palliative care that is necessary, we will be left sitting with a bill that has been passed but which is undeliverable.

I press amendment 150.

Amendment 150 agreed to.

Section 6—Medical practitioners' assessments

Amendment 22 moved—[Brian Whittle]—and agreed to.

Amendment 23 moved—[Bob Doris]—and agreed to.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I call amendment 151, in the name of Paul O'Kane. I remind members that if amendment 151 is agreed to, I cannot call amendment 24, due to pre-emption.

Amendment 151 moved—[Paul O'Kane].

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. Members should cast their votes now.

The vote is closed.

Anas Sarwar (Glasgow) (Lab): [*Inaudible.*]

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Could Mr Sarwar put his card in to put his microphone on, please?

Anas Sarwar: I apologise for delaying the chamber even further, Presiding Officer. My app would not load. I would have voted yes.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Thank you, Mr Sarwar. Your vote will be recorded.

For

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)

Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 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)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 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)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
 Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
 Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
 Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
 Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (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)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (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)
 Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
 Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
 Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
 Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
 Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
 Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)

Abstentions

Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 59, Against 62, Abstentions 1.

Amendment 151 disagreed to.

Amendment 24 moved—[Bob Doris].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 24 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (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)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Choudhury, Foyso (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)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
 Gosal, Pam (West 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)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)

Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Dorman, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
 Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
 Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)

Abstentions

Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 68, Against 50, Abstentions 3.

Amendment 24 agreed to.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I call amendment 152, in the name of Paul O'Kane. I remind members that if amendment 152 is agreed to, I cannot call amendment 25, due to pre-emption.

Amendment 152 moved—[Paul O'Kane].

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

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 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)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 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)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 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)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
 Choudhury, Foyso (Lothian) (Ind)
 Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
 Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)

Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 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)
 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)
 Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
 Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
 Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (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)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)

Abstentions

Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 50, Against 73, Abstentions 1.

Amendment 152 disagreed to.

Amendment 25 moved—[Bob Doris].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 25 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (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, Foyso (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)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (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)
 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)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)

Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Dorman, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dowe, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)

Abstentions

Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 70, Against 49, Abstentions 3.

Amendment 25 agreed to.

Amendment 153 moved—[Daniel Johnson].

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

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 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)
 Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
 Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
 Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Choudhury, Foyso (Lothian) (Ind)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dowe, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)

Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (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)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (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)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Dorman, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (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)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
 Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
 Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)

Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)

Abstentions

Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 82, Against 40, Abstentions 2.

Amendment 153 agreed to.

Amendment 154 moved—[Douglas Ross].

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.

For

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (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)
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, Foyso (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)
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) (Ind)
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)
Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
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)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
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)
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)
Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (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

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)

Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
 Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
 Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)

Abstentions

Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 97, Against 22, Abstentions 5.

Amendment 154 agreed to.

Amendment 5 not moved.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I remind members that, if amendment 88 is agreed to, I cannot call amendment 6 due to pre-emption.

Amendment 88 moved—[Liam McArthur].

18:00

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 88 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)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
 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)
 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)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
 Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (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)
 Gosal, Pam (West 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)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (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)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (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)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South 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)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
 Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
 Choudhury, Foyso (Lothian) (Ind)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)

Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Abstentions

Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 86, Against 28, Abstentions 10.

Amendment 88 agreed to.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: As a result of amendment 88 being agreed to, I cannot call amendment 6, in the name of Daniel Johnson, by way of pre-emption.

Amendment 155 moved—[Brian Whittle].

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)
 Choudhury, Foyso (Lothian) (Ind)
 Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 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)
 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)
 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)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dowe, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
 Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 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)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 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)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 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)
 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)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)

Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O’Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
 Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
 Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
 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)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 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)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Abstentions

Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 15, Against 101, Abstentions 6.

Amendment 155 disagreed to.

Amendment 156 moved—[Paul O’Kane].

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

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
 Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
 Choudhury, Foyso (Lothian) (Ind)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O’Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (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)
 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)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (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)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)

Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
 McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
 Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
 Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Abstentions

Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 51, Against 68, Abstentions 2.

Amendment 156 disagreed to.

Amendment 89 moved—[Liam McArthur].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 89 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)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
 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)
 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)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dowe, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (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)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (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, 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)
 McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South 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)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
 Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
 Choudhury, Foyso (Lothian) (Ind)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Abstentions

Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 87, Against 27, Abstentions 9.

Amendment 89 agreed to.

Section 7—Assessment under section 6: further provision

Amendment 157 moved—[Paul O'Kane].

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

Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)

Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
 Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Choudhury, Foyso (Lothian) (Ind)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dowe, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
 Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
 Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
 Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
 Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (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)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
 McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
 Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
 Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (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)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)

Abstentions

Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 56, Against 63, Abstentions 3.

Amendment 157 disagreed to.

Amendment 26 moved—[Liam McArthur]—and agreed to.

Amendment 27 moved—[Bob Doris].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 27 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (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, Foyso (Lothian) (Ind)
 Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 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)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
 Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
 Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
 Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
 Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)

Abstentions

Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 85, Against 38, Abstentions 1.

Amendment 27 agreed to.

Amendment 158 moved—[Paul O’Kane].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 158 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 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)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dowe, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O’Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)

Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 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)
 Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
 Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (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)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
 McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
 Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
 Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (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)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Abstentions

Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 65, Against 56, Abstentions 3.

Amendment 158 agreed to.

Amendment 28 moved—[Bob Doris].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 28 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (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)
 Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
 Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
 Choudhury, Foyso (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)
 Dowe, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
 Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)

McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
 Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
 Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
 Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)

Abstentions

Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)

Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 90, Against 29, Abstentions 5.

Amendment 28 agreed to.

Amendment 159 moved—[Brian Whittle].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 159 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)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
 Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
 Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
 Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
 Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (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, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (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)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (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)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
 Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Choudhury, Foyso (Lothian) (Ind)
 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)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)

White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Abstentions

Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 61, Against 56, Abstentions 3.

Amendment 159 agreed to.

Amendment 29 moved—[Liam McArthur].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 29 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)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
 Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
 Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
 Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (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)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (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, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (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)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
 Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
 Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)

Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (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)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
 Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
 Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
 Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)

Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Abstentions

Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 59, Against 60, Abstentions 3.

Amendment 29 disagreed to.

Amendment 30 moved—[Liam McArthur].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 30 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)
 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)
 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)
 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)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (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)
 Gosal, Pam (West 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)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 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, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 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)
 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)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 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)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)
 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

Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)

Abstentions

Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 119, Against 2, Abstentions 3.

Amendment 30 agreed to.

18:15

Amendment 31 moved—[Liam McArthur].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 31 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: It would be helpful if members could clearly indicate their preferences. It is not always easy to hear because of the sound levels in the auditorium.

There will be a division.

The vote is closed.

The Minister for Parliamentary Business and Veterans (Graeme Dey): On a point of order, Presiding Officer. I would have voted yes.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Thank you, Mr Dey. 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)
 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)
 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)
 Choudhury, Foyso (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)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (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)
 Gosal, Pam (West 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)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 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)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 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, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 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)
 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)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)

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)
 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)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)
 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

Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)

Abstentions

Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 123, Against 1, Abstentions 1.

Amendment 31 agreed to.

Amendment 32 moved—[Bob Doris].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 32 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
 Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
 Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
 Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
 Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 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)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 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)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 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)

Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
 Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Gibson, Kenneth (Cunninghame North) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
 Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
 Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)

Abstentions

Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 87, Against 33, Abstentions 5.

Amendment 32 agreed to.

Amendment 160 moved—[Bob Doris].

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

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
 Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)

Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Choudhury, Foyso (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)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 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)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 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)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
 Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
 Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dowe, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 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)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
 Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
 Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)

Abstentions

Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 80, Against 42, Abstentions 2.

Amendment 160 agreed to.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: At this stage, I propose that we take a 20-minute comfort break. Members should return promptly, just before 18:41.

18:20

Meeting suspended.

18:42

*On resuming—***The Presiding Officer (Alison Johnstone):**

Group 8 is entitled “Provision of approved substance and device”. Amendment 90, in the name of Sue Webber, is grouped with amendments 96 to 98, 208, 210 to 214, 42, 215 to 217, 43, 10, 218 to 220, 99, 11, 100, 12 to 16, 221, 101, 102, 222, 103 to 105, 223, 44, 106, 224, 110, 111, 122, 124, 126 to 128, 70, 130, 131, 134 and 135. I draw members’ attention to the procedural information in relation to those amendments that is set out in the groupings.

Sue Webber: I will speak to amendments 90, 96, 134, 135, 213, 215 to 217, 99, 100, 106, 122 and 124. As members can see, I have quite a few amendments in the group. Together, they are an attempt to clarify several areas of the bill where significant uncertainty remains.

Amendments 90, 96, 134 and 135 are concerned with informed consent, which we have heard a lot about. The amendments would require that a registered medical practitioner clearly explains the risks, side effects and uncertainties that are associated with the substances that are used to end life, including the possibility of complications or of the substance failing to cause death.

Evidence from jurisdictions where assisted dying is in operation shows that those substances can involve large quantities of medication and unpleasant side effects and that anti-nausea drugs are sometimes required simply to keep them down. In a small but significant number of cases, the drugs do not work as intended—in other words, they do not cause death. If the bill is to proceed, it is surely essential that patients are fully informed of those realities.

My amendments 213 and 215 to 217 address the ambiguity around—

Jamie Hepburn: Will the member give way?

Sue Webber: I will. I assume that the member will go back a bit.

Jamie Hepburn: I have some sympathy with the points that have been made with regard to amendment 90, but the note that the Government has shared with us says that there is a challenge around the idea that adequate time would be allowed for a person to consider the decision and ask questions, given that there is no definition of “adequate time” in the bill. We are looking at passing a law here. Is there anything in the bill that would define “adequate time”?

18:45

Sue Webber: The bill is full of ambiguity, and there is not a lot of clarity in much of it. We need to ensure that patients who are perhaps considering an assisted death—which is not something that I would consider—are given the stark reality of what the process entails. I am sure that we will hear about some dignified deaths but not about the unpredictable reality of what administering those life-ending drugs might mean.

My amendments 213 and 215 to 217 address the ambiguity around self-administration. They would make it clear that no physical assistance may be provided at the point at which the substance is taken. Without clarity about that, there is a risk that what is described as assisted dying could in practice move close to clinician-administered euthanasia. The amendments attempt to protect the central claim made by the bill’s sponsor that the final act would be undertaken solely by the individual.

Amendments 99 and 100 deal with what would happen if the approved substance is not used. They would require the immediate securing, return or destruction of the drug, alongside written documentation. Given the potency of the substances, the bill should clearly address the risk of diversion, misuse or unsafe storage. On that point, I was pleased that one of Mr McArthur’s amendments in the previous group was not agreed to.

Amendments 106, 122 and 124 relate to reporting complications, because there will be complications. Provision of lethal medication in the NHS will place us in entirely new territory. If complications occur, particularly where distress or prolonged death is involved, it is vital that that information is recorded, analysed and reported to Parliament so that meaningful oversight is possible. We have to understand that people are individuals and that they all interact with and respond to drugs in unique ways.

Taken together, my amendments in the group highlight the number of practical and clinical questions that remain unresolved in the bill before us.

Ruth Maguire (Cunninghame South) (SNP): Will the member give way?

Sue Webber: I am sorry. I would have taken an intervention if the member had jumped in a wee bit earlier.

I move amendment 90.

The Presiding Officer: I advise the chamber that the Parliamentary Bureau met recently and a motion will be lodged at the end of business tonight to allow the Parliament to sit on Friday to conclude consideration of amendments.

I call the Cabinet Secretary for Health and Social Care to speak to amendment 97 and other amendments in the group.

Neil Gray: I will address my amendments in the group first, and then Liam McArthur's amendment 98. All the amendments relate to legislative competence.

As I have said, the Scottish Government's view is that, in its current form, the bill is outside the legislative competence of the Scottish Parliament. We have engaged with the UK Government to address that. That has resulted in a section 30 order that modifies schedule 5 to the Scotland Act 1998 to allow the Scottish Parliament to legislate on the identification and regulation of substances and devices for use in assisted dying. That order was approved by this Parliament on 4 February and, following the agreement of the Privy Council on 10 March, it has now become law. The Scottish Government lodged amendments 97, 102, 103, 110, 111, 126 to 128, 130 and 131 in consequence of that section 30 order.

Amendment 110 would enable the Scottish ministers to make regulations that identified the substances and devices for use in assisted dying. If Scottish ministers identified devices in those regulations, amendment 97 would enable them to make regulations that would require the use of those devices in specified circumstances. The requirements that would be set by regulations that were made under amendment 97 would be comparable to the existing provision in the bill that an approved substance must be used in assisted death in accordance with the act.

Amendment 111 would make provision for the secretary of state to regulate such substances and devices.

Amendments 102 and 103 would remove from section 15 the existing provision that relates to approval of the substance.

Amendments 126 to 128 would amend section 28 to provide a procedure for the regulations under amendments 97 and 110.

Amendments 130 and 131 would make appropriate amendments to section 29, on interpretation.

It is our view that, without those amendments, as well as the amendments that Mr McArthur lodged to remove provisions that would be dealt with by a section 104 order, the bill would not be within the legislative competence of this Parliament and, if it was agreed to, it might be referred to the Supreme Court or be otherwise legally challenged. The Scottish Government wishes to avoid that outcome—as I am sure all members do—particularly as it would be the

Scottish Government that would bear the costs of such a challenge, and not the Parliament.

Ultimately, it remains for the Parliament to decide whether to agree to the amendments. However, bearing in mind all that I have set out with regard to the bill and the need to bring it within the legislative competence of this Parliament, I strongly urge members to vote in favour of the amendments in my name.

Amendments 98 and 208 relate to section 15(1A) of the bill, which we have previously raised concerns about. From a practical perspective, the section is explicit about a registered pharmacist being the only supply route for the approved substance. As such, it does not reflect all potential supply routes. In particular, specials manufacturers could be another potential supply route.

The current provisions seem not to allow for supply under the supervision of a pharmacist—for example, by a pharmacy technician who prepares, dispenses or assembles a medicinal product. Furthermore, the substances to be used and whether any use would be unlicensed or off-label are still to be determined. It is possible that they could be substances that a pharmacist cannot supply—for example, a schedule 1 controlled drug—which could make that restrictive definition difficult.

In addition, the Scottish Government's view is that section 15(1A) might raise issues of legislative competence, because it could relate to the reservations in section J4 on medicines, medical supplies and poisons of the Scotland Act 1998

Amendment 208 seeks to amend section 15(1A), but the Scottish Government's view is that section 15(1A) needs to be removed from the bill due to the operational issues and legislative competence concerns that I have just detailed. That would be done through amendment 98, on which I have worked with Mr McArthur.

I will turn to other amendments in the group. On amendment 11, I reiterate the concerns that we raised at stage 2. It is likely that requiring a registered nurse to be accompanied would be costly and resource intensive. Furthermore, it might set a precedent of health and care professionals being accompanied when they need to attend to people in their homes to deliver other services, which would have wider resource implications.

Amendment 44 raises several concerns. From a legal perspective, to the extent that provision about the management of cases relates to clinical judgment and handling by medical professionals, the Scottish Government's view is that the amendment might raise issues of legislative

competence in so far as it relates to the regulation of health professionals. From a technical perspective, it is not clear what is meant by the “management of cases” and whether that is a reference to clinical management or to some other form of handling, such as a reporting process. From a delivery perspective, if it is the case that that is a reference to clinical management, it would be unusual to set that out in legislation.

The level of prescription that is proposed in amendment 90 might reduce the flexibility for professional judgment and could have implications for deliverability, including the increased time and resource demands that are associated with assessments. It is also not clear what would constitute “adequate time” for a person to “consider” and “ask questions” on the information that is provided.

It is the Scottish Government’s view that amendment 99 could raise issues of legislative competence, particularly where the substance that was provided was a controlled drug—I note that, at this point, we do not know which substances might be approved. From a delivery perspective, the immediate removal of the substance might not be possible alongside providing necessary patient care.

On amendments 101, 104 and 105, I refer members to my comments on group 5 about the need to remove training provisions from the bill and for that matter to be dealt with by way of a section 104 order, should the bill be agreed to.

It is the Scottish Government’s view that amendment 106 may raise issues of legislative competence relating to the J4 reservation of medicines, medical supplies and poisons in the Scotland Act 1998, in so far as it would require Public Health Scotland to monitor the safety and risks of the approved substance.

There is a lack of clarity around the requirement in amendment 211. It appears to seek to ensure that the assessment is made just before the substance is given and that the person has a face-to-face consultation with the individual. However, it is not clear what a structured review would mean in practice. A medical practitioner would make an assessment using their knowledge of the person and their clinical expertise. Amending the test to be

“on the balance of probabilities”

would not enhance that or provide any additional safeguard and may, indeed, weaken it.

Amendment 212 would have significant cost implications in terms of clinician time. I have already noted our concerns about the deliverability of requirements for nurses to be accompanied. Introducing an independent registered medical

practitioner into the process would further impact on resourcing and the financial implications of provision.

On amendment 213, the Scottish Government notes that, as the approved substance and medical device are not yet known, it may be too prescriptive to prevent a health professional from providing physical assistance to the person. Likewise, amendment 217 may be too prescriptive and stand in the way of clinical judgment, particularly if it meant that a clinician could not intervene should a person be in distress, as they would not be able to touch the medical device.

Amendment 223 seeks to specify who the Scottish ministers would consult ahead of making regulations, as is set out in section 15(9). The regulations in question are those that are provided for in section 15(8), specifying the training, qualifications and experience of authorised health professionals and specifying the approved substance. As I have already set out, those regulation-making powers are being recommended for removal from the bill due to issues with legislative competence, to be replaced, in the case of the approved substance, by amendment 110.

Amendments 12 to 15, 42 and 43 are all necessary technical amendments. On the remaining amendments in the group, the Scottish Government has no comment other than the technical points that are to be found in the commentary.

The Presiding Officer: I call Liam McArthur to speak to amendment 98 and other amendments in the group.

Liam McArthur: Thank you, Presiding Officer. I am conscious of your comments earlier about the need to eat into colleagues’ Fridays. I offer an apology as, again, my contribution on this group will be lengthy, given the number of amendments in it. I will try to be as brief as I can.

In that spirit, I simply acknowledge what the cabinet secretary has said on the amendments relating to the section 30 order. I welcome them and urge members to support them.

I turn to my amendments 98, 42, 43, 101, 104 and 105. Given the competence concerns that the Government had raised about provisions relating to training, qualifications and experience, amendments 101, 104 and 105 seek to remove relevant regulation-making powers from section 15.

As we discussed last night, those matters would be dealt with by way of the section 104 order. I repeat my commitment to ensuring that only health professionals with the appropriate level of professional training, qualification and experience

should participate in any assisted dying service that is authorised through my bill. Due to the competence concerns, the best—indeed, the only legally defensible—way of ensuring the robust provisions that members, quite rightly, wish to see is by allowing the process agreed between the Scottish and UK Governments to be followed.

As we see opposition campaign groups fundraising to bring legal challenges against similar legislation that has already been passed in Jersey and the Isle of Man, it is safe to assume that the same will happen to any bill that is passed by this Parliament. There are enough sensitive and complex issues tied up with legislation of this type without seeking to use it to stress the boundaries of the constitutional settlement.

Again, I pay tribute to both the Scottish and UK Governments. On that basis, I urge members to support amendments 101, 104 and 105.

Amendment 98 would remove section 15(1A), which was inserted at stage 2. That subsection currently provides that

“An approved substance must only be supplied to a coordinating registered medical practitioner or an authorised health professional by a registered pharmacist, in accordance with the directions of the coordinating registered medical practitioner.”

As members will know, the bill does not provide for the use of specific substances to assist a person’s death. If the Government’s amendment 110 is agreed to today, it will provide that the Scottish ministers may, by regulations and with the agreement of the secretary of state,

“identify substances and devices for use in assisting terminally ill adults to voluntarily end their own lives”.

Although we do not know what substance would be approved, it has become clear that section 15(1A), which is explicit, does not—as the cabinet secretary said—reflect all the potential supply routes for substances that may be used, including specials manufacturers. Section 15(1A) would also not allow for supply under the supervision of a pharmacist—for example, by a pharmacy technician preparing, dispensing and assembling a medicinal product.

19:00

It is also possible that the substance or substances could be something that a pharmacist cannot supply—for example, a controlled drug under schedule 1 to the Misuse of Drugs Regulations 2001—which could make that restrictive definition difficult. Further, the Scottish Government has confirmed that, in its view, section 15(1A) would appear

“to relate to the J4 medicines reservation”

of the Scotland Act 1998. Regulation of medicines

includes regulation of the supply chain, and those matters are provided for under the Human Medicines Regulations 2012, powers under which are reserved. As such, the Government is of the view that that subsection

“should be removed from the Bill”

because of both practical and competence issues. Although I am strongly in favour of the role of registered pharmacists as the predominant supply route for approved substances, I accept that subsection (1A) may be unduly restrictive, so I urge members to support amendment 98.

Amendment 42 would insert reference to an “authorised health professional” into section 15(4A) of the bill to provide consistency with section 15(1), recognising that a

“coordinating registered medical practitioner or an authorised health professional may ... provide a terminally ill adult with an approved substance”.

My amendment 43 would remove section 15(4C) due to duplication. New sections 15(3A) and (4A), which were both agreed to at stage 2, duplicate each other, and I consider that, of the two, subsection (3A) is preferable as it is wider, as its states:

“For the avoidance of doubt, nothing in”

section 15 of the bill

“authorises any person to administer an approved substance to the adult on their behalf with the intention of”

causing their death. Amendment 43 would, therefore, remove subsection (4C).

Stephen Kerr: I want to ask Liam McArthur a related question, which arises in the realm of the other amendments. In a situation in which a healthcare professional is present in the home of someone who has approval to take their own life but the process goes wrong in some way, can Liam McArthur say what he would expect the healthcare professional in situ to do? Would he expect them to revive or help the patient or, in effect, euthanise them?

Liam McArthur: I will certainly turn to that in speaking to the amendments that touch on those points—which, if memory serves, are amendments that Stephen Kerr himself has lodged. In answer to his question, though, I would expect the medical professionals to exercise their judgment and use the training that they have to make the patient comfortable. Those are existing and fairly well-established provisions.

I turn to other amendments in the group. Sue Webber’s amendments 90, 96, 100, 106, 124, 134 and 135 relate to the issue of potential side-effects and unintended consequences of using an approved substance. I absolutely support the principle of ensuring that people can make

informed decisions and, in the bill as drafted, discussions about the assisted dying substance would take place as part of standard practice. Section 7 requires the registered medical practitioner to

“explain ... the nature of the substance that might be provided ... (including how it will bring about death)”.

GMC guidance and professional standards already place a duty on doctors to discuss the potential outcome of different options in order to help people make informed decisions. However, amendment 90 as drafted is prescriptive and may unduly interfere with communication between doctors and individuals. I note that the BMA has warned against placing

“the weight of legislation behind”—[*Official Report, House of Commons, Terminally Ill Adults (End of Life) Public Bill Committee*, 28 January 2025; c 42.]

those conversations.

Ms Webber’s amendment 96 would require that such information is recorded in the person’s medical record, while amendment 106 would provide for a report to be produced and published by Public Health Scotland, including information on potential

“complications, adverse reactions or unintended effects”.

However, the bill already requires that the co-ordinating RMP must record complications and adverse reactions in the patient’s medical records and share an anonymised report with Public Health Scotland.

The detail that Sue Webber’s amendment sets out is better suited to clinical protocols than primary legislation, while amendment 106 also raises legislative competence issues. Nor do I support amendment 100, which would remove subsections (7A) and (7B) from the bill.

I worked with Stuart McMillan on lodging amendments 12 to 16, which are technical and arise from changes that were made at stage 2. Sections 15(7A) and (7B) address similar matters relating to complications, adverse reactions and so on arising from the use of an approved substance. Amendments 12 to 16 would remove the narrower subsection (7B), while requiring the co-ordinating doctor or authorised health professional to “ensure that” such information is added to a person’s medical records, and bring subsection (7A) in line with recording requirements provided for under the bill.

The Government has made it clear that those changes will also allow systems to be designed in consultation with Public Health Scotland during implementation, and I am happy to support them on that basis.

As a result of my amendment 98, which would remove section 15(1A), I cannot support Brian Whittle’s amendments 208 to 210, Stephen Kerr’s amendment 222 or Audrey Nicoll’s amendment 224.

Regarding Douglas Ross’s amendment 211, the final in-person assessment of a person’s capacity and intent, as well as the presence of the medical practitioner at the time when the substance is provided, are important safeguards in the bill. Although I am sympathetic to the intention underlying amendment 211, its wording—particularly on structured assessments and the balance of probabilities—is not consistent with that in the rest of the bill. It is therefore preferable that regulations and clinical protocols should address practice in that area, so I cannot support amendment 211.

For many of the same reasons, I do not support Jeremy Balfour’s amendment 212. Protecting vulnerable adults is of the utmost importance. However, the bill already includes clear and strong safeguards to ensure voluntariness and capacity, with two independent medical assessments and specific checks for coercion in referrals to psychiatrists and others if there are any doubts about a person’s capacity. It is important to recognise that that day would be of profound significance to the person and their loved ones, so introducing a new clinician at that time might be unduly disruptive without adding any meaningful safeguard.

On Sue Webber’s amendment 213, I wholly support the requirement that the final act must be done by the dying person. However, as it is drafted, amendment 213 risks creating unintended barriers to the support that the attending clinician is legitimately able to provide, such as stirring the substance or moving a device to improve the patient’s comfort. Guidance developed under section 23 would provide the necessary clarification and details in this area. Amendment 213 is, therefore, unnecessary.

On Brian Whittle’s amendment 214, I am cautious about creating confusion in any of the provisions in section 15 about who can provide and, if necessary, remove the substance and carry out other functions, as set out in that section. Section 15 outlines steps, including confirmation of capacity and voluntariness and proper completion of the necessary paperwork. Those are vital safeguards and should not be delegated to accompanying health professionals, who, unlike the co-ordinating registered medical practitioner or the authorised health professional, would not have undergone the required training. I am therefore not inclined to support the amendment.

Equally, Mr Whittle's amendment 221, the rationale for which I entirely understand, risks adding confusion. Moreover, if my amendment 98, which would remove section 15(1A), were agreed to, amendment 221 would be rendered unnecessary.

Although I consider that their terms are covered in existing provisions, I have no objection to amendments 215 and 216, which provide that the doctor may

"provide information or instructions about the use of the substance or ... medical device"

before they are provided.

However, Ms Webber's amendment 217 is not necessary, as subsection (3A) and other provisions make it clear that the substance must be self-administered and not administered by any other person.

I worked with Jackie Baillie on amendments 10 and 11, which tidy up and improve drafting of the bill.

Brian Whittle's amendments 218 and 219 require that the co-ordinating medical practitioner or authorised health professional must remain in the same room as the patient until they have died. It was agreed at stage 2 that, to balance individual safety and privacy, the medical practitioner would stay in the same room as the person while they take the substance, but then they would have the option of leaving the room but staying on the premises until the person has died. That was included to allow the person and their family privacy should they wish, but to ensure that the attending medical professional is still nearby.

Stephen Kerr's amendment 220 is similar, but it provides that the medical practitioner must stay with the patient until they have died, or until such time as the practitioner has monitored the patient for a clinically appropriate time and is satisfied that

"the adult is no longer at risk of harm from incomplete or failed ingestion"

and that they

"must monitor the adult for signs of distress, complications, or adverse reactions"

and take clinically appropriate steps during that period.

I believe that Mr Whittle and Mr Kerr are attempting to achieve broadly the same thing with their amendments, but, on balance, I feel that Mr Kerr's proposed approach is slightly less restrictive and more proportionate.

I have no objection to amendment 220—although I note the Government's view that it contains a technical error—but I cannot support amendments 218 and 219.

Regarding Miles Briggs's amendment 223, I note that the bill in its current form requires ministers to

"consult such persons as they consider appropriate"

before making regulations regarding the training, qualifications and experience required of authorised health professionals. I have no doubt that ministers would consult the chief medical officer and the chief nursing officer under this process and, as such, I have no issue with the amendment in principle. However, I note the Government's view that reference to training and so on might raise competence concerns; therefore, reluctantly, I cannot support amendment 223.

Amendments 44 and 70, in the name of Bob Doris, would require ministers to make regulations about the management of cases when the person seeking an assisted death has not died within the timeframe that the attending doctor would have expected. As I have noted throughout the bill's passage, and as the Health, Social Care and Sport Committee heard at stage 1, recent international evidence shows that the number of instances in which complications arise is extremely small. In those rare instances, however, the attending health professional would be expected to respond in a manner that is consistent with their skills, training, qualification and experience, and to provide necessary care to that person. That sits alongside the Government's concern that amendment 44 might raise legislative competence issues. Therefore, although I agree that there might be benefit in the development of protocols in this area, and I am confident that they will be developed, I urge Bob Doris not to move—and I urge members not to support—amendments 44 and 70.

Brian Whittle: Amendments 221, 214, 210 and 208 have arisen following concerns from the pharmacy profession. Between stages 2 and 3, I sought feedback on the amendments, which had been narrowly turned down, that were meant to future proof the role of a pharmacist in the NHS as that role evolved. However, the only feedback that I received was that the amendment that was agreed to at stage 2 will need to be removed due to reasons of competence. There has been no conversation about how section 15(1A) could be amended at stage 3 to deal with the competence issue, which has given rise to amendment 208.

It is becoming quite apparent that the Government is putting barriers in place. I am quite disappointed by the lack of interaction from the Government throughout stages 2 and 3.

Kate Forbes: I know that this is a free vote, and I speak on a personal basis rather than on behalf of the Government, but I will push back gently on

the idea that the Government has not engaged on this. The issues that we are talking about are reserved to the UK Government under the Scotland Act 1998. When the bill was introduced, it was not made clear, but the regulation of drugs and employment rights are reserved matters. Therefore, there were elements of the bill that would always be legally incompetent, and that is what we are all trying to grapple with.

I therefore push back gently and say that it is not the Scottish Government that has introduced the bill or determined what is reserved under the Scotland Act 1998.

Brian Whittle: I push back gently to say that the bill has been on the statute books for years. We have been discussing the issue for years. *[Interruption.]* I apologise—it has not been on the statute books; the bill has been in the offing for a long time. Through the Health, Social Care and Sport Committee, we have been desperately trying, through stage 2 and stage 3—

The First Minister (John Swinney): Will Brian Whittle take an intervention?

Brian Whittle: I will do so in a second. We have been trying to get to a place where the bill is competent, only to find out at the last minute that it might not be competent. The pushback and the lack of engagement from the Scottish Government, which I noted at stage 2, is quite disgraceful.

The First Minister: I am grateful to Mr Whittle for giving way. I have not participated intensively in the debate, for obvious reasons, but I cannot have Mr Whittle say what he has said about my Government. The Government has engaged substantively on this agenda. We have made it clear consistently that the provisions on medications and employment rights were outside of legislative competence. That is not a surprise. The Government has been putting that on the table for a long time. I am grateful that Mr McArthur has acknowledged those issues, but he introduced a bill in the Parliament that did not recognise the issues that the Government had put on the record.

I firmly reject the accusation from Mr Whittle that the Government has not engaged. The Government is neutral on the bill, but it has been pointing out for some considerable time that there are issues of legislative competence, and we have sought means of resolving them. That is why there is a section 30 order. It would not have happened without Government engagement on that question. That is why Mr McArthur has brought forward the provisions that will result in a section 104 process, because the matters must be resolved or the bill will be legislatively incompetent.

The Government has a duty to ensure that the statute book is intact and properly formulated, based on the advice that is available to us. That is what has been honestly and openly presented to the Parliament.

19:15

Brian Whittle: Well, First Minister, let me tell you. I know from a number of MSPs and from my colleagues on the Health, Social Care and Sport Committee how much work members have put into the bill and how much work Mr McArthur has put into it, and it is only recently that that information has been made available to us. I am sorry, but I disagree intently. *[Interruption.]* You can protect your Government all you like, First Minister, but that is my opinion on the matter.

The Presiding Officer: Speak through the chair.

Brian Whittle: Liam McArthur wishes to make an intervention.

Liam McArthur: I am slightly reluctant, given the generous comments that the First Minister has made about me, to push back in the way that I am going to push back, but both the Deputy First Minister and the First Minister have now claimed that the bill that was introduced was legislatively incompetent.

Presiding Officer, I am sure that you will testify that there was confirmation from you that the bill that was introduced was competent. At all stages—I acknowledged this at stage 1—there were areas of the bill that, were the Parliament to back the general principles, would need to be picked up with the UK Government to ensure competence; namely, around the use of medicines and medical devices, and also around employment and the regulation of professional bodies. The statements that the Deputy First Minister made were not correct, nor indeed was what the First Minister said.

Stephen Kerr: On a point of order, Presiding Officer. I think that that intervention from Liam McArthur requires that we get some clarity from you, Presiding Officer, about the nature of the bill when it was first presented to the Parliament. Liam McArthur has said that it was the decision of the Presiding Officer that it was a competent bill to be considered by the Parliament. The Scottish Government is saying something different. Matters of competency in bills is a matter for the Presiding Officer.

The Presiding Officer: As Presiding Officer, I am required under the Scotland Act 1998 to take a view on the legislative competence of each and every bill at its introduction. Once that statement is

made, there is no further role for the Presiding Officer in commenting on legislative competence.

Where members have views on a bill, including on whether its provisions or the bill raise issues of legislative competence, they have the opportunity, during the Parliament's consideration of the bill, to make those views known and debate them. However, those matters are not for the Presiding Officer to comment on.

The Scotland Act 1998 provides for further checks after a bill has been passed, and whether a provision of a bill, as agreed by the Parliament, is within the Parliament's legislative competence can only be definitively determined by a court.

Brian Whittle: I welcome Liam McArthur's intervention, and I stand by what I said.

Kate Forbes: Perhaps Brian Whittle would allow me to intervene, purely because I was referenced in Liam McArthur's comments.

There are two points that I would put on the record. First, it is well known across this Parliament—and it has been for many years—that the regulation of drugs and employment rights are reserved issues. That is why there has been extensive debate about whether they should be devolved. That point is fairly obvious to all members.

Secondly, those are not immaterial or insignificant issues to the core bill. The bill cannot exist without those fundamental provisions, which is why the section 30 and section 104 orders have to exist. I again emphasise that the reason why those provisions are being removed in our votes yesterday, today and tomorrow is precisely that they are not competent and within the responsibilities of this Government. That issue should be well known by members across the chamber.

Stephen Kerr: On a point of order, Presiding Officer. This is quite a confusing situation for us. I am sorry—SNP members might not say so—but the First Minister and the Deputy First Minister are saying something very different from what Liam McArthur has said, and something quite different, if I have understood it, from what the Presiding Officer has said.

I therefore seek your guidance, Presiding Officer. At the introduction of the bill, was it your judgment and decision that it was a competent bill to be considered by the Parliament?

The Presiding Officer: Mr Kerr, as I have already said, I am required under the Scotland Act 1998 to take a view on the legislative competence of each bill at its introduction. I did so in this case, and that was my view.

Brian Whittle: As I said, the bill was passed competent at stage 1, which goes against what the First Minister says about the Government having been open and honest in the way in which the bill has been delivered. I stand by my assertion that the Government has been, at best, unhelpful.

The First Minister: This is an incredibly sensitive issue for all members of the Parliament. My Government's reputation is being attacked by Mr Whittle, and some of Mr McArthur's comments fundamentally undermine some of the actions that he has taken on the bill.

It is important that I make the position clear to the Parliament. A section 30 order would not have had to be sought from the United Kingdom Parliament had provisions in the bill not been outside legislative competence—the order just would not have been required. My Government, in good faith, sought a section 30 order to enable the Parliament to pass a legislatively competent bill. We secured agreement with the United Kingdom Government on a section 30 order. Members know how keen I am to get section 30 orders on other subjects, although I have been less successful in securing them.

However, other issues remain outstanding, which is why Mr McArthur moved amendments to remove provisions and put them in a section 104 order, which would be determined by the United Kingdom Government should the bill be passed by the Parliament. The UK Government has said to us that it is the duty of the Scottish Parliament to pass legislatively competent legislation, and it indicated to us that there was a need for a section 30 order, which we agreed to and has been passed by the Parliament. There are also provisions that will end up in a section 104 order, should the Parliament pass the bill, to make the bill legislatively competent.

I cannot allow Mr Whittle's comments to stand without putting on the record what the Government has done, in good faith, to fulfil its duties to ensure that the statute book remains intact and effective and that legislation that is passed by the Scottish Parliament is within legislative competence.

Brian Whittle: I acknowledge the First Minister's assertion. He knows, I hope, that I have the greatest respect for him. I am merely stating that there is quite a lot of anger, given the amount of work that has been put in, that such information could have been brought to us at stage 2 but was not. *[Interruption.]* I will not labour the point. We have heard the discussion, and I am sure that members in the chamber can make up their own minds about whether the Government has been open, honest and helpful.

Stephen Kerr: Will Brian Whittle take an intervention? *[Interruption.]*

The Presiding Officer: Let us hear one another, colleagues.

Stephen Kerr: Is my friend saying that it would have been more helpful to supporters of the bill if the Government had said this at stage 1, when we had a full debate in the chamber?

Kate Forbes: We did.

Neil Gray: We did.

Stephen Kerr: Brian Whittle is saying that the Government did not say that, but the Government is clearly saying—as we can hear from the sedentary comments—that it did.

Brian Whittle: The Government clearly did not say that, otherwise the Presiding Officer would not have said that the bill was competent at stage 1. *[Interruption.]* However—

The Presiding Officer: Let us hear one another, colleagues.

Brian Whittle: Moving on—

The First Minister: You should.

Brian Whittle: Do not make it worse for yourself, First Minister. *[Interruption.]*

The Presiding Officer: We have been debating with great courtesy and respect throughout this debate. Let us continue to do so.

Let us hear Mr Whittle.

Brian Whittle: The bill is not clear on the role of a pharmacist in the process of assisted dying with respect to their scope of practice. That could also risk devaluing the skills of a pharmacist. I asked pharmacists to outline a few of their concerns, and this is what they said:

"Imagine being a pharmacist, present at an assisted death but without the power to act.

Imagine the patient or a family member is anxious and asks you for advice about how the substance should be taken or asks you to confirm that safety checks have been completed, but you aren't enabled by the legislation to support. This devalues your role as a pharmacist and adds a burden, confusion and potential distress to the patient and/or carer as they don't get the immediate reassuring answers they are looking for from you.

Imagine that the doctor or nurse asks you to hand the substance directly to the patient, rather than to them, or asks you to remove the substance at the end of the process, but you can't because you're not enabled by the legislation. Your ability to assist the process is impaired, and your professional skills and experience cannot be effectively utilised, even though these tasks would be well within your competency as a pharmacist.

Imagine that the doctor or nurse asks you to compound or prepare the substance or prepare the medical device whilst you are accompanying them, but the legislation prevents you from doing so. This puts all the burden on the authorised healthcare professional and doesn't allow your skills to be utilised to add capacity to the process.

Imagine as a pharmacist you are in the room and you notice the doctor or nurse has made an error. In the legislation as drafted, it is unclear whether you would be able to intervene, which is a huge ethical dilemma. If this leads to a complaint or adverse incident, you may be directly implicated, even though you have no clear role as described by the legislation."

Amendment 221 would clarify that the role of an authorised healthcare professional could include a "registered pharmacist".

Amendment 214 would clarify that any "accompanying healthcare professional"—an accompanying doctor, nurse or pharmacist—could provide a terminally ill adult with an approved substance or remove the substance from the premises at which it was provided.

Amendment 210 would clarify that the authorised healthcare professional could be "present for the provision" of the substance, but might not necessarily provide it. That would allow the pharmacist's role in the process to be clearly defined.

Amendment 208 seeks to address concerns about employment law that were raised at stage 2 by the Scottish Government in regard to an amendment that was agreed to at that stage. Amendment 208 would address those concerns by broadening section 15(1A) to allow for other supply routes, provided that they are supervised by a registered pharmacist to ensure safety and security.

Amendments 218 and 219 concern the liability of medical professionals in the event that something went wrong. If they were not in the room, they would not immediately be aware of any adverse reaction that occurred. The amendments would ensure that the medical professional who provided the substance remained in the same room as the patient once the approved substance was administered, because a medical professional might recognise that something was wrong before anyone else in the room did.

The Presiding Officer: I call Douglas Ross to speak to amendment 211 and other amendments in the group.

Douglas Ross: Before I get to my amendment 211, I want to speak to other amendments in the group in order to bring myself up to speed on where we have reached in the past 10 or 15 minutes.

We have now debated the bill for 10 hours and 38 minutes at stage 3, and there is a conflict between what we have heard in the past 30 minutes and the rest of the 10-hour, 38-minute debate. On the one hand, the Scottish Government has stated that the bill, as lodged, is incompetent because it requires input from the UK Government, and Liam McArthur, the member in

charge of the bill, has said that the Government was well aware of that from the very beginning.

John Mason: Will the member give way?

Douglas Ross: I will give way to John Mason in a moment.

The Presiding Officer has ruled that the bill was competent at stage 1, and SNP members now say that that is right and to get on with it.

Alasdair Allan: Will the member give way?

Douglas Ross: I will give way in a moment, because Mr Mason wants to come in first.

Just a few moments ago, the Government made it very clear that it does not think that the bill is competent, but the Presiding Officer said that it was competent, which is why it has reached stage 3.

If one of the competency issues relates to the fact that legislation on drugs is reserved to the UK Parliament, I do not believe that, at any point during the bill's consultation, introduction or debate, anyone ever thought that—were it to become law—drugs would not be used as part of the assisted dying process. I am not aware of the member in charge or supporters or opponents of the bill suggesting any other mechanisms that would be used to end someone's life. It has been abundantly clear from day 1, line 1 of the bill, which begs the question of the conflict.

Clare Haughey: Will the member give way?

Douglas Ross: I will give way in a moment. There are other members' interventions that I would like to take first.

There is now a conflict between what the First Minister stood up and said, what our Presiding Officer has told us as the guardian of this Parliament, and the points that were made by the member in charge of the bill.

I will go through the members' interventions as I remember them, starting with John Mason.

John Mason: Does it really matter what happened in the past? Perhaps that is a debate for another time. We have been here for 10 and a half hours and expect to be here until 10 o'clock tonight and 10 o'clock tomorrow night. Does he not agree that we should just get on with the detail of the bill? *[Applause.]*

19:30

Douglas Ross: I am sorry, but I am shocked at that. I am shocked that it has come from a parliamentarian who has been here for some time and has served, like me, in both Parliaments—and I am perhaps more shocked that the comment was applauded by some other members.

We should at no point with any legislation rush things, let alone legislation that is literally a matter of life and death. Therefore, if there are questions about how we have got to this stage, it is legitimate for parliamentarians to raise them and debate them—not for them to be urged to just forget all about it, maybe consider it in the future and get on with things just now.

I will give way to Dr Allan.

Alasdair Allan: I just wonder whether the member is bearing in mind, at the moment, that there are many, many people on both sides of this debate who care deeply about it, who are following these proceedings and who are wondering what the last half hour has been about. Does he not think that, given that some of this, such as the reservation of the regulation of medical professions, was in the Scotland Act 1998, all of this outrage is false outrage? We should get back to talking about amendments, and get back to talking about the bill that people are interested in.

Douglas Ross: First of all, I have been outraged in the chamber many times, and I do not think that my current demeanour is similar to how I was when I was outraged.

Dr Allan is suggesting that people at home will be questioning what the last half hour has been about. It is not just people at home—I am questioning it, too. I have sat through the last half hour and the comments from the First Minister, which I listened to with all sincerity; the comments from our Presiding Officer; and the comments from the member in charge. That has all happened in the last half hour.

That was not what I was intending to speak about, but I was invited to speak about my amendments and other amendments in the group in which this issue has come up, and all that I am getting from members—or former members—of the governing party is "Don't worry about this. Move on." However, I cannot move on if I have concerns, and I believe that people watching at home will have concerns, too.

I give way to Clare Haughey.

Clare Haughey: I thank Mr Ross for taking my intervention—I am not going to take up too much time. I absolutely concur with what Dr Allan has said, but I can assure Mr Ross that these things were discussed at the committee stages and that members were well aware of what is covered by the Scotland Act 1998 and what is not.

Douglas Ross: I understand that the committee convener is very clear about what happened at her committee—indeed, I sat through some of those proceedings—but the person who started this debate is also a member of that committee and

was raising these legitimate concerns, which is why I think we should address them.

Liam McArthur: *[Made a request to intervene.]*

Brian Whittle: *[Made a request to intervene.]*

Douglas Ross: I am trying to take members' interventions in order, but Mr Briggs wished to intervene on this point, so I will give way to him.

Miles Briggs: There is another side to this whole debate, which is that there was no Government minister at stage 2. Ministers might be guiding members both for and against the debate, but the fact that those who lodged amendments previously and, in lodging them again, have found that they are being ruled apparently incompetent, shows that the Government did not provide that commentary at stage 2. It is important that we recognise that ministers have not given that information at stage 2.

Douglas Ross: That is a fair point from Miles Briggs, but it is actually not the point that I am making. That is Miles Briggs's point, and it has been echoed by Brian Whittle.

I want to go back to the earlier point made in the debate, to which I still have not got a response. The Government thinks that this bill is incompetent; the Presiding Officer thinks that it is competent; and Mr McArthur, the member in charge, thinks that the Government was not being fully transparent in some of its earlier interventions, although—and I will give way to Mr McArthur in a moment—he caveated his own remarks by saying that he was worried about saying that, based on what the Deputy First Minister and the First Minister had said.

Mr Whittle wanted to come in.

Brian Whittle: We are complaining that we have been debating this bill for 10 hours, but the fact is that some people in here have been working on it for years. I think that it is absolutely right that we get this matter cleared up, because, having got to this stage, I am quite angry about it. A lot of work has been put into this bill by a lot of people, and we—all of a sudden—discover that it might not be within our competence.

Kevin Stewart (Aberdeen Central) (SNP): On a point of order, Presiding Officer. I feel that you have given an explanation for your reasoning with regard to stage 1 of the bill, and the committee convener has given her view on what happened at stage 2. The Government has said right from the outset that it was neutral on the issue.

We are now discussing wider issues when we are at the amendment stage of stage 3. Surely we should stick to the amendment stage at this moment in time. If there is any discussion to be

had about the issues that Mr Ross is raising, that is a matter for the stage 3 debate next week. Could I have a ruling on that, please?

The Presiding Officer: I would say only, as I have said previously, that when members have a view on a bill, including whether provisions of the bill raise issues of legislative competence, they have the opportunity during the Parliament's consideration of the bill to make those views known and to debate them. That is currently the situation in which we find ourselves.

Please resume, Mr Ross.

Douglas Ross: I am grateful. I will not go too far into what Kevin Stewart was saying, but he said that "Mr Ross" was raising the issues in question. In fact, Mr Whittle started it, and he was followed by the First Minister, the Deputy First Minister, the Presiding Officer and the member in charge of the bill.

As someone who has an amendment in this group, however, I am also interested in the matter. As someone who is very interested in the passage of the bill, I do not want the Parliament—as some other members want it to do—to look back at some point in the future and wonder, "Could we have done this better?" We need to get this right now; we need to be sure that what we are doing is legally competent. Others might disagree with my view, and that is fine, but I believe that, in the course of this evening's proceedings, there has been a direct conflict between what the Scottish Government has said and what the Presiding Officer has said.

If Liam McArthur still wishes to intervene, I will give way to him.

Liam McArthur: If it is helpful to members, I point out that, in my intervention on Mr Whittle, I was seeking to clarify matters in response to the Deputy First Minister's suggestion about the legislative competence aspects of the bill not having been acknowledged at the outset. I have always acknowledged those aspects—that is why I drafted the bill in the way that I did.

The convener of the Health, Social Care and Sport Committee was absolutely right—those issues were debated and discussed through the scrutiny process at stage 2, and amendments were lodged, quite reasonably, by colleagues who wished changes to be made to the bill. Those issues now need to be addressed at stage 3.

As I have already said, the UK Government and the Scottish Government have worked at pace to try to address those issues, through the section 30 order and the section 104 provisions. I understand why colleagues have concerns about section 104 orders and the issues that are captured by them—

we debated those at length yesterday—but that is what the process is about.

Members have an opportunity to vote on the amendments around legislative competence. That is what we did last night, that is what we have been doing this evening, and that is what we should continue to do for the rest of the proceedings.

Douglas Ross: That is what we are doing, but I do not think that we should try to stop debate on those issues.

If some members are clear in their minds that everything is fine, I respect that and accept that they are entitled to hold that position. However, if I, as an individual, having listened to part of the debate, have concerns, it is legitimate for me to raise them. If other members disagree with those concerns, that is fine—I have no problem at all with that. This has been quite a telling moment in our consideration of the bill, and I think that, when we come to the stage 3 debate next Tuesday, the issue will be rehearsed again.

I turn to amendment 211, in my name. It scarcely needs to be stated that the moments immediately prior to the administration of the lethal medication are the single most significant moment in the process and the one that requires the absolute highest level of scrutiny and safeguarding. Amendment 211 seeks to replace the current subjective test, whereby the practitioner merely needs to be “satisfied”, with a requirement for a structured, documented in-person assessment to be carried out immediately before provision of the substance.

Amendment 211 would introduce a clearer, objective legal standard and would provide for the creation of an auditable record, thereby strengthening safeguards against coercion and ensuring that capacity would be properly assessed at the most critical point in the process.

I listened to the member in charge of the bill, Mr McArthur, when he was speaking to his amendments, and I got the impression that he understood the reasoning behind amendment 211 and that, in some ways, he accepted it. However, he urged members not to support my amendment, because the language that I have used in it is not the same as the language that he has used elsewhere in the bill. I simply say to Mr McArthur and those who are following his voting that, if that is the only reason not to have an added safeguard in the bill, I do not think that it is a particularly strong reason.

A bill of this complexity and of such importance could survive if it is passed with wording that is slightly different in some parts from that in others. The main aim of my amendment is to improve safeguarding and guarantees. The fact that my

amendment does not use identical language to other parts of the bill does not rule it out in any way.

I therefore hope that colleagues will understand that, in the seriousness of the circumstances, it is the very least that is required and it is our solemn duty as legislators to ensure that there is the highest possible level of safeguarding in what is literally the critical stage in the process. I hope that Mr McArthur’s reservations can be overcome. For those reasons, I urge members to support amendment 211.

The Presiding Officer: I call Jeremy Balfour to speak to amendment 212 and other amendments in the group.

Jeremy Balfour: Before I address amendment 212, in my name, I note that I, too, have listened with real interest in the past 30 or 40 minutes to the interventions that have been made by different members. I watched the debates on the bill at stage 1 and stage 2 and have followed the bill quite closely, and it seems to me that if it has always been clear that there are sections that are incompetent, which we all understood, it would have been a lot more sensible if the Scottish Government and Liam McArthur had lodged their amendments at stage 2 rather than stage 3, so that they could have been debated by the committee. Mr McArthur had a duty to lodge amendments at stage 2 to provide clarity, although he decided not to.

Kate Forbes: My understanding is that some amendments were introduced at stage 2 that added to the level of legal incompetence. As we vote at stage 3, we all need to have in our minds that, if amendments are agreed to that make the bill incompetent again, those issues will need to be resolved.

Jeremy Balfour: I accept what the Deputy First Minister has said, although I still think that we could have taken quite a lot of the bill apart at stage 2, which may have been an easier way to do it.

Neil Gray: On the section 30 amendments that I have lodged today, Mr Balfour must acknowledge that the discussions in the Privy Council process concluded only yesterday.

Jeremy Balfour: I have made my point and will move on.

I turn to amendment 212 in my name. We have had many debates on different issues around coercion, which, by its very nature, is often invisible. It remains the single biggest danger that is associated with the introduction of assisted dying. Although it cannot be completely eliminated, not least because it will often be internal, my amendment would at least provide an element of mitigation at a critically important stage

of the process by requiring there to be an independent registered medical practitioner who has not been involved in the earlier assessments to observe a patient at the time that the approved substance is provided. I think that that would provide a safety backstop that would give absolute protection, but would still allow the individual to carry on, if he or she wanted to proceed.

The independent practitioner would be required to provide a written assessment that stated that, to the best of their knowledge, the patient was acting voluntarily and without coercion. That would add clarity and would be a qualified safeguard that would replace reliance on the co-ordinating medical practitioner's subjective satisfaction with an independent, auditable check. Whether we are for or against the bill, we all want to protect the most vulnerable in our society. The final assessment would give that reassurance if the bill passes. I hope that the Parliament will vote for my amendment.

The Deputy Presiding Officer (Annabelle Ewing): I call Jackie Baillie to speak to amendment 10 and other amendments in the group.

Jackie Baillie: Amendments 10 and 11 were lodged following constructive dialogue between Liam McArthur, the RCN and me. They are uncontentious, sensible and practical, so I invite the chamber to support them. They would require that, where an authorised health professional is a registered nurse, they be accompanied by the co-ordinating doctor or another authorised health professional who is a doctor for all stages of the process where an individual is provided with assistance. That is to ensure consistency. Members may recall that an amendment was agreed to at stage 2 to ensure that nurses, when acting as authorised health professionals, would not work alone. Amendments 10 and 11 would bring everything into line. I hope that members across the chamber will support them.

19:45

Stephen Kerr: I will not delay in addressing the amendments in the group that are in my name except to say that I find it perplexing that the Parliament's lawyers do not insist that a bill is competent when—*[Interruption.]* A cabinet secretary is saying, "Get over it." That is what a cabinet secretary has to say. I take a few seconds to offer a thought, and I am told to get over it. As parliamentarians, we should all be concerned about the competence of the Scottish Parliament. If members of the Cabinet do not recognise that as an issue, it is perhaps not surprising that the Scottish Government has ended up in the Supreme Court so often over the past few years.

Jamie Hepburn: I intervene to make a simple point. Does Stephen Kerr not recognise that different groups of people can come to different conclusions on issues of legislative competence? Such a situation is not unusual.

Stephen Kerr: From everything that the First Minister said—I am sure that Jamie Hepburn listened to him as carefully as I did—it seems that the issue was crystal clear in his mind. I simply wanted to take a second, which has now become more than a second, to say that I find it surprising that the Parliament's lawyers allow us to spend so much time in consideration of a bill that is now clearly being seen as not competent, although it was when it was introduced.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Mr Kerr, I ask you to resume your seat for a wee second. I understand that the Presiding Officer has already clarified this point: the process is that a view is taken on competence at the time when a bill comes to the Parliament, and, thereafter, the Presiding Officer does not take a view on subsequent stages of the bill.

Stephen Kerr: I completely accept that point, and I accepted it from the Presiding Officer herself when she was in the chair a few moments ago. I just wanted to make this point, although it has become something more now: when the Deputy First Minister said that the bill was even more incompetent after stage 2, that led me to wonder where the legal advice that we in the Scottish Parliament depend on to provide good law is.

I turn to my amendments in the group, which are amendments 220 and 222. Up to now, we have been discussing eligibility, safeguards and assessment.

Neil Gray: Given the commentary that the Government provided at stage 2, we were well aware of the legislative competence issues of the amendments that were passed at that stage, which, as the Deputy First Minister said, took the bill further beyond competence.

Stephen Kerr: I am not attempting to doubt either the Cabinet Secretary for Health and Social Care or the First Minister. My point was about the Parliament's legal advisers. Where are they in this to give us the steer that we need? This is not the first time that this issue has been raised.

Miles Briggs: I thank the cabinet secretary for taking my intervention, because it is on an important aspect. Perhaps he can tell me at what point during the history of the Scottish Parliament a Government minister has not attended stage 2 proceedings.

Stephen Kerr: I think that that was an intervention on me, but I am happy to give way to Neil Gray if he wishes to respond to that.

Neil Gray: This is not my bill. I did not have amendments at stage 2. I did not have commentary to make. It is the responsibility of the member in charge of the bill and members of the committee to manage the bill at stage 2, not my responsibility.

Stephen Kerr: I am happy to give way to Miles Briggs again.

Miles Briggs: It is an important point. I fully respect—and I think that it is important—that the Government is neutral on this bill. However, it is not neutral on the legal competences of the bill, and it should have been advising on those. My colleague Liz Smith's Schools (Residential Outdoor Education) (Scotland) Bill recently passed through Parliament. The Government was, again, neutral on it, but the minister attended at stage 2 in order to guide members on their amendments. With a bill such as this, it is clear that we would at least expect a Government minister to be at committee at stage 2 in order to raise the points that the minister now wants to raise at stage 3 of the process.

Stephen Kerr: I am grateful to Miles Briggs for his intervention.

I will give way to Douglas Ross.

Douglas Ross: I wish simply to reiterate that point with another example. Daniel Johnson recently had a member's bill pass through the Education, Children and Young People Committee. It was a member's bill, so it was not Jenny Gilruth's bill, and she had no amendments to it, which is the exact same scenario that Neil Gray is in with this bill, but Jenny Gilruth came to committee at stage 2.

I therefore reiterate the point. Has it ever happened before that a Government minister has not attended stage 2 proceedings on a bill? It would be interesting if the Government could provide that information tonight or throughout the remaining course of the stage 3 process.

Stephen Kerr: I am grateful to Douglas Ross for posing that question. It is an entirely legitimate question—as, indeed, are all the questions that we have raised in the past 45 minutes or so, as we consider the stage 3 amendments to the bill.

I think that we all agree that this is perhaps the weightiest piece of legislation that the Parliament has considered in its existence. We are talking about matters of life and death. I will turn to the practical reality of how the law might operate at the moment that a life is brought to an end. We are not speaking theoretically now; we are concerning ourselves with what actually happens in real rooms with real people at the most vulnerable moment of their lives.

Amendment 220 addresses what I believe is a serious and potentially dangerous flaw in the bill as drafted. As it stands, a practitioner could leave the room immediately after the ingestion of the approved substance. In other words, at the very moment when a patient's life is ending, medical supervision could be withdrawn. That should give every member pause. By definition, the bill takes Scotland into territory that we have never entered before. I already mentioned the weighty nature of what we are contemplating.

Our medical system has never permitted the administration of lethal medication in this way. The question that we must therefore ask ourselves is quite simple: what happens if something goes wrong? Earlier, I intervened on the member in charge of the bill to ask him that very question, because dying is not always predictable. Sue Webber made that point very well in her contribution to the debate on this group of amendments. Complications and distress can arise. What is expected to be swift can become prolonged or, indeed, terribly frightening. In those circumstances, it cannot be right that the person who is undergoing that process could be left without a trained professional present.

Amendment 220 would therefore require that a suitably qualified professional remain physically present with the patient from the moment that the substance is taken until death occurs or until it is clear that the substance has not been fully used and the person is no longer at risk. That is the point that I feel leaves us in an uncomfortable place, and it has to do with the use of the word "comfortable".

I asked Liam McArthur, as the member in charge, what the bill would expect of a healthcare professional in the situation that I am describing—that is, if the self-administration of the substance did not work and it was clear that things had gone wrong. I would welcome a further intervention from him to answer this point in more detail, because it merits more detail. However, I think that I am quoting Liam McArthur when I say that he said that he would expect them to "make the patient comfortable". I am not entirely clear what those words might mean in that situation. I gave him a couple of options: one is to revive and help the person in a moment of extreme distress, and the other is to enable the completion of the function of the administration of the drug, which would in effect be a form—if not the deed—of euthanasia.

I would be happy to give way to Liam McArthur, because I think that members would welcome—I certainly would—some expansion on what he meant when he spoke about making the patient "comfortable", because that is a crucial issue.

I am grateful that Liam McArthur accepted my amendment 220, but the question that I asked him

during his speech remains unanswered. Therefore, I am willing to give way if he would please enlighten the chamber—and especially me—about what the words “make the patient comfortable” mean in that situation. Will he accept my invitation and make an intervention?

Liam McArthur: I gave Stephen Kerr a response to the question that he asked. There are standard procedures for medics to use their training and experience in the circumstances that they are presented with to make the patient comfortable. That is what would be expected in those circumstances. If there is any further guidance that needs to be adapted as a result of a change in the law, I am sure that that will happen. However, to try to put things in the bill for the circumstances that Stephen Kerr is describing would be inappropriate. I am sure that he would be the first to jump to his feet to claim that that would be the case if we were to do so in any other area of medicine.

Stephen Kerr: I am not—[*Interruption.*] I am surprised by the way in which members are reacting to this serious matter. I am grateful to Liam McArthur for his intervention, but I am still not entirely clear what he means by that. I assume that he means that the medic would intervene to revive, resuscitate or help the person to survive.

Carol Mochan: I worked in the health service for 16 years, and I know that there are other people in the room who have done the same or have family members who have done so. On many occasions, medics will come and speak to us about keeping or making somebody comfortable. In this instance, we must rely on the experience that doctors will have. That kind of information does not need to be in the bill, because we trust medics so often in incredibly complicated situations.

Stephen Kerr: I am not trying to introduce anything to the bill. Instead, I am seeking to understand, and I am simply asking a question about a severe form of moral dilemma that could be created depending on what those words mean. Even after the intervention from Carol Mochan, which I am grateful for, I am still none the wiser. That is another area of the bill in which there is some dubiety about what the application of the law would mean in any given situation. Again, I express my gratitude to Liam McArthur for accepting my amendment 220.

I turn to amendment 222. The amendment addresses a different but equally important issue, which is democratic oversight. Under the bill as it is drafted, the substances that would be used for assisted dying could be approved through ministerial regulation, with the secretary of state ultimately holding a veto through the section 30

order process. I am grateful to Neil Gray for the way in which he has expanded on what that would mean in practice and the role that would be played by the Scottish ministers.

My amendment would require that any approved substance must receive explicit approval from the Parliament. The substance that would be used is not a minor technical detail; it goes to the heart of how the law would operate in practice and it would determine the method by which death would occur and the safeguards that would surround the process. The Parliament is being asked whether to legislate for assisted dying and it should not delegate the most consequential practical decision to secondary legislation of any type. Members should have the opportunity to examine, debate and approve the substance that would be used.

Members across the chamber will approach the legislation from different convictions, and I respect that. However, whatever view we take on the wider principle, these amendments address the practical consequences of the bill. They ensure that there is continuous supervision at the most critical moment and that decisions of such critical gravity remain under the authority and responsibility of this Parliament. When legislation deals with matters of life and death, such safeguards are not excessive; they are the very least that this Parliament should require.

20:00

Stuart McMillan (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP): Amendments 12 to 16, in my name, have been submitted following discussion with Liam McArthur after stage 2, when I proposed amendments on behalf of the Salvation Army. I thank Mr McArthur for his engagement and for working to deliver the amendments.

Amendments 12 to 16 would provide technical improvements to the drafting of section 15 and tidy up aspects of it. I appreciate that Sue Webber's amendment 100 would remove sections 15(7A) and 15(7B), but I ask colleagues to reject that amendment, as my amendments would enhance section 15(7A) and delete section 15(7B), which Sue Webber wants to see happen.

I want to touch briefly on Liam McArthur's amendments 43, 88, 101 and 104. I will not open up what we have been listening to for the past hour and 20 minutes. What I will say, however, is that, fundamentally, the section 104 order process is a legitimate process and, as I touched on yesterday when I spoke about the experience of the Delegated Powers and Law Reform Committee, it has been utilised in Parliament before, in relation to the Moveable Transactions (Scotland) Act 2023 and the Trusts and Succession (Scotland) Act 2024. There were amendments at stage 2 and

stage 3 of those bills but the concerns that we have heard over the past hour and 20 minutes were not raised at those times. The members of the Delegated Powers and Law Reform Committee had unanimous positions on those bills, across parties. Therefore, I am saddened by what we have heard over the past hour and 20 minutes, irrespective of what people will do when it comes to the final vote next Tuesday.

Fundamentally, section 30 and section 104 orders are legitimate Parliamentary processes. I will leave it at that.

Miles Briggs: I note that amendment 103 pre-empted amendments 104 and 105 and my own amendment 223, which I have lodged on behalf of the RCN Scotland, which is neutral on the issue of assisted dying. RCN Scotland's position is that amendment 103 is not necessary because section 15(8) relates to the training requirement for a devolved health service, not the regulation of professionals. The role of registered nurses as authorised health professionals means that, if the bill passes, nursing leadership will be vital for ensuring that appropriate protections and training are put in place. Amendment 223 would require ministers to consult the chief nursing officer, the chief medical officer and others they consider appropriate before laying regulations specifically around training, qualifications and experience that a registered nurse or registered medical practitioner must have in order to take on the role of authorised health professional.

Jamie Hepburn: I should apologise to Miles Briggs, because, in making this intervention on his speech, I am using him as a proxy for the cabinet secretary, because the point that I want to make occurred to me only after I read something in the Government's commentary note that confused me a little.

I have been looking at issues around the section 30 order process and the section 104 order process separately, because I have been reassured about the section 30 order process but not about the section 104 order process. I just noticed that the Government note says that the matters in section 15 can be dealt with as a consequence of the section 30 order, but the matters that you are touching on, Mr Briggs, sound to me as though they would otherwise have been dealt with through the section 104 process, because they relate to training and so on. You may not have a perspective on the issue—I suppose that I am really just raising the issue as much as anything else—but, if you have a perspective, you can give it to me.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Always through the chair.

Miles Briggs: I suppose that the cabinet secretary would probably say what he has been saying and note that the Scottish Government is of the view that this amendment, and many other amendments, may give rise to issues of legislative competence. However, amendment 102, in the name of Neil Gray, would remove the reference in section 15(8) to approved substances, which would mean—I think that this is the point that the member is trying to make—that my amendment would therefore require only consultation on regulations in relation to the training of authorised health professionals, which is an issue that ministers should know is fully devolved to this Parliament, so I do not see why that would be outside the competence of our Parliament.

The Delegated Powers and Law Reform Committee recommended that a statutory requirement to consult with the chief medical officer should be added to the bill, which is why I lodged amendment 223. It does precisely what is needed by requiring consultation with the chief medical officer.

Bob Doris: As we all know, occasionally people do not die as expected from taking a lethal substance. I will not debate how often that happens; I am sure that it is very rare, but it does happen. Ingestion of medication is not a reliable route for some people, especially if they are already ill. People may vomit the medication or fail to absorb a lethal or rapidly lethal amount. The person may then not die, or the process of dying may be more protracted and distressing than expected.

Amendment 44 would require the Scottish Government to produce regulations on how such situations should be managed. I will come to the Government's concerns once I have put this on the record. Although uncommon, that is a scenario of major concern to healthcare professionals, and we cannot wish that away. The role of any clinical professional to intervene in such circumstances where complications arise needs to be made clear. That could be a co-ordinating registered medical practitioner, staff at the location where an assisted dying takes place or the Scottish Ambulance Service, if called to the scene, so the issue goes beyond just the registered medical practitioner. The duties of all such staff in those circumstances need to be clearer. There must be clear regulations, as far as possible, on what must or must not happen in such circumstances. I think that Mr Kerr was trying to get to that point during his commentary.

Such regulations are important in ensuring that the public and families are clear about what a healthcare professional must, can or cannot do in such circumstances.

Jamie Greene: My intervention follows on from the previous discussion and from other amendments about such hypothetical scenarios. I do not have a problem with the quite difficult conversations that we must have about the substance, the method and the ifs and whens when something goes wrong. However, the question that some people are battling with is how much of that needs to be in legislation. We cannot in any way, shape or form account for every medical scenario in primary legislation. However, I hope that we all agree that those things should feature in guidance and regulations and in normal medical practice.

If the conversation drags us to the position where we say that we must account for all and every scenario in the bill before we agree to it, I do not think that that would be appropriate or practical.

Bob Doris: I associate myself with Jamie Greene's comments, which I absolutely agree with, but I note that amendment 44 would not put those details in the bill. It would be a regulation-making power. Amendment 70, which is a consequential amendment, would ensure that such regulation was subject to the affirmative procedure.

For clarity, on the Scottish Government's concerns, it asked what would be meant by "management" in such circumstances—would it be clinical care or other forms of care or wellbeing? The meaning would be much wider, in my view. It would not be an administrative process, as the Government suggested it could be. Other amendments to the bill are about the recording of instances of things that are covered by provisions. I have not defined "management", but it would be management of the individual's wellbeing. I have not defined "management" for exactly the same reasons as the Scottish Government been concerned about legislative competence.

I do not think that amendment 44 will raise issues of legislative competence in relation to the regulation of healthcare professionals, and that is not my intention. I would expect the Scottish Government to consult on and develop the regulations with greater certainty, and not to introduce regulations that also regulate healthcare professionals. If I am clear that we cannot regulate healthcare professionals, and the Government is clear that we cannot regulate healthcare professionals, let us agree to the amendment and bring forward regulations that are competent.

Audrey Nicoll: My amendment 224 is a straightforward amendment that seeks to ensure that, after a patient dies from the lethal drugs injected, the doctor's final statement contains sufficient information on those drugs for insurance

claims, regulatory review and investigations. That will improve transparency, traceability and accountability. From the evidence that was provided at the committee stage on assisted dying abroad, we know that, unfortunately, there are cases of malpractice. In those situations, it is important that police forces and others have that basic information available.

Dr Ramona Coelho serves on the Medical Assistance in Dying Death Review Committee, which works with the province of Ontario's Office of the Chief Coroner to identify and address public safety concerns. She was asked to give evidence to the Scottish Parliament and to reflect on her experience of reviewing the practice of MAID. She advised MSPs that, in Ontario alone, more than 400 violations of MAID have been identified since 2018, and that doctors with many complaints to their names have been allowed to continue in their practice. No matter what members' position is on the workability of the bill, we will all be keen to use all the means at our disposal to make it harder for the same issues to be replicated in Scotland.

The recording of information would also be relevant for identifying trends in complications that are experienced by patients during the process of dying from lethal drugs. Although, unfortunately, there are no studies into the physical experience of patients as they go through assisted dying, we know that there can be a crossover with drugs that are used on death row, which have undergone research. It is suggested that, due to the combination of the drugs that are used and their side effects, prisoners are conscious and possibly aware of pain but unable to communicate. Palliative care experts warn that questions remain unanswered as to whether patients who are dying with the same or similar combinations of drugs under assisted dying in fact feel any painful sensations.

Ruth Maguire: Further to what Audrey Nicoll said about the information that is available on the use of death row drugs, does she share my concern that, according to the Government of Oregon's most recent data, one person took more than 137 hours to die—that is five and a half days—and that more than half of assisted deaths in Oregon in 2023 took between 53 minutes and 137 hours? Does she agree that those facts, and particularly the uncertainties about the pain that patients experience as a result of the drugs or of vomiting while trying to get the drugs down, give a really strong challenge to the notion that all assisted suicides are guaranteed to be quick and painless? That is not a guarantee that we can give to citizens, is it?

Audrey Nicoll: To answer Ruth Maguire's first point, yes, I share her concerns. There is perhaps an issue about public awareness, but there is also

an issue about the lack of research that has been undertaken into the reliability of drugs that are used in assisted dying. For example, a recent article in the *Journal of Law and the Biosciences* set out that point very clearly. I share the member's concerns.

Although amendment 224 would not address all issues relating to complications, it would make the identification of trends in complications more possible. The recording of basic information on what drugs are used is a necessary step in firming up accountability and prioritising patient safety. I therefore urge members to support amendment 224.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: As we are nearing the agreed time limit, under rule 9.8.4A(c), I consider it necessary to allow the debate on this group of amendments to continue beyond the limit in order to avoid the debate being unreasonably curtailed.

Ross Greer: I did not plan to speak on this group, so I promise to be brief. I want to address the debate on competency that has arisen from the approved substance issue. I say this as someone who is still undecided on the bill—I am not trying to swing the debate one way or another.

I am deeply frustrated that we have got to this point and the issues of competence are still so deeply contested. I would love to know how that has happened, but right now I frankly do not really care where fault lies. What is in front of us is a bill and amendments to it—and those should be our only concern.

20:15

I want to emphasise that, through the combination of the section 30 order and amendments 110, 111, 133 and 133A, we could have a bill in front of us on Tuesday that is competent and has safeguards on drugs and poisons, on employment protections, on conscientious objection and on minimum training and qualification requirements for the professionals who are involved. At that point, it will be up to members to decide whether we believe that that would result in a system that is sufficiently safe and operable. The combination of those amendments—I say again that they are amendments 110, 111, 133 and 133A—would resolve the issues of legislative competence and would result in a bill that has safeguards on drugs and poisons, on employment protections, on conscientious objection and on minimum training and qualification requirements.

I would not want the level of confusion in this debate to result in members coming to the debate on Tuesday doubting whether we can have a competent bill. If we vote for those amendments,

we can have a competent bill and then we can make a final decision on the core ethical question that is in front of us.

Keith Brown (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP): It was not my intention to speak at this point, and I have not spoken yet in proceedings, which, after 15 hours, is a bit of a record for me, I would say. However, I want to say a couple of words before we decide on the amendments.

I have genuine concerns about the bill, and I voted against it at stage 1. I recognise that it is a very complex bill—perhaps with the most complex set of votes that we have had in my 19 years in this place. For my part, I was keen to listen to others with perhaps more expertise and with different points of view from my own. In doing so, I also try to take account of what I believe to be the motivation and judgment of those who are proposing amendments. For example, I do not have religious or moral objections to the bill, but I want to know whether members have objections to it on those grounds—I want to understand the motivations behind members' objections.

Similarly, if I see unjustified attacks on the Government or on the Parliament, that can only undermine the view that I form on judgment and motivation when considering the views of those who have lodged amendments. The Government has acted with integrity at all stages, and it should not be attacked for doing so. It is very unfortunate that that has happened, because it leaves people such as me, in the position that I am in, trying to find our way through the amendments with less to rely on as we consider them.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I call Sue Webber to wind up and to press or withdraw amendment 90.

Sue Webber: Group 8 has brought into sharp focus some of the serious competence issues that remain in the bill. I will not dwell on that for too long, as Ross Greer gave a succinct outline of what could be done to resolve that a moment ago. Quite frankly, it has been unsatisfactory for the Parliament to find itself at stage 3 still debating and removing provisions that should have been properly addressed and scrutinised much earlier in the process. Using stage 3 to strip out elements of the bill that should have been addressed earlier is not how careful legislation should be made, particularly on a matter as grave and consequential as this. I can think of no issue that Parliament has debated in this session that carries greater moral weight or demands greater certainty than this. Yet, next Tuesday, MSPs will be asked to approve—

Neil Gray: Will Sue Webber give way?

Sue Webber: Yes, I will.

Neil Gray: I will make the same point to Sue Webber as I made to Mr Balfour: the amendments in my name that we are debating could be lodged only at stage 3 because the agreement that was required with the UK Government was concluded only recently. Indeed, the Privy Council process concluded only yesterday.

Sue Webber: The deadline to lodge amendments was quite some time before that agreement. However, I am simply outlining the complexity of the legislation and its ramifications. I am not doubting what the cabinet secretary has been doing or what other members have said. I am here to sum up—I am trying my best to summarise what the debate has been about in the past two or three hours on this group alone.

I do not think that it is good enough that we are being asked to approve legislation on the basis of a hope that everything will simply fall into place. That is not the best way to make law, is it? It is not good enough, and I personally think that it is wholly unacceptable.

As I said at stage 1—I make no apology for repeating this point—one mistake in legislation is one mistake too many.

Alex Cole-Hamilton (Edinburgh Western) (LD): Does Sue Webber recognise that, with a few honourable exceptions, very few of us in the Parliament are clinicians and that, as other members have said, it would be wholly inappropriate for us to hypothesise regarding all the circumstances relating to the administration and preparation that would be required to end one's life and to legislate for a route in those cases?

Sue Webber: I am quite glad that we are not all clinicians, because I would be upset if we were not out there actually seeing patients, perhaps in a GP surgery or an out-patient clinic, which might make more of an impact on waiting lists. I know that that is perhaps a slight on your remarks, Mr Cole-Hamilton, but we are not all clinicians.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Always speak through the chair.

Sue Webber: I apologise, Presiding Officer.

It is our responsibility to legislate for the most vulnerable—those who are not empowered and who cannot seek out information on substances or the steps that might be best for them in their dire state of health. We are here to make responsible law, for once. As I said at stage 1—I make no apology for repeating it—one mistake in legislation such as this is one mistake too many.

The stark reality of the process of dying has been highlighted. Colleagues across the chamber

have spoken candidly about the difference between the rhetoric of a so-called dignified death and the complex and often unpredictable reality of administering life-ending drugs. Ruth Maguire and Audrey Nicoll presented horrific and harrowing examples. Evidence from other jurisdictions shows that such deaths are not immediate, straightforward and without complication.

I have not been satisfied with what I have heard in response to such concerns. What would a health professional do when they were in someone's home and something went wrong? Would they revive the individual or euthanise them? We have not been given satisfactory answers to such questions.

We have to ask serious questions about the role of the assisting physician. What would happen if things did not go as expected? What would happen if the process failed? What would doctors be permitted or required to do if something went wrong?

Ruth Maguire: I take Alex Cole-Hamilton's point that we are not clinicians and would not spell out clinical practice in the bill. However, I want to share an example that speaks to the complexity of the issue and shows why we need to talk through all these things. In a case in Oregon, a drug failed to kill the patient, and that patient never repeated the attempt. That might suggest that, if the procedure fails, the doctor should try to preserve life. However, someone might want to ask a doctor not to intervene if they were experiencing seizures or vomiting and their life was in the balance.

I am making the point that this is a grey area. I am not saying that the bill will set out clinical practice, but we must acknowledge that this is really complicated and complex—we are not talking about a simple procedure.

Sue Webber: I thank Ruth Maguire for that intervention, because these are not theoretical concerns, as we have heard time and again. There are fundamental questions about responsibility, legality and patient safety.

The fact that so many questions remain unsolved at this late stage should give every member pause for thought. I would like to know whether Mr McArthur agrees with the statement in the medical advisory group's report that the doctor should be present to ensure that the patient dies peacefully, because we have heard about some rather unpeaceful deaths.

There are still too many what-ifs surrounding the bill. If Mr McArthur believes that raising such concerns amounts to hunting for reasons to oppose the bill, he is mistaken. These are legitimate and necessary questions that must be answered, given that we are dealing with a bill that

would fundamentally change the role of the state, the medical profession and our approach to end of life.

For me, the uncertainties remain far too great, the safeguards remain far too unclear and the consequences remain far too profound. I urge colleagues across the chamber to think carefully as they vote on the amendments in this group.

I press amendment 90.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 90 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

The vote is closed.

The Cabinet Secretary for Housing (Màiri McAllan): On a point of order, Presiding Officer. I could not vote. I would have noted no.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Thank you, Ms McAllan. Normally, when a member appears remotely, we would expect their camera to be on. Maybe that should be borne in mind. Your vote will be recorded.

Graeme Dey: On a point of order, Presiding Officer. My app is not working. I would have voted no.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Thank you, Mr Dey. Your vote will be recorded.

The Cabinet Secretary for Finance and Local Government (Shona Robison): On a point of order, Presiding Officer. I could not connect. I would have voted no.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Thank you, Ms Robison. Your vote will be recorded.

For

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
Choudhury, Foyso (Lothian) (Ind)
Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
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)
Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)

Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
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)
Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)

MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
 McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
 Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
 Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Abstentions

Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 53, Against 67, Abstentions 3.

Amendment 90 disagreed to.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I remind members that, if amendment 161 is agreed to, I will be unable to call amendment 162 due to pre-emption.

Amendment 161 moved—[Stephen Kerr].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 161 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Choudhury, Foyso (Lothian) (Ind)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 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)
 Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
 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)
 Dorman, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 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)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (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)
 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)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (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)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Abstentions

Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 49, Against 72, Abstentions 1.

Amendment 161 disagreed to.

Amendment 162 moved—[Bob Doris].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 162 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)
 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)
 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)
 Dowe, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 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)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 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)
 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)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 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)
 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)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)

Abstentions

Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 118, Against 3, Abstentions 3.

Amendment 162 agreed to.

Amendment 163 moved—[Stephen Kerr].

20:30

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 163 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 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)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (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)
 Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
 Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
 Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (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)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 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)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (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, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (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)
 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, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (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)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Abstentions

Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 48, Against 74, Abstentions 2.

Amendment 163 disagreed to.

Amendment 7 moved—[Jackie Baillie].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 7 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division

For

Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
 Choudhury, Foyso (Lothian) (Ind)
 Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
 Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 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)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dowe, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West 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)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 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)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 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)
 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)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (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)
 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)
 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)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Abstentions

Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 19, Against 100, Abstentions 5.

Amendment 7 disagreed to.

Amendment 33 moved—[Bob Doris].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 33 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)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 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)
 Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
 Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
 Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 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)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)

Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (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)
 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)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dowe, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
 Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Abstentions

Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 70, Against 52, Abstentions 3.

Amendment 33 agreed to.

Amendment 164 moved—[Jackie Baillie].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 164 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)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
 Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
 Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
 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)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dowe, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (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)
 Mochan, Carol (South 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)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
 Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
 Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
 Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 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)

Against

Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
 Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (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)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)

Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Abstentions

Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 67, Against 53, Abstentions 3.

Amendment 164 agreed to.

Amendment 165 moved—[Bob Doris].

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)
 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)
 Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 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)
 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)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 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)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)
 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)
 Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)

Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)

Abstentions

Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 102, Against 19, Abstentions 3.

Amendment 165 agreed to.

Amendment 166 moved—[Bob Doris].

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

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (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)
 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)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)

Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (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)
 McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (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)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
 Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
 Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)

McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
 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)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Abstentions

Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 73, Against 44, Abstentions 5.

Amendment 166 agreed to.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I call amendment 167—

Clare Adamson (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP): On a point of order, Presiding Officer. This relates to the vote on amendment 166. I am logged in to the system and it says “chat disabled”. I was therefore unable to make a point of order during the previous vote. Could somebody please explain to me why that happened and what I can do if it happens again?

The Deputy Presiding Officer : We will arrange for somebody to contact you to speak to you about that. However, the previous division has been recorded and it will not be changed.

Amendment 167 moved—[Bob Doris].

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.

The vote is closed.

Natalie Don-Innes (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP): On a point of order, Presiding Officer. My app would not connect. I would have voted yes.

The Deputy Presiding Officer : Thank you, Ms Don-Innes. Your vote will be recorded.

Edward Mountain (Highlands and Islands) (Con): On a point of order, Presiding Officer. Unfortunately, I pressed the wrong button. I voted

no when I should have abstained. I know that I cannot change my vote, but I would like to put that on the record.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: That is on the record, but the vote, including the way that the member voted, has already been recorded.

For

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 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)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
 Choudhury, Foyso (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)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (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)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (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)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South 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)
 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)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
 Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Abstentions

Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the vote is: For 75, Against 44, Abstentions 4.

Amendment 167 agreed to.

Amendment 168 moved—[Bob Doris].

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

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (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)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
 Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
 Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
 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)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (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)
 McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 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)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 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)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
 Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
 Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Vallalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Abstentions

Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 68, Against 51, Abstentions 4.

Amendment 168 agreed to.

Amendment 169 moved—[Miles Briggs].

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. Members should cast their votes now.

For

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
 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)
 Choudhury, Foyso (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)
 Dowe, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 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)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (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, 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)
 McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 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)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (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)
 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)

Against

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)

Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Abstentions

Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the vote is: For 85, Against 36, Abstentions 4.

Amendment 169 agreed to.

Amendment 170 moved—[Miles Briggs].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 170 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 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)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
 Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)

Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 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)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (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)
 Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (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)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
 McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)

Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
 Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
 Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)

Abstentions

Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 59, Against 65, Abstentions 1.

Amendment 170 disagreed to.

Amendment 171 moved—[Fulton MacGregor].

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

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 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)
 Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Choudhury, Foyso (Lothian) (Ind)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)

Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
 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)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
 Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
 Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
 Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
 Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Dorman, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)

Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
 Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
 Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
 Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
 Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)

Abstentions

Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 73, Against 50, Abstentions 2.

Amendment 171 agreed to.

20:45

Amendment 172 moved—[Paul O’Kane].

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

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 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)
 Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dowe, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)

Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O’Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
 Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
 Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
 Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
 Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
 Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
 Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Gosal, Pam (West 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)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)

Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
 McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
 Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
 Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (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)
 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)

Abstentions

Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 46, Against 74, Abstentions 2.

Amendment 172 disagreed to.

Amendment 173 moved—[Audrey Nicoll].

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

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 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)
 Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
 Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Choudhury, Foyso (Lothian) (Ind)
 Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)

Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Vialba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
 Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
 Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
 Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)

Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
 Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 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)

Abstentions

Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 71, Against 50, Abstentions 2.

Amendment 173 agreed to.

After section 7

Amendment 8 moved—[Jackie Baillie].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 8 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
 Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)

Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
 Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
 Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 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)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dowe, 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Gosal, Pam (West 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)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 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)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 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)
 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)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (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)
 Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 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)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Abstentions

Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 O’Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 17, Against 101, Abstentions 4.

Amendment 8 disagreed to.

Amendment 174 moved—[Brian Whittle].

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

Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)

Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
 Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 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)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 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)
 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)
 Dowe, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Gosal, Pam (West 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)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 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, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 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)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (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)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Abstentions

Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 18, Against 102, Abstentions 2.

Amendment 174 disagreed to.

Section 8—Medical practitioners' statements

Amendment 34 moved—[Brian Whittle].

Amendment 34A moved—[Brian Whittle]—and agreed to.

Amendment 34, as amended, agreed to.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I call amendment 175, in the name of Paul O'Kane,

already debated with amendment 144. I remind members that if amendment 175 is agreed to, I cannot call amendment 35 due to pre-emption.

Amendment 175 moved—[Paul O'Kane].

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

Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
 Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 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)
 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)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Gosal, Pam (West 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)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (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)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
 Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
 Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
 Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 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)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (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)
 Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Abstentions

Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 36, Against 85, Abstentions 2.

Amendment 175 disagreed to.

Amendment 35 moved—[Bob Doris].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 35 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
 Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
 Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
 Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
 Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 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)
 Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
 Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (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)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)

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)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
 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

Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 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)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
 Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
 Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
 Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)

Abstentions

Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 69, Against 46, Abstentions 8.

Amendment 35 agreed to.

Amendment 176 moved—[Alasdair Allan].

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.

The vote is closed.

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

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Thank you, Ms McAllan. Your vote will be recorded.

For

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 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)
 Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
 Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
 Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)

Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 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)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (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)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)

Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
 Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)

Abstentions

Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 81, Against 43, Abstentions 1.

Amendment 176 agreed to.

Amendment 177 moved—[Jeremy Balfour].

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

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 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)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dowe, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)

Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (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)
 Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
 Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)

Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
 McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South 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)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (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)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Abstentions

Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 65, Against 58, Abstentions 1.

Amendment 177 agreed to.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I remind members that if amendment 178 is agreed to, I cannot call amendment 36, due to pre-emption.

Amendment 178 moved—[Paul O'Kane].

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

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
 Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)

Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
 Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (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)
 Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
 Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (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)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West 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)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)

Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
 McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
 Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
 Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
 Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 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)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (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)
 Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Abstentions

Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 35, Against 88, Abstentions 1.

Amendment 178 disagreed to.

Amendment 36 moved—[Bob Doris].

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)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (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)
 Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)

Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
 Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
 Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
 Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
 Choudhury, Foyso (Lothian) (Ind)
 Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
 Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 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)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 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)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)

Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Abstentions

Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 73, Against 43, Abstentions 6.

Amendment 36 agreed to.

21:00

Amendment 179 moved—[Alasdair Allan].

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

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
 Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
 Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
 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)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 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)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (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)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
 Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (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)

Abstentions

Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 83, Against 40, Abstentions 1.

Amendment 179 agreed to.

Amendment 180 moved—[Jeremy Balfour].

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

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 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)
 Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Choudhury, Foyso (Lothian) (Ind)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)

Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (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)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
 Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
 Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
 McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South 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)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (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)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Abstentions

Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 67, Against 57, Abstentions 1.

Amendment 180 agreed to.

Amendment 181 moved—[Michael Marra].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 181 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Choudhury, Foyso (Lothian) (Ind)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

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)
 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)
 Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
 Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
 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)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)

Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 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)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 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, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (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)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
 Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
 Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
 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)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)

Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Abstentions

Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 25, Against 97, Abstentions 2.

Amendment 181 disagreed to.

Amendment 182 not moved.

Amendment 9 moved—[Daniel Johnson].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 9 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)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
 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)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
 Choudhury, Foyso (Lothian) (Ind)
 Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
 Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Lennon, Monica (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)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)

Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
 Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
 Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (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)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West 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)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)

Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Abstentions

Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 64, Against 54, Abstentions 6.

Amendment 9 agreed to.

Amendment 183 moved—[Daniel Johnson].

Amendment 183A moved—[Daniel Johnson].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 183A 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)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
 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)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
 Choudhury, Foyso (Lothian) (Ind)
 Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
 Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 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)
 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)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
 Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
 Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dowe, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)

Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
 Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Abstentions

Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 70, Against 51, Abstentions 1.

Amendment 183A agreed to.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: I call Daniel Johnson to press or withdraw amendment 183, as amended.

Daniel Johnson: I press amendment 183.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 183, as amended, 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)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
 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)
 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)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dowe, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 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)
 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)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 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)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
 Torrance, David (Kirkcaldy) (SNP)
 Tweed, Evelyn (Stirling) (SNP)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Dorman, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)

Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Todd, Maree (Caithness, Sutherland and Ross) (SNP)
 Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Abstentions

Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 72, Against 51, Abstentions 2.

Amendment 183, as amended, agreed to.

Amendment 184 moved—[Edward Mountain].

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

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
 Choudhury, Foyso (Lothian) (Ind)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Dowe, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)

Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
 Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (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)
 Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
 Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
 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)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 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)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)

Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (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)
 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)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (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)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Abstentions

Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 50, Against 71, Abstentions 2.

Amendment 184 disagreed to.

Amendment 185 moved—[Daniel Johnson].

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

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
 Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
 Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)

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)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 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)
 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)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 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)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Against

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)

Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
 Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
 Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
 Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Abstentions

Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 75, Against 47, Abstentions 2.

Amendment 185 agreed to.

After section 8

Amendment 37 moved—[Bob Doris]—and agreed to.

Amendment 186 moved—[Stephen Kerr].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 186 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 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)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (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)
 Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
 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)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)

Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (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, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
 McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South 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)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (SNP)
 Stewart, Alexander (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 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)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)

Abstentions

Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 50, Against 69, Abstentions 3.

Amendment 186 disagreed to.

Section 10—Request for assistance: second declaration

Amendment 187 not moved.

Amendment 91 moved—[Sue Webber].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 91 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 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)

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)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 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)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kerr, Liam (North East 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)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
 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)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
 Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
 Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (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)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Abstentions

Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 47, Against 75, Abstentions 2.

Amendment 91 disagreed to.

Amendment 92 moved—[Sue Webber].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 92 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Choudhury, Foyso (Lothian) (Ind)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Eagle, Tim (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Mason, John (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind)
 McCall, Roz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 Smith, Liz (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Stevenson, Collette (East Kilbride) (SNP)
 Webber, Sue (Lothian) (Con)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)
 White, Tess (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 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)
 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)
 Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (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, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
 Matheson, Michael (Falkirk West) (SNP)
 McAllan, Màiri (Clydesdale) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McKee, Ivan (Glasgow Provan) (SNP)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
 Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
 Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Somerville, Shirley-Anne (Dunfermline) (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)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
 Whittle, Brian (South Scotland) (Con)

Abstentions

Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 46, Against 76, Abstentions 2.

Amendment 92 disagreed to.

21:15

Amendment 93 moved—[Ruth Maguire].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 93 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

For

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Baker, Claire (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Boyack, Sarah (Lothian) (Lab)
 Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
 Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 Choudhury, Foyso (Lothian) (Ind)
 Clark, Katy (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 McMillan, Stuart (Greenock and Inverclyde) (SNP)
 McNair, Marie (Clydebank and Milngavie) (SNP)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)

Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 Thomson, Michelle (Falkirk East) (SNP)
 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)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (SNP)
 Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
 Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
 Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
 Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East Scotland) (Green)
 Coffey, Willie (Kilmarnock and Irvine Valley) (SNP)
 Cole-Hamilton, Alex (Edinburgh Western) (LD)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 McLennan, Paul (East Lothian) (SNP)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
 Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)

Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (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)

Abstentions

Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 74, Against 50, Abstentions 1.

Amendment 93 agreed to.

Amendment 188 moved—[Alasdair Allan].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 188 be agreed to. Are we agreed?

Members: No.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: There will be a division.

The vote is closed.

The Cabinet Secretary for Climate Action and Energy (Gillian Martin): On a point of order, Deputy Presiding Officer. My app is not connecting. I would have voted yes.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: Thank you, Ms Martin. Your vote will be recorded.

For

Adamson, Clare (Motherwell and Wishaw) (SNP)
 Allan, Alasdair (Na h-Eileanan an Iar) (SNP)
 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)
 Brown, Keith (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP)
 Brown, Siobhian (Ayr) (SNP)
 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)
 Constance, Angela (Almond Valley) (SNP)
 Don-Innes, Natalie (Renfrewshire North and West) (SNP)
 Doris, Bob (Glasgow Maryhill and Springburn) (SNP)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)

Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Leonard, Richard (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lumsden, Douglas (North East Scotland) (Con)
 MacGregor, Fulton (Coatbridge and Chryston) (SNP)
 Macpherson, Ben (Edinburgh Northern and Leith) (SNP)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 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)
 Sturgeon, Nicola (Glasgow Southside) (SNP)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (SNP)
 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)
 Wishart, Beatrice (Shetland Islands) (LD)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Against

Adam, George (Paisley) (SNP)
 Adam, Karen (Banffshire and Buchan Coast) (SNP)
 Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Beattie, Colin (Midlothian North and Musselburgh) (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)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Dornan, James (Glasgow Cathcart) (SNP)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)

Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Lochhead, Richard (Moray) (SNP)
 MacDonald, Gordon (Edinburgh Pentlands) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Mackay, Rona (Strathkelvin and Bearsden) (SNP)
 McArthur, Liam (Orkney Islands) (LD)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Rennie, Willie (North East Fife) (LD)
 Robertson, Angus (Edinburgh Central) (SNP)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 Stewart, Kaukab (Glasgow Kelvin) (SNP)
 Stewart, Kevin (Aberdeen Central) (SNP)
 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)

Abstentions

Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 84, Against 40, Abstentions 1.

Amendment 188 agreed to.

Section 11—Cancellation of declarations

Amendment 38 moved—[Bob Doris].

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment 38 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)
 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)
 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)
 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)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grahame, Christine (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 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)
 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)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (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)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
 Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
 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)
 Sweeney, Paul (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)
 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

Choudhury, Foysol (Lothian) (Ind)
 Dey, Graeme (Angus South) (SNP)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Mackay, Gillian (Central Scotland) (Green)
 Martin, Gillian (Aberdeenshire East) (SNP)
 Regan, Ash (Edinburgh Eastern) (Ind)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)

Abstentions

Arthur, Tom (Renfrewshire South) (SNP)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)

The Deputy Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 111, Against 9, Abstentions 3.

Amendment 38 agreed to.

Amendment 189 not moved.

The Deputy Presiding Officer: We will have a brief suspension.

21:20

Meeting suspended.

21:25

On resuming—

The Presiding Officer (Alison Johnstone): Thank you, colleagues. I advise members that as there is insufficient time to finish the debate on the next group this evening, and as there are still a number of procedural items that we must conclude today, we will conclude amendment proceedings for this evening. We will resume those proceedings tomorrow, and we will move on to our next item of business.

Business Motions

21:25

The Presiding Officer (Alison Johnstone):

The next item of business is consideration of business motion S6M-21077, in the name of Graeme Dey, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau, setting out a business programme.

Motion moved,

That the Parliament agrees—

(a) the following programme of business—

Friday 13 March 2026

9.30 am Parliamentary Bureau Motions

9.30 am Stage 3 Proceedings: Assisted Dying for Terminally Ill Adults (Scotland) Bill

followed by Business Motions

followed by Parliamentary Bureau Motions

5.00 pm Decision Time

(b) that, for the purposes of consideration of the Assisted Dying for Terminally Ill Adults (Scotland) Bill, on 13 March 2026, Rule 2.2.3 of Standing Orders be varied to replace "09:30 and 12:30" with "from 09:30".—[*Graeme Dey*]

The Presiding Officer: I call Jeremy Balfour.

21:26

Jeremy Balfour (Lothian) (Ind): I rise to challenge the motion and to question whether this is the right way forward for the Parliament. I understand where we are and the issues that we have with timescales. However, as I said on a previous occasion, although the Parliament may genuinely seek to be a Parliament that wants those who have caring responsibilities or who need carers to be involved in proceedings, changing the timetable at this time of the week makes it very difficult for some individuals. I know that there are members who will not be able to be here on Friday because they have caring responsibilities or because they need carers.

I ask the bureau why, when it was looking at the timescales, it factored in a Friday morning? There are a number of us—in fact, I think that there are nine of us now—who are not part of the bureau discussions and who have had no input on the decision.

I look to the next parliamentary session and think that people will be looking at the situation and saying, "If this is going to happen, how will I cope, given my caring responsibilities?"

John Mason (Glasgow Shettleston) (Ind): I largely agree with what Jeremy Balfour is saying, but we are where we are. Does he have a

suggestion of when would be a better time for us to meet?

Jeremy Balfour: I appreciate that we have to meet, but notice is the key factor. Moving business to Monday would have given people more time to get the appropriate care in place. To expect people who have caring responsibilities or those who care for them—

Ross Greer (West Scotland) (Green): Will the member give way?

Jeremy Balfour: I will finish this point, and then I will give way.

People need notice, because many people cannot change their arrangements at the drop of a hat. I am not sure that those who do not have those responsibilities fully understand where we are on that.

Ross Greer: I have real sympathy with the argument that Jeremy Balfour lays out. Frankly, it was obvious at the start of the week that this was going to happen, and a decision should have been made earlier. However, if we move stage 3 proceedings to Monday, I do not believe that members will have sufficient time to consider the bill as amended before we debate it in its final form on Tuesday. I would certainly like more than just one night to consider the significant changes that are being made to the bill at this stage before we have that final debate.

Jeremy Balfour: I absolutely agree with Ross Greer. If we were to move stage 3 proceedings to Monday, we have the Tuesday the week after, when we are due to finish at 5 o'clock. That would give us seven days to consider the bill in its final form, and would allow those have caring responsibilities to have that notice. If we do not do that, we will exclude members who otherwise would want to be in the chamber on Friday. That is not an open Parliament, and I think that there are real concerns about the policy.

Graham Simpson (Central Scotland) (Reform): Does Jeremy Balfour agree that attendance is bound to be down on Friday, which makes a mockery of the whole process of what is a very important bill? Does he agree that that would be a bit of an insult to the member in charge, who, as he told us earlier, has spent four and a half years on the bill?

Jeremy Balfour: I cannot comment on what the attendance will or will not be. All I know is that there will be people who want to be here but cannot be here, because they either have a caring responsibility or need a carer to help them, and they will be excluded. That does not seem to me to be a democratically open way to go about things.

Kevin Stewart (Aberdeen Central) (SNP): I understand what Mr Balfour is saying, but the reality is quite simply that there is no ideal time for some of us who have to travel further distances. That is difficult as it is, and rearranging things again and again is not easy, either.

I recognise that the issue presents Parliament with a dilemma, but we have a job to do here. There is the ability to attend virtually, which was not there before, whether folk like doing so or not, and there is also the ability, in circumstances where folk cannot change their caring responsibilities and cannot participate virtually, to use proxy votes. I recognise the dilemma, but we have a job to do.

Jeremy Balfour: I do not want to labour the point at half past 9, but I will respond to Mr Stewart by saying that there is a difference between someone having to travel a distance and someone being physically unable to get here because of their caring responsibilities. That is a fundamental difference.

I appreciate that there is no ideal solution to this, but I gently ask the Parliamentary Bureau whether stage 3 proceedings could happen on Monday instead of Friday, which would allow everyone to take part in the debate who wants to take part in it.

The Presiding Officer: You must wind up, Mr Balfour.

Jeremy Balfour: I say to Mr Stewart that, yes, we have a job to do, but the trouble is that, if we decide tonight to deal with that business on Friday, we will prevent people from being able to do their jobs, and that is a really dangerous position for us to be in.

21:32

Jackie Baillie (Dumbarton) (Lab): These are, of course, serious and substantial issues that we are being asked to consider. In my view, this is the most consequential member's bill of the session—indeed, it is probably the most consequential bill since Parliament was established.

I acknowledge that timetabling has been difficult. We have consistently underestimated the amount of time that has been required. I appreciate all of that, but the process feels slightly chaotic and I do not think that it shows the Parliament in a terribly good light. I know that the Government's legislative programme has been full, but it feels as if it is being rushed through and squeezed into the final few weeks of the session, and I do not think that that is a sensible way for us to legislate.

I appreciate that people have caring responsibilities. I also appreciate that many of us,

particularly constituency members but also list MSPs, consider Fridays to be protected days for constituency work. Members already have plans, including surgeries and meetings with constituents and external organisations, and cancelling them at short notice causes difficulties.

However, I am also told that there is a strong possibility that we may be required to meet next Friday in order to deal with other legislation. I am worried that, in our dash to get to the end of the legislative programme in this parliamentary session, we will squeeze everything in and not consider it properly.

I absolutely accept the need to get through the amendments to the bill, but I ask that the Parliamentary Bureau consider its decision again. I am conscious that some committees have concluded their business and are no longer meeting, so it may be that some mornings might be available when members would be on the parliamentary estate anyway. Similarly, it may be that there are some slots when we could meet in the evening.

However, for all sorts of sensible legislative reasons, never mind being inclusive in the Parliament, I ask the Parliamentary Bureau to consider withdrawing its motion and looking at it again overnight. If there is no alternative but Friday, I think that members would more readily accept that. I am asking the Parliamentary Bureau to be flexible and to explore opportunities.

Edward Mountain (Highlands and Islands) (Con): This is a difficult problem for the Parliamentary Bureau to wrestle with. I will not be clever and try to suggest all sorts of answers. However, one thing that is clear to me from my short time—10 years—in the Parliament is that, when we sit late towards midnight, we tend not to give legislation the due care and attention that we should be giving it. Does Jackie Baillie agree that, although Friday might not be the perfect solution, nor is sitting until 12 o'clock at night?

Jackie Baillie: I agree, but I have not suggested that we do that. There are some evenings when we are not sitting until 10 o'clock that are part of the normal parliamentary timetable. There are also mornings when committees are not meeting, and there is perhaps an opportunity to use those slots. All that I am asking for is that the bureau looks at this again and is flexible, in the interests of not only members but good legislation.

21:36

Douglas Ross (Highlands and Islands) (Con): I understand and respect the points made by Jeremy Balfour and others. I want to make a few points myself.

First, in some of the interventions on Mr Balfour, members said that there is no alternative. There may be no alternative now, but there was a big alternative. Liam McArthur never hid that he was introducing this bill. We have known about it for years. At some point, the Government or the Parliament will have to reflect on the fact that we have left such an emotive and important bill to our final weeks in this session. We cannot get away from that.

The reason why I requested to speak is that, right now, we are considering a motion to sit for an additional day when we have not even reached the time limit within which we were supposed to debate the Assisted Dying for Terminally Ill Adults (Scotland) Bill tonight. That is what I am troubled with. Group 9 had only six amendments in it. Although we will have to sit for further days than scheduled, we should use the maximum time that is allocated on the days when we are due to speak about the bill. I am seriously concerned that, if we agree to the business motion today, we will have further scenarios in which we will stop early, which I do not think is acceptable.

I was more than willing and prepared to debate amendments to the bill until 10 o'clock and then get into the further procedures that we have to do today. I am unsure who took the decision, or why it was taken, not to start group 9, because I believe that it could have been finished. If it could not, we could have followed up to the amendments that had been debated and then restarted tomorrow. If we are not even going to be flexible around those issues, we might not even complete the business on the additional day on Friday.

Ross Greer: Mr Ross said that we were due to debate the bill until 10 o'clock this evening. My understanding is that an hour had already been allocated for multiple Scottish statutory instruments. That was always part of the planned business this evening.

Douglas Ross: I do not have the business bulletin in front of me, but my understanding is that that was to take place after we reached the 10 o'clock deadline for decision time; that is, that we should start those SSIs at 10 o'clock.

We have taken up a large amount of that time discussing this, but we stopped the debate on amendments on the bill before half past 9. That could have been an extra 30 or 40 minutes, within which I believe that we could have got through group 9. We would certainly have made progress, and I would like that to be considered. I do not know whether the minister can say anything.

Finally, I will respond to the point that Jackie Baillie made about committee meetings. I say this as a committee member, not as a committee convener, because I cannot speak on behalf of the

committee—although I try to sometimes. We have scheduled meetings over the next two weeks; we have invited witnesses, and witnesses have agreed to come.

It would have to be a case of no committees at all, but I know that my education committee and Edward Mountain's net zero committee have scheduled sessions, and I do not think that they can be cancelled at this stage, despite the heavy pressures on us to get legislation through.

21:39

Keith Brown (Clackmannanshire and Dunblane) (SNP): Rather than talk about the Parliamentary Bureau and the Government, every single one of us needs to look at ourselves with regard to what we might have done to cause this situation in the first place.

Meeting on Friday, for the reasons that Jeremy Balfour and others have said, would be difficult, but a defining aspect of the job that we were elected to do is to legislate. If that is the day that it must be, then it must be that day.

Jeremy Balfour: Will the member take an intervention?

Keith Brown: I will just finish the point that I want to make. Friday is the 30th anniversary of the Dunblane tragedy, which is in my constituency. It is odd, of course, that we would be having a debate on assisted dying at that time. Rather than what is happening tonight, we should make sure that, if we do meet on Friday, we conduct ourselves in a way that is cognisant of the background of that day 30 years ago.

To make a shameless plug, I also have a member's motion on Dunblane's 30th anniversary. If members want to show respect for the people of Dunblane, they could perhaps sign that motion.

I will give way to Jeremy Balfour.

Jeremy Balfour: Again, I do not want to labour this point—well, I am labelling it—but can Keith Brown not see that it is different when someone wants to do their job but is excluded from doing so? I appreciate that it puts difficulties on diaries when people need to travel and have meetings, but if somebody has caring responsibilities or needs a carer who cannot be there, the Parliament will not be inclusive and we will be excluding people from employment.

We must draw a distinction between members who need to travel and attend meetings and those who cannot get to the Parliament because they cannot physically get dressed to do so.

Keith Brown: I have already conceded the point that I recognise the difficulties that Jeremy Balfour

and other members have pointed out, and it is unfortunate that meetings will fall unevenly on different members of the Parliament. However, the situation that we are in requires us to finish this bill and the legislative programme. If it must be on Friday, I will certainly be here, although it may be easier for me to get to the Parliament than it will be for others.

21:41

Christine Grahame (Midlothian South, Tweeddale and Lauderdale) (SNP): I am a bit bewildered about the issue of caring responsibilities. I regard Friday as a working day, just as being in the Parliament today and tomorrow are working days.

I do not have the obligations that Keith Brown has, which are much more important than mine, and so all that I have been required to do is cancel my surgeries and rearranged meetings that would have followed on from them. Because Friday is a working day, I always have arrangements to be in my constituency and to be about, as many of us do. Therefore, I do not understand the distinction between Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday and Friday, which is just another working day for me.

We have a responsibility in this Parliament. We have had very—

Paul O’Kane (West Scotland) (Lab): Will the member take an intervention?

Christine Grahame: I will just finish this point, Mr O’Kane. We have had lengthy debates on some amendments, some of which went over and over the same subjects, which made a mockery of the amendment timings that were decided by the Parliamentary Bureau. We all know that.

Before I finish, I will take Mr O’Kane’s intervention.

Paul O’Kane: I recognise that Friday is a working day, and I think that colleagues would all recognise that they work on Fridays. However, people were planning to do something different on Friday and had made arrangements based on that. Part of my day on Friday involved caring for my son. I will now not be able to do that, because it would preclude me from doing my job here. The arrangements that I have in my region would be different because I would be closer to home.

The point that Jeremy Balfour and other colleagues have made is that they have made arrangements in relation to their caring responsibilities that keep them more local. Coming to Edinburgh is different from those arrangements, and I ask Christine Grahame to reflect on that.

Christine Grahame: I hear Mr O’Kane’s point. Obviously, I do not know about everybody’s

domestic circumstances, but members may be able to consider whether they can work remotely, which was not available in previous sessions of the Parliament.

Emma Roddick (Highlands and Islands) (SNP): I appreciate that it might be easy to misunderstand the point about a member being able to get home tonight or after business finishes tomorrow, but that is not the case for everyone. In order to vote and take part in business remotely, a member would need to travel home, which will not be possible for all members between 10 o’clock one night and 9 o’clock the next morning.

Christine Grahame: As I said, I cannot respond to every individual case in the Parliament. I go back to my point that my broad understanding is that Friday is a working day. We have needed to tweak the schedule. I have been inconvenienced over and over in the past few days, and I accept that. *[Interruption.]*

The Presiding Officer: Let us hear one another.

Christine Grahame: I have had to cancel meetings. I had to cancel my final surgery in Peebles, which meant a lot to me after 27 years, but that is nothing.

The other issue that I want to raise is that we cannot arrange this so that we are reprinting the Assisted Dying for Terminally Ill Adults (Scotland) Bill as amended a few days or even a day before we debate it. There must be sufficient time for members to consider the bill as amended, because there are lots of amendments coming from different places. I do not know what the bill will look like at the final stage. I would certainly like to have time to reflect on and consider it before I am involved in voting on the bill as amended.

21:45

Nicola Sturgeon (Glasgow Southside) (SNP): First, I share the frustration that has already been expressed that, while we are debating this, we could have been making more progress with the assisted dying legislation.

I have great sympathy with the points that have been made by Jeremy Balfour and others about Friday, although I accept that there is probably no alternative to sitting on Friday. The plea that I want to make to the bureau is that it takes the time overnight or tomorrow morning to take an overview of the remainder of this session and the business that has to be got through.

A week today, there is a substantial stage 3 with more than 200 amendments. I really fear that, a week tonight, we will be in exactly the same position, having exactly the same debate.

Ruth Maguire (Cunninghame South) (SNP): I will be brief. Jeremy Balfour has, in a very dignified and eloquent manner, tried to explain to members the difficulties that a number of our colleagues who require carers to help them to get to work face. It is very easy to talk about being an inclusive Parliament, but if we do not listen to our colleagues, the stuff that we have written on paper is worth nothing.

Nicola Sturgeon: Ruth Maguire makes a very fair point. I accept, although I accept that others disagree, that sitting on Friday might be unavoidable. I go back to my plea that the bureau takes an overview of the remaining business in the remainder of this session and comes back with a revised plan that utilises all available time. There is Monday and, as Jackie Baillie said, there might be some mornings.

My final point is that for reasons that I do not understand—I apologise if there are good reasons—a decision has been taken to end business in the final week on the Wednesday and to not utilise the Thursday of that week. There is a day that could be utilised. A revised plan that takes an overview is badly needed, and that is my plea.

21:47

Pauline McNeill (Glasgow) (Lab): I want to speak in support of what Jackie Baillie said earlier and what Nicola Sturgeon has just said.

It would seem sensible to have a look at this. I will make a plea, and Ruth Maguire is right to do the same. We were almost going to get into a bidding war about who could and could not attend and for what reasons. We are all dedicated, no matter what party we are from and no matter the reason why we came here. As Kevin Stewart said, we all travel from different parts of the country, we all have personal circumstances, and we all have constituents to look after.

Let us not ever get into this situation again and let us put on the record that, in future parliamentary sessions, we must resolve matters so that there is enough time to deal with all the legislation that we want to pass.

We did not think that we would be here, and let us be honest that the situation is unprecedented. I have served in five parliamentary sessions; Jackie Baillie has served in more, as has Nicola Sturgeon. We cannot face this situation again, so let us try to deal with it sensibly and keep as many people on board as we can. We do have options.

My final plea is that we stop the bidding war when it comes to the reasons why people will have problems attending on Friday. We are all dedicated to taking whatever position we want to take on the bill, and we must all do our best to

ensure that we reach the end of the process and that members are satisfied that they can make a decision that they are comfortable with.

The Presiding Officer: I call the minister to respond on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau.

21:49

The Minister for Parliamentary Business and Veterans (Graeme Dey): It is late at night, but I hope that I can respond to all the points that have been made.

Nicola Sturgeon talked about the bureau needing to take an overview of the remaining business, and that is precisely what the business managers have been attempting to do. Earlier, a comment was made by a colleague—I forget who it was—about there being ample opportunity in the remaining weeks because of early finishes and that we could do things differently. Let me outline to colleagues that, as things stand, we are looking at finishes of circa 10 pm, 10 pm and 9 pm on the three days that the Parliament is planning to sit next week. Business managers have been discussing a reordering—let me put it that way—on the Tuesday of the following week in order to facilitate a separation. We have explored the option of holding the amending stages of three bills next week and holding the stage 3 debates the following week. We are conscious, among many other things, that stakeholders who have an interest in those bills would be deeply concerned if we were to push back the stage 3 proceedings in their entirety to the final week, because there would be a fear that the bills would fall. Therefore, business managers have to take a lot of things into account.

I will share with colleagues that—

Jeremy Balfour: Will the minister take an intervention?

Graeme Dey: I will make some progress and then come back to Mr Balfour.

A few weeks ago, the bureau was approached by a colleague who asked that we reorder business to accommodate a childcare issue. We took that on board. An hour later, we were criticised by another colleague for making that change, because it had impacted their childcare. I relay that story not to give a “woe are we” message from those on the bureau but to show the kind of issues that we try to balance.

Two broader issues were raised. Mr Balfour made valid points about his situation. Some colleagues would prefer that we sit on Monday, not on Friday—I absolutely get that—but sitting on Monday would be a problem for other colleagues.

In relation to Ross Greer's point, which Christine Grahame echoed, the bureau took the view that, given the importance of the Assisted Dying for Terminally Ill Adults (Scotland) Bill, we would pause after the amending stage so that members could have time to critique the bill before making a considered decision. That is why the proceedings have been separated in that way. Even if we sit on Friday, there will already be challenges regarding creating that critique and giving members time to consider the bill in time for the debate next week.

Douglas Ross made the point that we have known for a long time that the bill was coming and that there would be a great deal of interest in it. I accept that point but, until the bureau knew the number of stage 3 amendments that had been lodged, it was difficult to determine the exact nature of the time that would be required.

Jeremy Balfour: I have two questions that I would like the minister to address. The first follows on from Nicola Sturgeon's remark about the Thursday of the final week still being available to us.

Secondly—I say this with respect to all members of the bureau, because I understand that they have a difficult job—there was no consultation with those who might be affected. The decision was taken by four or five individuals with no consultation. I should say that I will be here on Friday at 9 o'clock, so I am not speaking on my behalf—I am speaking on behalf of others who have these issues. However, I gently say to the minister that there was no consultation with those who might face the greatest issues.

In relation to Ruth Maguire's point about the Parliament being inclusive on paper, three Saturdays ago, every seat in here was filled by disabled people, and the Parliament—from the Presiding Officer down to the minister—gave the message that the Parliament is open to them all. However, we are now saying that, actually, it is not open to them all and we will not even consult them. I think that there is a problem there.

Graeme Dey: On that point, Jeremy Balfour says that we should consult people who are affected, but there will be people affected by any decision that is taken.

I gently point out that, at the conclusion of business last night, the Presiding Officer pointed out that we were way behind where we needed to be at that stage. She indicated that the bureau would have to consider how that would be addressed. The bureau has been anxious to make members aware of the challenge that we face and the solution that will be required. I want to pick up on how we got here.

Miles Briggs (Lothian) (Con): The former First Minister made a really important point. We have three weeks, and there are three smaller bills to come before the Parliament. The Government has a debate time slot on the last Tuesday before the recess, which it could sacrifice for those three bills. If they were put into that time, it would create the opportunity for the two significant bills to be properly debated over the next two weeks.

Graeme Dey: I have breaking news for Mr Briggs: the Government has sacrificed that time for that very purpose. That is the kind of challenge that we are facing. The proposal that we are considering, to be confirmed by the Parliamentary Bureau and brought back to Parliament, would be to sacrifice that debating time and use it for the final debates on three bills. I hope that that illustrates to colleagues the pressure that the Parliament is under.

We have some very important legislation to consider next week. I think that it was Douglas Ross who made the point that we do not want to be in this situation again next week. That is what the bureau has been trying to avoid. We have scheduled a lot of time for the Assisted Dying for Terminally Ill Adults (Scotland) Bill this week, and extensive work was done by Parliament staff and business managers to arrive at the original scheduling for stage 3—but that was entirely predicated on progress being made in line with what might be reasonably predicted.

Disposal of the amendments has not proceeded at the anticipated pace. I can give members a flavour of that. We had predicted that it would take around 21 hours and 40 minutes to get through the amendments. At this stage, we are now looking at 26 hours. I may be out by a few minutes, but I hope that that gives colleagues an idea. As a result of that, we require to find additional and exceptional time in order to complete the process. That is why the business has been scheduled for Friday from 9.30 am to 5.00 pm. How much time will actually be needed? On Friday, self-evidently, that will be determined by the pace of progress from then on in.

I apologise to colleagues if I have not covered some of the points that they have made, but I go back to my central point: whatever the bureau did, members would be inconvenienced. I absolutely accept that. However, I ask members to proceed on that basis and support the motion. If we can conclude our consideration on Friday, it will alleviate the need for pressure to be pushed down the line.

I think that it was Nicola Sturgeon who asked why we do not sit on the additional Thursday. We could do that and we could make a change to business, but that approach that pushes

everything back is one of the reasons why we have got here. We have to tackle the problems as they arise, deal with business as it arises and, frankly, crack on with it.

Although I recognise all that I have heard, I ask Parliament to support the business motion.

The Presiding Officer: The question is, that motion S6M-21077 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 would have voted yes.

The Presiding Officer: Thank you. 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)
 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)
 Burnett, Alexander (Aberdeenshire West) (Con)
 Carlaw, Jackson (Eastwood) (Con)
 Carson, Finlay (Galloway and West Dumfries) (Con)
 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)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West 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)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Harvie, Patrick (Glasgow) (Green)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)

Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (Con)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Kerr, Liam (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Kerr, Stephen (Central Scotland) (Con)
 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, 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)
 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)
 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)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Slater, Lorna (Lothian) (Green)
 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)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)
 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

Baillie, Jackie (Dumbarton) (Lab)
 Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)
 Bibby, Neil (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Choudhury, Foyso (Lothian) (Ind)
 Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)

Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
 Simpson, Graham (Central Scotland) (Reform)
 Villalba, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 Wells, Annie (Glasgow) (Con)

Abstentions

Briggs, Miles (Lothian) (Con)
 Callaghan, Stephanie (Uddingston and Bellshill) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)

The Presiding Officer: The result of the division is: For 101, Against 19, Abstentions 3.

Motion agreed to,

That the Parliament agrees—

(a) the following programme of business—

Friday 13 March 2026

9.30 am Parliamentary Bureau Motions

9.30 am Stage 3 Proceedings: Assisted Dying for Terminally Ill Adults (Scotland) Bill

followed by Business Motions

followed by Parliamentary Bureau Motions

5.00 pm Decision Time

(b) that, for the purposes of consideration of the Assisted Dying for Terminally Ill Adults (Scotland) Bill, on 13 March 2026, Rule 2.2.3 of Standing Orders be varied to replace “09:30 and 12:30” with “from 09:30”.

The Presiding Officer: The next item of business is consideration of business motion S6M-21035, in the name of Graeme Dey, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau, setting out a business programme.

Motion moved,

That the Parliament agrees—

(a) the following programme of business—

Tuesday 17 March 2026

2.00 pm Time for Reflection

followed by Parliamentary Bureau Motions

followed by Topical Questions

followed by Ministerial Statement: A Year of Progress in Bringing Down Long Waits - Driving Continued Improvement and Building a Stronger NHS

followed by Stage 3 Proceedings: Non-surgical Procedures and Functions of Medical Reviewers (Scotland) Bill

followed by Stage 3 Proceedings: Building Safety Levy (Scotland) Bill

followed by Stage 3 Proceedings: Assisted Dying for Terminally Ill Adults (Scotland) Bill

followed by Committee Announcements

followed by Business Motions

followed by Parliamentary Bureau Motions

10.00 pm Decision Time

Wednesday 18 March 2026

2.00 pm Parliamentary Bureau Motions

2.00 pm Portfolio Questions: Deputy First Minister Responsibilities, Economy and Gaelic; Finance and Local Government

followed by Stage 3 Proceedings: Greyhound Racing (Offences) (Scotland) Bill

followed by Stage 3 Proceedings: Children (Care, Care Experience and Services Planning) (Scotland) Bill

followed by Business Motions

followed by Parliamentary Bureau Motions

10.00 pm Decision Time

Thursday 19 March 2026

11.40 am Parliamentary Bureau Motions

11.40 am General Questions

12.00 pm First Minister's Questions

followed by Members' Business

2.00 pm Parliamentary Bureau Motions

2.00 pm Scottish Parliamentary Corporate Body Questions

2.15 pm Portfolio Questions: Climate Action and Energy, and Transport

followed by Stage 3 Proceedings: Restraint and Seclusion in Schools (Scotland) Bill

followed by Stage 3 Proceedings: Visitor Levy (Amendment) (Scotland) Bill

followed by Stage 3 Proceedings: Crofting and Scottish Land Court Bill

followed by Scottish Parliamentary Corporate Body Motion: Amendments to the Scottish Parliament Salaries Scheme

followed by Business Motions

followed by Parliamentary Bureau Motions

9.05 pm Decision Time

Tuesday 24 March 2026

10.00 am Parliamentary Bureau Motions

followed by Members' Business

followed by Members' Business

2.00 pm Time for Reflection

followed by Parliamentary Bureau Motions

followed by Topical Questions

followed by Scottish Government Business

followed by Committee Announcements

followed by Business Motions

followed by Parliamentary Bureau Motions

5.00 pm Decision Time

followed by Members' Business

followed by Members' Business

Wednesday 25 March 2026

11.40 am General Questions

12.00 pm First Minister's Questions

followed by Members' Business

followed by Members' Business

3.00 pm Parliamentary Bureau Motions

3.00 pm Portfolio Questions:
Rural Affairs, Land Reform and Islands;
Health and Social Care;
Social Justice and Housing

followed by Motion of Thanks

followed by Business Motions

followed by Parliamentary Bureau Motions

4.45 pm Decision Time

(b) that, for the purposes of Portfolio Questions in the week beginning 16 March 2026, in rule 13.7.3, after the word "except" the words "to the extent to which the Presiding Officer considers that the questions are on the same or similar subject matter or" are inserted.—[*Graeme Dey*.]

The Presiding Officer: I call Alexander Burnett to speak to and move amendment S6M-21035.1.

22:00

Alexander Burnett (Aberdeenshire West)

(Con): My apologies to colleagues for taking additional time at this late hour, but I hope for some understanding when they hear the seriousness of the issue that has led to my amendment. The amendment seeks to add a statement on the urgent situation regarding the Baird family hospital and the Aberdeen and north centre for haematology, oncology and radiotherapy, which is known as the ANCHOR centre, and I hope that there will be cross-party support for it.

I put my request through the proper channels at the bureau, which was denied. Although I welcome the offer to meet Neil Gray, I am afraid that, given that we are at the end of this session of Parliament, the seriousness of the issue and the possible opening of the ANCHOR centre in July mean that greater scrutiny is required, because what is at stake here is a repeat of the tragedy that occurred in the Queen Elizabeth university hospital.

For context, the Baird family hospital and the ANCHOR centre are now six years behind schedule and more than £330 million over budget. Some of these costs are inflationary, but some are due to contractors ripping out newly installed works because designs were not approved, materials were not protected and clinical sign-off was not obtained. The financial waste itself would normally necessitate a ministerial statement—the

overrun is five times NHS Grampian's deficit, and the board is in special measures due to serious financial issues.

However, more worrying than financial incompetence is the serious health and safety concerns that are not being shared with the public, which have come to light in a whistleblower's report, of which I have a shortened version with me.

The report on NHS Grampian, which was commissioned by NHS Highland, reveals a host of failures in the design and construction of these sites in Aberdeen. There are concerns from expert eyewitnesses about a catalogue of mistakes around ventilation, mould and flood risk at facilities where children and cancer patients will soon go to get better.

The report upholds complaints relating to ventilation and water cleanliness during critical parts of the Baird family hospital and ANCHOR design and construction phases. That includes that the healthcare associated infection system for controlling risk in the built environment—HIA-SCRIBE—guidance was not followed; that the infection prevention control team was not listened to; that public money has been wasted due to HIA-SCRIBE guidance and internal infection prevention and control warnings not being followed; and that patient safety and staff wellbeing have been negatively impacted.

However, this report was denied to me by the chief executive of NHS Grampian. NHS Grampian told me that sharing the report with me would compromise the whistleblower, despite my submitting a consent form from the whistleblower themselves.

The independent national whistleblowing officer has now taken the step of having to extract the full report from NHS Grampian, which will not even release the details to the person who made the complaints and compiled all the evidence. They were told during the process that information contained in the report could never leave the top tiers of NHS Grampian—the insinuation being that that would create some kind of tidal wave of job losses.

The whistleblowing officer, in a departure from their usual process, has contacted NHS Grampian with urgent questions to be answered by this Friday. That departure from normal procedure follows a meeting to discuss the high risks—the imminent opening of the buildings, the on-going failure to address infection prevention and control risks in the Baird family hospital and the ANCHOR centre, and the on-going water safety concerns.

The whistleblowing officer has also been in contact with Healthcare Improvement Scotland

and NHS Scotland Assure about their concerns. The whistleblower met the chief executive and director of improvement at NHS Grampian last week, who apologised for what has happened and acknowledged that concerns were not listened to. They assured the whistleblower that they plan to change the culture and improve governance.

The powers that be have apologised to the whistleblower, who was a respected practitioner in the national health service for many years, because they could see NHS Scotland Assure making exactly the same mistakes that it was set up to avoid—mistakes that made children ill in 2017 and resulted in the deaths of children and adults, with repercussions that are still being felt years later.

If NHS Grampian can see that change is needed, and if the independent national whistleblowing officer is concerned enough to depart from normal processes, should the health secretary not explain to the Parliament his knowledge of the issue; whether he can provide a cast-iron guarantee that all infection control measures have been resolved; and whether Lord Brodie's recommendations will be 100 per cent acted on? We need to know that the Government's mistakes have been learned from and that the hospital will be the very best hospital that it can be for decades to come, and will save thousands of lives without harming a single one.

I ask members to back my amendment and ensure that the tragedy of the Queen Elizabeth university hospital will not be repeated.

I move amendment S6M-21035.1, to insert after second "*followed by* Topical Questions":

"followed by Ministerial Statement: Update on Baird Family Hospital and ANCHOR Centre".

The Presiding Officer: I call the Minister for Parliamentary Business and Veterans to respond on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau.

22:05

The Minister for Parliamentary Business and Veterans (Graeme Dey): Members will be aware that the position regarding the Baird family hospital and ANCHOR centre continues to evolve. Commercial discussions between NHS Grampian and the contractor are still active, and those negotiations require space to conclude before any further Government update can appropriately be given. As we have heard, NHS Grampian has very recently provided a detailed public update, including revised target dates for the project's delivery. That statement reflects the current factual position and remains the most accurate information that is available at this time.

Martin Whitfield (South Scotland) (Lab):

From what was articulated in the earlier submission on the state of affairs, the issue seems far more serious than people were perhaps aware of when the initial request was made. I understand that information will, we hope, be provided on Friday. If it is not provided, would that not alter whether a statement should be given, on the basis of what we have heard in the chamber this evening?

Graeme Dey: The Government can, of course, reflect on that. An offer was made at the bureau. Let us remember that, a few moments ago, we discussed in great detail the pressures on parliamentary business. I know that a number of members across the chamber would ideally want to ask for ministerial statements in the closing 14 days or so of this session of Parliament, but they recognise that their aspirations cannot reasonably be met.

I do not in any way downplay the points that Alexander Burnett has made. The position that we articulated was that Neil Gray, the Cabinet Secretary for Health and Social Care, would be more than willing to meet any members who have an interest in the issue, and that offer still stands. However, we will reflect further on the timetable that Martin Whitfield has identified. In the meantime, I ask Parliament to approve the business motion.

The Presiding Officer: The question is, that amendment S6M-21035.1, in the name of Alexander Burnett, which seeks to amend motion S6M-21035, in the name of Graeme Dey, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau, setting out a business programme, 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)
 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)
 Golden, Maurice (North East Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (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)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Ross, Douglas (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Rowley, Alex (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Lab)
 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)
 Choudhury, Foyso (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)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (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)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 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)
 Robison, Shona (Dundee City East) (SNP)
 Roddick, Emma (Highlands and Islands) (SNP)
 Ruskell, Mark (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green)
 Russell, Davy (Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse) (Lab)
 Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (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)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)
 Whitfield, Martin (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Whitham, Elena (Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley) (SNP)
 Yousaf, Humza (Glasgow Pollok) (SNP)

Abstentions

Balfour, Jeremy (Lothian) (Ind)

The Presiding Officer: The result of the division on amendment S6M-21035.1, in the name of Alexander Burnett, is: For 31, Against 89, Abstentions 1.

Amendment disagreed to.

The Presiding Officer: The next question is, that motion S6M-21035, in the name of Graeme Dey, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau, setting out a business programme, be agreed to.

Motion agreed to,

That the Parliament agrees—

(a) the following programme of business—

Tuesday 17 March 2026

2.00 pm Time for Reflection

followed by Parliamentary Bureau Motions

followed by Topical Questions

followed by Ministerial Statement: A Year of Progress in Bringing Down Long Waits - Driving Continued Improvement and Building a Stronger NHS

followed by Stage 3 Proceedings: Non-surgical Procedures and Functions of Medical Reviewers (Scotland) Bill

followed by Stage 3 Proceedings: Building Safety Levy (Scotland) Bill

followed by Stage 3 Proceedings: Assisted Dying
for Terminally Ill Adults (Scotland) Bill

followed by Committee Announcements

followed by Business Motions

followed by Parliamentary Bureau Motions

10.00 pm Decision Time

Wednesday 18 March 2026

2.00 pm Parliamentary Bureau Motions

2.00 pm Portfolio Questions:
Deputy First Minister Responsibilities,
Economy and Gaelic;
Finance and Local Government

followed by Stage 3 Proceedings: Greyhound
Racing (Offences) (Scotland) Bill

followed by Stage 3 Proceedings: Children (Care,
Care Experience and Services
Planning) (Scotland) Bill

followed by Business Motions

followed by Parliamentary Bureau Motions

10.00 pm Decision Time

Thursday 19 March 2026

11.40 am Parliamentary Bureau Motions

11.40 am General Questions

12.00 pm First Minister's Questions

followed by Members' Business

2.00 pm Parliamentary Bureau Motions

2.00 pm Scottish Parliamentary Corporate Body
Questions

2.15 pm Portfolio Questions:
Climate Action and Energy, and
Transport

followed by Stage 3 Proceedings: Restraint and
Seclusion in Schools (Scotland) Bill

followed by Stage 3 Proceedings: Visitor Levy
(Amendment) (Scotland) Bill

followed by Stage 3 Proceedings: Crofting and
Scottish Land Court Bill

followed by Scottish Parliamentary Corporate Body
Motion: Amendments to the Scottish
Parliament Salaries Scheme

followed by Business Motions

followed by Parliamentary Bureau Motions

9.05 pm Decision Time

Tuesday 24 March 2026

10.00 am Parliamentary Bureau Motions

followed by Members' Business

followed by Members' Business

2.00 pm Time for Reflection

followed by Parliamentary Bureau Motions

followed by Topical Questions

followed by Scottish Government Business

followed by Committee Announcements

followed by Business Motions

followed by Parliamentary Bureau Motions

5.00 pm Decision Time

followed by Members' Business

followed by Members' Business

Wednesday 25 March 2026

11.40 am General Questions

12.00 pm First Minister's Questions

followed by Members' Business

followed by Members' Business

3.00 pm Parliamentary Bureau Motions

3.00 pm Portfolio Questions:
Rural Affairs, Land Reform and Islands;
Health and Social Care;
Social Justice and Housing

followed by Motion of Thanks

followed by Business Motions

followed by Parliamentary Bureau Motions

4.45 pm Decision Time

(b) that, for the purposes of Portfolio Questions in the week beginning 16 March 2026, in rule 13.7.3, after the word "except" the words "to the extent to which the Presiding Officer considers that the questions are on the same or similar subject matter or" are inserted.

Parliamentary Bureau Motions

The Presiding Officer (Alison Johnstone):

The next item of business is consideration of Parliamentary Bureau motion S6M-21036, on approval of a Scottish statutory instrument. I ask the Minister for Parliamentary Business and Veterans, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau, to move the motion.

Motion moved,

That the Parliament agrees that the Hate Crime and Public Order (Scotland) Act 2021 (Characteristic of Sex) (Amendment and Transitional Provisions) Regulations 2026 [draft] be approved.—[*Graeme Dey*]

22:09

Liam Kerr (North East Scotland) (Con): I support this SSI, which adds the characteristic of sex as a protected characteristic to the Hate Crime and Public Order (Scotland) Act 2021, because women and girls deserve protection in law and we must seek to address prejudice based on sex, exactly as I, Adam Tomkins, Johann Lamont, Jenny Marra, Pauline McNeill and so many others argued in the chamber when the Hate Crime and Public Order (Scotland) Bill was going through Parliament.

At that time, the Government rejected our arguments and whipped its MSPs on the promise of a stand-alone, dedicated misogyny law that would be specifically designed to address the misogynistic abuse, harassment and hostility that women and girls experience daily. I recall my, and many colleagues', doubts that that law would be delivered—and, sure enough, last summer, the Government abandoned its promise of a misogyny law.

Now the Government offers these regulations, which insert the characteristic of sex into the existing hate crime framework. That change goes some way to providing additional protection, and for that reason, I support it. However, we should be under no illusion—it is not the comprehensive response that Baroness Kennedy recommended and it is not what women and girls were promised. Indeed, many have made it clear that the hate crime model is ill suited to tackling the wider forms of misogynistic behaviour that women experience: behaviour that may not present as overt hatred but which is nevertheless vicious, harmful and pervasive. Not only that, but these protections will not even come in until April 2027, despite the Government having had more than a year to work out how to bring them in.

I will vote for the SSI, but I recognise that it is not the full answer. It is not the legislation that women and girls were promised, and today must not be the end of the matter. Women and girls deserve to

be protected by a justice system that fully recognises the scale and nature of misogynistic behaviour.

The previous Government made promises of protection; this Government has failed to deliver. Today, we go a small part of the way to remedying that, but I urge, in the strongest possible terms, any MSPs who return to this place in May to urgently take forward the comprehensive misogyny legislation that Baroness Kennedy demanded, that this Government promised and that women and girls deserve.

22:12

The Cabinet Secretary for Justice and Home Affairs (Angela Constance): The regulations add the characteristic of sex to the existing legislative framework that is contained in the Hate Crime and Public Order (Scotland) Act 2021. They have been introduced because we are not prepared to leave a gap in protection for women and girls in hate crime legislation. They deserve protection alongside other groups that are already protected by the hate crime legal framework.

Maggie Chapman (North East Scotland) (Green): The Scottish Greens strongly oppose the SSI. Helena Kennedy and the misogyny working group were clear that misogyny should not be addressed by adding sex to the hate crime framework and instead recommended dedicated misogyny legislation. Given that advice, can the Cabinet Secretary for Justice and Home Affairs explain why the Government is choosing to proceed through amending the 2021 act rather than bringing forward comprehensive misogyny legislation as has been recommended?

Scottish Greens also strongly oppose the trans-exclusionary language that is used in the proposed definition of sex in the regulations. Can the cabinet secretary say why the Government has, in effect, replicated the definition of biological sex that was used by the United Kingdom Supreme Court in relation to the Equality Act 2010, when the court was explicit that its interpretation applied only to the 2010 act?

There are several protected characteristics in the 2021 act that are defined differently from how they are defined in the Equality Act 2010. Why has the Government chosen to import the definition in the 2010 act into Scots law, given the serious concerns about its impact on trans people? There is no requirement to do so and it risks trans people having to out themselves in order to get support.

Angela Constance: There are three important points that I should address to Ms Chapman and the rest of the members in the chamber. It is important to remember that there are existing protections under the 2021 act for transgender

identity and variations in sex characteristics, and it is really important to stress that those remain in place. We have endeavoured to ensure that there is no significant overlap.

I wish to explain that the SSI defines sex for the purposes of the 2021 act. We have taken the approach of defining the characteristic of sex as relating to biological sex, which means sex at birth, in the light of the need for our criminal law to be clear and unambiguous. That approach has no wider read-across to other laws, and it reflects the current operation of the 2021 act.

The hate crime model is a proven way of addressing crimes that have been aggravated by malice or ill will on the basis of protected characteristics. However, I accept that it is most certainly not the only approach that can be taken to the protection of women and girls.

I assure Ms Chapman that I very much respect, appreciate and value the work that was undertaken by Baroness Kennedy and the working group that she led. I very much understand why many consider primary legislation on misogyny to be necessary, and there is no reason why legislation on misogynistic harassment cannot be introduced in the next parliamentary session. It is clear that there is still merit in Parliament giving further consideration to bespoke new protections that would be separate from the hate crime framework.

However, we all know that, because of the short time that was left in the parliamentary session after last year's Supreme Court judgment, there was simply insufficient time to progress a misogyny bill in this session, given the complexities in providing for gendered law. A misogyny bill would have been the first example of gendered law, which is why so many people had rallied around it.

Daniel Johnson (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab): Will the cabinet secretary take an intervention?

Angela Constance: No, thank you—I am just about finished. *[Interruption.]* I took Ms Chapman's intervention because the Green Party is not represented on the Criminal Justice Committee, whereas the Labour Party and the Conservative Party are. When I gave evidence to that committee, it explored all these matters in great detail, quite correctly and properly, and it unanimously recommended that the SSI be approved by the Parliament as a whole.

Daniel Johnson: Will the cabinet secretary take an intervention?

Angela Constance: No, thank you.

The Presiding Officer: I ask you to conclude, cabinet secretary.

Angela Constance: I wish to make an important point about criminal law: provisions in criminal law need to be robust and unequivocal. I will end by saying that women and girls experience disproportionately high levels of harassment, abuse and threatening behaviour simply because they are women and girls. That behaviour is motivated by prejudice relating to our sex.

I urge members to vote for the motion that the regulations be approved, to ensure that women and girls have legal protections through the existing hate crime framework.

The Presiding Officer: You must conclude, cabinet secretary.

Angela Constance: Of course. If Parliament agrees to the motion, that will mean that those legal protections are passed into law in this parliamentary session.

Thank you for your indulgence, Presiding Officer.

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-21037, on approval of an SSI. I ask the Minister for Parliamentary Business and Veterans, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau, to move the motion.

Motion moved,

That the Parliament agrees that the Council Tax (Variation for Unoccupied Dwellings) (Scotland) Amendment Regulations 2026 [draft] be approved.—*[Graeme Dey]*

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-21038, on approval of an SSI. I ask the minister, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau, to move the motion.

Motion moved,

That the Parliament agrees that the National Bus Travel Concession Schemes (Miscellaneous Amendment) (Scotland) Order 2026 [draft] be approved.—*[Graeme Dey]*

The Presiding Officer: I call Sue Webber.

22:19

Sue Webber (Lothian) (Con): As members know, buses are central to Scotland's transport network. Although most passengers just want to get on with their journey, it is clear to bus operators and other passengers that antisocial behaviour on our buses has been a growing problem for the past number of years. A small minority of disruptive passengers, whether they are aged under 22 or older, disrupt buses, commit verbal and physical

assaults and put the safety of passengers and drivers at risk.

We all remember the tragic death of Keith Rollinson in February 2024. However, only a few weeks ago, the First Minister was unable to answer whether Rollinson's killer would have had his bus pass removed under the Scottish statutory instrument that we are voting on tonight.

The Scottish Conservatives will support the SSI. However, although it is a step in the right direction, we believe that it does not go far enough. The fact that the minister, Jim Fairlie, had to appear before the Net Zero, Energy and Transport Committee twice to get the SSI passed demonstrates that.

Furthermore, the SNP's plan to remove free bus travel from passengers who commit antisocial behaviour on buses is soft touch and full of loopholes, and it does not guarantee that criminals will have their bus passes removed.

Douglas Ross (Highlands and Islands) (Con): Keith Rollinson was a constituent of mine. I attended his funeral at Elgin town hall. I have listened as his wife, Sue, and his family have expressed their deep concern and, frankly, disgust that the killer of their relative could soon be released from prison—well, I cannot even say “prison”, because he is not in a prison—and still be entitled to his free bus pass. Does Sue Webber agree that that is completely unacceptable and that the Government should do everything possible to ensure that someone who has killed a bus driver is never allowed to retain his free bus pass?

Sue Webber: Frankly, yes, I agree, and law-abiding Scots across the country would also agree, and they would agree that free bus passes must be stripped from those who have used them as any excuse to act violently, whether they do so on a bus or whether they use their pass to travel to a location where they carry out antisocial behaviour and criminality at stations—bus or rail—retail venues or leisure facilities.

The Scottish Conservatives are on Scotland's side and believe that any passenger who commits criminal or antisocial behaviour should automatically have their bus pass stripped from them. That is the least that passengers and bus drivers deserve. The SSI gets the ball rolling, but far more needs to be done to deliver safer buses for Scotland.

22:22

The Minister for Agriculture and Connectivity (Jim Fairlie): The programme for government for 2025-26 set out a commitment to suspend and withdraw free travel from anyone who does not act responsibly on Scotland's buses.

The SSI is an important step in delivering that commitment. It secures the enabling power for the policy and provides the basis for the on-going work with operators and partners to finalise the supporting administrative procedures.

The policy will apply to all national concessionary travel schemes, recognising that people of any age can engage in unacceptable behaviour. It will be backed by a code of conduct that will set out clear standards for respectful behaviour and a code focusing on behaviours that hurt or threaten others or damage or disrupt the bus. At its core is a focus on the behaviours that have the most significant impact on passengers, drivers and the safety of the bus journey.

A phased approach is being taken to the implementation to ensure that a fair and robust process is established. That will take into account a range of issues that I know concern colleagues, including business impacts, child wellbeing and poverty considerations and impacts on older and disabled people. The approach will also take into account any operational issues as they emerge. There has been substantial engagement with internal and external stakeholders as part of the policy. Legislation and procedures in this approach will continue, with published impact assessments being updated as appropriate.

Our goal is to make the bus network safer. We want to create a deterrent that stops people behaving in an unacceptable way. That is surely the best possible outcome.

Mark Ruskell (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Green): Will the minister acknowledge that this will not prevent people who have committed antisocial behaviour from getting on a bus? It will only mean that they will not have a free bus pass.

Jim Fairlie: I absolutely accept that point. People could still pay to get on a bus, and I raised that at the first round-table discussion that we had. However, when people act in an unacceptable way, the SSI will make our buses safer by removing the privilege of free bus travel.

We all know that criminal behaviour on buses remains primarily a matter for the police and the justice system, but the policy is part of a wider, concerted effort to improve community safety and reduce antisocial behaviour, including through the violence prevention framework for Scotland, the cashback for communities programme and the provision of further funding to Police Scotland.

Douglas Ross: The minister has spoken of bad behaviour and antisocial behaviour, but there is nothing worse than taking the life of a bus driver in the circumstances in which Keith Rollinson's life was taken. How does the minister defend his Government's decision to include this proposal in

the programme for government in 2025-26 after Keith Rollinson was killed at the hands of someone who had a free bus pass and who will continue to have that free bus pass? The Government knew what happened at Elgin bus station in February 2024 when it introduced the proposal in the programme for government, so why has it come up with legislation that does not strip a bus pass from someone who killed a bus driver?

Jim Fairlie: I think that the point that Douglas Ross has made shows that he does not understand what it is that we have actually done and the legislation that we have introduced.

I will finish by saying this, which is the most important point that I want to make. I want to pay tribute to those people who have campaigned for the policy, not least the family of Keith Rollinson. My deepest condolences go to Mrs Rollinson and to her friends and the wider family of her husband. It is absolutely correct that Mr Rollinson should have been able to go to his work and come home safely. That is why I am absolutely determined that we get this policy right. Everyone should be able to go where they need to go without the fear of abuse or worse. I urge members to support the motion and the Scottish statutory instrument.

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-20139, on approval of an SSI. I ask the minister, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau, to move the motion.

Motion moved,

That the Parliament agrees that the Private Housing Rent Control (Exempt Property) (Scotland) Regulations 2026 [draft] be approved.—[*Graeme Dey*]

The Presiding Officer: I call Ariane Burgess.

22:26

Ariane Burgess (Highlands and Islands) (Green): Last year, this Parliament took the landmark step of reintroducing rent controls, putting them in place for the first time in almost 40 years. Without rent controls, rents were allowed to skyrocket. Here in Edinburgh, rents for a one-bedroom flat have increased by more than 100 per cent since 2010. Those unacceptable increases have worsened poverty, inequality and hardship. When the bill is commenced, local authorities will be empowered to introduce rent control areas that will hold down rents in specific locations, although they will not cut rents, as we clearly need to do in some areas and as the Greens have called for.

Rent controls will at least stop the rip-off increases that we have seen. Just as we are about to implement one of the most important ever

advances for working people—one that we know will help tackle the cost of living—we are today considering pulling back by exempting build-to-rent and mid-market-rent properties from the controls that renters have called for for so long. Those changes, which would be a grave mistake, were opposed by more than 95 per cent of the consultation responses.

To work for renters and landlords, the system needs to be simple and transparent. Tenants need to understand—[*Interruption.*]

The Presiding Officer: We will suspend for a moment.

22:28

Meeting suspended.

22:29

On resuming—

The Presiding Officer: Thank you for your forbearance, colleagues. I ask Ms Burgess to resume.

Ariane Burgess: In order for it to work for renters and landlords, the system needs to be simple and transparent. Tenants need to understand the system and their ability to contest illegal rent increases—the onus is very much on them. The more complicated the system is, the harder it will be for rent controls to work as intended.

Many renters are already not familiar with their rights. In the absence of the measures that Greens sought to introduce through amendments to the bill in order to increase renter awareness of rent controls, we will need to work very hard to make sure that people know whether they live in a rent control area, let alone whether they live in a build-to-rent or mid-market home. Bringing in a system of rent control for some people and not for others, and for some properties and not for others, for significant numbers of tenants, will only add to that problem. It is a recipe for confusion and for unscrupulous landlords to take advantage of that.

Miles Briggs: Will the member take an intervention?

Ariane Burgess: I will proceed.

I have not heard one good reason as to why some of our constituents who rent deserve protection and others do not, simply on the grounds of where they have chosen to live.

It is also important to note that the exemptions are not time limited. If we jump ahead a few years, we can easily see the nonsense of that. Why should renters' degree of protection from unfair

hikes depend on how the property was built, perhaps many decades before?

If we look at rent control systems from around the world, we see that there is nowhere near enough evidence that rent controls damage new house building to justify exemptions as sweeping as the ones that are being proposed. Despite that and the fact that the new mid-market-rent and build-to-rent homes are already free from rent controls outside rent control areas, developers and landlords have pushed for more.

Homes should be for living in, not for profiteering. On behalf of the Scottish Greens and the hundreds of thousands of renters who desperately need a simple system of rent controls, I urge the Parliament to vote against the motion.

22:32

The Cabinet Secretary for Housing (Màiri McAllan): Presiding Officer, thank you for your flexibility in allowing me to contribute remotely. I would not normally wish to do that.

As Ariane Burgess said, the Housing (Scotland) Act 2025 introduced a long-term, evidence-based system of rent controls for Scotland, which is allowing us to protect tenants in areas where rents have been rising too steeply. Ultimately, that is addressing affordability.

However, the housing emergency demands that we also increase the availability of all tenures of housing, including rented housing in Scotland. That, very straightforwardly, is why we have brought these exemptions forward. We have done so to remove barriers to investment in mid-market-rent and build-to-rent properties, helping to ensure confidence and a continued supply of new rented options.

As a Government, we engaged extensively during the bill process, working hard to strike the right balance with our proposals. Since the 2025 act was passed, we have continued that engagement with stakeholders, including local authorities, the Scottish Federation of Housing Associations, the housing investment task force, landlords and tenant groups.

Miles Briggs: Ariane Burgess wanted some evidence on the impact of rent controls. Will the cabinet secretary outline what has happened to the buy-to-let market and the mid-market-rent and build-to-rent sectors in the capital? Everyone I have met has withdrawn from the capital, and we have seen the collapse in the supply of housing. That has been a direct consequence of rent controls.

Màiri McAllan: I can say for sure that, since the question of exemptions was debated and

supported on the floor of the Parliament, there has been a renewed confidence in investing in housing in both the mid-market-rent and build-to-rent sectors in Scotland. That underlines the importance of the exemptions.

I reassure Ariane Burgess and others that I have carefully considered and designed the exemptions so that they will continue to provide support for tenants. For example, tenants in build-to-rent properties will still be protected by the rent adjudication process that is available to them, which allows rent increases to be challenged. Of course, the Housing (Scotland) Act 2025 also strengthened the rent adjudication process for those living in mid-market-rent properties. If the landlord should deviate from a mid-market rent, we are absolutely clear that they will no longer qualify for an exemption. I hope that that provides some reassurance.

However, on the whole, Presiding Officer, these exemptions are vital as part of a commitment to address the housing emergency, because, very straightforwardly, they ensure a continued supply of new rented properties. They have enjoyed support across the chamber and across the housing sector, and I ask that members support them this evening.

The Presiding Officer: The question on the motion will be put at decision time.

The next item of business is consideration of seven Parliamentary Bureau motions, and I ask the Minister for Parliamentary Business and Veterans, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau, to move motions S6M-21040 to S6M-21045, on approval of Scottish statutory instruments, and S6M-21046, on designation of a lead committee.

Motions moved,

That the Parliament agrees that the Civic Government (Scotland) Act 1982 (Licensing of Skin Piercing and Tattooing) Amendment Order 2026 [draft] be approved.

That the Parliament agrees that the First-tier Tribunal for Scotland (Allocation of Functions to the Local Taxation Chamber) Regulations 2026 [draft] be approved.

That the Parliament agrees that the First-tier Tribunal for Scotland Local Taxation Chamber and Upper Tribunal for Scotland (Composition and Rules of Procedure) (Miscellaneous Amendment) Regulations 2026 [draft] be approved.

That the Parliament agrees that the Rehabilitation of Offenders Act 1974 (Exclusions and Exceptions) (Domestic Homicide and Suicide Reviews) (Scotland) Amendment Order 2026 [draft] be approved.

That the Parliament agrees that the Public Services Reform (Scottish Water) Order 2026 [draft] be approved.

That the Parliament agrees that the Renewables Obligation (Scotland) Amendment Order 2026 [draft] be approved.

That the Parliament agrees that the Social Justice and

Social Security Committee be designated as lead committee in consideration of the legislative consent memorandum on the Armed Forces Bill.—[*Graeme Dey*]

The Presiding Officer: The question on the motions will be put at decision time.

Decision Time

22:35

The Presiding Officer (Alison Johnstone): There are five questions to be put as a result of today's business.

The first question is, that motion S6M-21036, 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.

The vote is closed.

The First Minister (John Swinney): On a point of order, Presiding Officer. I do not think my vote registered, but I would have voted yes.

The Presiding Officer: Thank you, First Minister. I can confirm that it was 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)
 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, Foyso (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)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)

Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Harper, Emma (South Scotland) (SNP)
 Haughey, Clare (Rutherglen) (SNP)
 Hepburn, Jamie (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth) (SNP)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 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)
 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)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)
 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)

Abstentions

Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)

The Presiding Officer: The result of the vote on motion S6M-21036, in the name of Graeme Dey, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau, on approval of a Scottish statutory instrument, is: For 110, Against 7, Abstentions 1.

Motion agreed to,

That the Parliament agrees that the Hate Crime and Public Order (Scotland) Act 2021 (Characteristic of Sex) (Amendment and Transitional Provisions) Regulations 2026 [draft] be approved.

The Presiding Officer: The next question is, that motion S6M-21037, in the name of Graeme Dey, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau, on approval of an SSI, 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)
 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)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 Fairlie, Jim (Perthshire South and Kinross-shire) (SNP)
 FitzPatrick, Joe (Dundee City West) (SNP)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (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)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 Kidd, Bill (Glasgow Anniesland) (SNP)
 Lennon, Monica (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 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)
 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)
 Sarwar, Anas (Glasgow) (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)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)
 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)
 Findlay, Russell (West Scotland) (Con)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)

Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Hamilton, Rachael (Ettrick, Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (Con)
 Hoy, Craig (South Scotland) (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)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (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 vote on motion S6M-21037, in the name of Graeme Dey, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau, on approval of an SSI, is: For 93, Against 27, Abstentions 0.

Motion agreed to,

That the Parliament agrees that the Council Tax (Variation for Unoccupied Dwellings) (Scotland) Amendment Regulations 2026 [draft] be approved.

The Presiding Officer: The next question is, that motion S6M-21038, in the name of Graeme Dey, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau, on approval of an SSI, 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, Foyso (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)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)

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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 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)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 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)
 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)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)
 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

Ewing, Fergus (Inverness and Nairn) (Ind)
 Greer, Ross (West Scotland) (Green)

Abstentions

Burgess, Ariane (Highlands and Islands) (Green)
 Chapman, Maggie (North East 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 vote on motion S6M-21038, in the name of Graeme Dey, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau, on approval of an SSI, is: For 112, Against 2, Abstentions 6.

Motion agreed to,

That the Parliament agrees that the National Bus Travel Concession Schemes (Miscellaneous Amendment) (Scotland) Order 2026 [draft] be approved.

The Presiding Officer: The next question is, that motion S6M-21039, in the name of Graeme Dey, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau, on approval of an SSI, 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, Foyso (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)
 Dowey, Sharon (South Scotland) (Con)
 Dunbar, Jackie (Aberdeen Donside) (SNP)
 Duncan-Glancy, Pam (Glasgow) (Ind)
 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)
 Forbes, Kate (Skye, Lochaber and Badenoch) (SNP)
 Fraser, Murdo (Mid Scotland and Fife) (Con)
 Gallacher, Meghan (Central Scotland) (Con)
 Gilruth, Jenny (Mid Fife and Glenrothes) (SNP)
 Gosal, Pam (West Scotland) (Con)
 Gougeon, Mairi (Angus North and Mearns) (SNP)
 Grant, Rhoda (Highlands and Islands) (Lab)
 Gray, Neil (Airdrie and Shotts) (SNP)
 Greene, Jamie (West Scotland) (LD)
 Griffin, Mark (Central Scotland) (Lab)
 Gulhane, Sandesh (Glasgow) (Con)
 Halcro Johnston, Jamie (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 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)
 Hyslop, Fiona (Linlithgow) (SNP)
 Johnson, Daniel (Edinburgh Southern) (Lab)
 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)
 Maguire, Ruth (Cunninghame South) (SNP)
 Marra, Michael (North East Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 McNeill, Pauline (Glasgow) (Lab)
 Minto, Jenni (Argyll and Bute) (SNP)
 Mochan, Carol (South Scotland) (Lab)
 Mountain, Edward (Highlands and Islands) (Con)
 Mundell, Oliver (Dumfriesshire) (Con)
 Nicoll, Audrey (Aberdeen South and North Kincardine) (SNP)
 O'Kane, Paul (West Scotland) (Lab)
 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)
 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)
 Swinney, John (Perthshire North) (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)
 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)
 Vialla, Mercedes (North East Scotland) (Lab)

The Presiding Officer: The result of the division on motion S6M-21039, in the name of Graeme Dey, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau, on approval of an SSI, is: For 110, Against 8, Abstentions 0.

Motion agreed to,

That the Parliament agrees that the Private Housing Rent Control (Exempt Property) (Scotland) Regulations 2026 [draft] be approved.

The Presiding Officer: I propose to ask a single question on seven Parliamentary Bureau motions unless any member objects.

As no member objects, the question is, that motions S6M-21040 to S6M-21045, on approval of Scottish statutory instruments, and motion S6M-21046, on designation of a lead committee, in the name of Graeme Dey, on behalf of the Parliamentary Bureau, be agreed to.

Motions agreed to,

That the Parliament agrees that the Civic Government (Scotland) Act 1982 (Licensing of Skin Piercing and Tattooing) Amendment Order 2026 [draft] be approved.

That the Parliament agrees that the First-tier Tribunal for Scotland (Allocation of Functions to the Local Taxation Chamber) Regulations 2026 [draft] be approved.

That the Parliament agrees that the First-tier Tribunal for Scotland Local Taxation Chamber and Upper Tribunal for Scotland (Composition and Rules of Procedure) (Miscellaneous Amendment) Regulations 2026 [draft] be approved.

That the Parliament agrees that the Rehabilitation of Offenders Act 1974 (Exclusions and Exceptions) (Domestic Homicide and Suicide Reviews) (Scotland) Amendment

Order 2026 [draft] be approved.

That the Parliament agrees that the Public Services Reform (Scottish Water) Order 2026 [draft] be approved.

That the Parliament agrees that the Renewables Obligation (Scotland) Amendment Order 2026 [draft] be approved.

That the Parliament agrees that the Social Justice and Social Security Committee be designated as lead committee in consideration of the legislative consent memorandum on the Armed Forces Bill.

The Presiding Officer: That concludes decision time.

Meeting closed at 22:42.

This is the final edition of the Official Report of this meeting. It is part of the Scottish Parliament Official Report archive and has been sent for legal deposit.

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