Equality and Human Rights Commission
Policy

Working Better

Childcare Matters: improving choices and chances for parents and children
# Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key findings</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why childcare matters – the case for change</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What parents want</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childcare is an issue of equality</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving child outcomes</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The role of childcare in moving children out of poverty</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The childcare workforce and gender</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childcare as an investment</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Challenges</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of access to quality early years education and care</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor information</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shortage of places</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of provision for disabled children</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of provision for school-age children</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of flexible childcare</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of provision</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developing solutions</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Through its flagship Working Better project, the Equality and Human Rights Commission (the Commission) has created a new evidence base on work–life balance, flexible working and shared parenting. We found that parents today defy the traditional ‘mother’ and ‘father’ stereotypes and want a wider range of flexible job opportunities in all types of jobs; policies that reflect the social and economic benefits of integrating work and care; more financial support from the Government for paternity and parental leave; and more affordable childcare.

The first Working Better report focused on leave provision and flexible working, calling for policy change – in particular a re-configuring of maternity, paternity and parental leave, to better meet the aspirations of modern parents for shared work and caring and to give children the best start in life.

In Working Better: Childcare Matters we turn our attention to the fourth ‘ask’ from parents – affordable childcare. We draw on evidence from a wide range of sources including a comprehensive literature review of parents and childcare, a major survey of modern families, and How Fair is Britain? the Commission’s Triennial Review, to explore whether current childcare provision supports or hinders parents in their choices for work and care. We highlight the importance of quality, flexible, accessible and affordable early years education and childcare for improving child outcomes, life chances and social mobility and identify significant barriers to take-up, particularly among those families with the most to gain, with ability to pay being a key factor.

This is a critical time for childcare and early years policy. Evidence suggests significant challenges remain in providing more places, of the right quality, and at an affordable price for all. Improving provision against a background of spending reduction demands that change is fully informed by evidence of what works and what doesn’t, so that benefits for children and families can be shared more equally and not further ring-fenced for the better-off.

‘I am fortunate that my employer has very good family policies and is flexible and supportive of my needs. They will pay for additional childcare if there are any problems with my existing provider. I will also be able to be flexible in my working hours and work from home sometimes if necessary.’

Modern Families on-line forum
Key findings

- There is strong evidence of the importance of quality, flexible, accessible and affordable early years’ education and childcare for improving life chances and social mobility – for parents, children and families.

- Recent childcare policy has come a long way in improving provision and helping families combine their work and family lives.

- However, there remain considerable gaps in childcare provision particularly for disabled children, older children, out-of-school and holiday options and childcare for those working atypical hours, with a pressing need to expand the overall number of places.

- There are also variations in use in relation to family characteristics. Formal childcare use is higher in less deprived areas and children from working and higher-income families are more likely to use formal childcare than those from non-working and lower-income families.

- Childcare use is not a simple issue of preference – the ability to pay is a key determinant of access to appropriate childcare. Among parents paying for childcare, around a fifth said that they struggled to meet their childcare costs. This proportion was significantly higher among lone parents, families with low incomes and those living in deprived areas.

- Many parents still say they want better and more affordable childcare. Given that the childcare strategy has focused attention on disadvantaged families, it is a matter of some concern that childcare choices still seem to be more readily available to those who can afford to make them.

- Lack of affordable, flexible and quality childcare impacts most on low paid and lone parent groups. Those children most at risk of poor outcomes and with the most to gain from quality early education and care, are least likely to use it.

- There is extensive evidence of positive impact on child development and of the specific qualities and types of settings that deliver the best results. Childcare policy going forward needs to develop, support and resource provision for all, built on these factors.
Why childcare matters – the case for change

What parents want

While some parents will always choose to stay at home with their children, the majority want to find ways of combining work and care. Childcare is a key element of opening up the choice to do that and ‘affordable childcare’ was one of four key asks from parents in the Modern Families survey.

Childcare provision has improved but the current system is still failing many. Twenty-eight per cent of non-working parents say they are not working due to inadequate childcare provision and just over a half said they would prefer to work if they could find quality, affordable and reliable childcare. Over a half of non-working lone mothers say they would prefer to work if suitable childcare were available.

Childcare is important for women’s career progression. Extended periods out of the labour market impact negatively on women’s careers. And limited and inflexible childcare provision confines women to low-paid part-time work within school hours and term-time.

There is evidence that many parents are fitting work around the limited childcare timings and places available – rather than childcare supporting work and care choices.

In 2008, in England, 5.5 million children aged 0-14 were receiving childcare. Ninety per cent of 3–4 year-olds were in childcare, reflecting the impact of the free entitlement, dropping to 59 per cent of 0-2 year-olds. Sixty-five per cent of parents in England use some kind of childcare, often a patchwork of formal and informal, with grandparents the most common source of informal support. Nearly a fifth of parents draw on support from grandparents in a typical week.

Poorer families are much less likely than those on higher incomes to feel that their working arrangements are the result of choice rather than necessity.

Childcare is an issue of equality

Helping families to combine work and care is an essential step in achieving equality by enabling better access to the labour market for women and a chance for men to spend more time caring for their children.

The Commission’s Triennial Review has highlighted as one of five top equality objectives the importance of giving every person the opportunity to play a part in strengthening Britain’s economy, with closing the gender pay gap a key part of this challenge. Being able to access quality work commensurate with skills levels, through the availability of better and more flexible childcare, rather than being forced into low-paid part-time jobs, will help to close the pay gap. The economy will benefit too – better use of women’s skills could be worth in the region of £15bn-£23bn to the economy each year.5
Working Better
The important role of early years education and care has been highlighted in the recent National Equality Panel report as a key factor in any strategy to reduce inequality in the UK.6

**Improving child outcomes**

The pre-school years are a crucial time for children’s cognitive, social and emotional growth. The *What Parents Want* Review reports a substantial body of evidence showing that there are considerable benefits of good quality early years education and childcare for children.

Outcomes and achievements in adulthood are closely linked to cognitive and social competencies developed in childhood. Good cognitive abilities are associated with educational attainment later in life and therefore indirectly with higher wages. Social skills also contribute to later life outcomes: skills related to attention are associated with higher educational qualifications, while social adjustment is associated with improved labour market participation, higher wages and reduced likelihood of being involved in criminal activity.

Social scientists find that early years development (both cognitive and social) depends on family characteristics, such as parental socio-economic status and education, and parental behaviour.

The quality of the home learning environment (HLE) and parental aspirations are particularly important for children’s development. One study suggests that good quality HLE has the strongest impact on children’s development and may counteract some of the negative effects of social deprivation.

The quality of pre-school and primary school education and care also matters for the development of cognitive and social competencies, with quality settings having a positive impact on child outcomes.

The Effective Provision of Pre-School Education project7 found that, regardless of all other factors, children who did not experience any pre-school provision demonstrated lower cognitive abilities and poor social/behavioural development at school entry, especially peer sociability, independence and concentration. For those who attended pre-school for two years, cognitive development at the age of 5 was four to six months more advanced than those who had not attended at all.

While benefits for over 3s are widely accepted, evidence on the impact on development of childcare settings for 0-2s is less conclusive with some limited evidence suggesting risk of low-level problem behaviours (worry/upset), in long hours of centre-based or childminder care. Commenting on the evidence, the DfE has suggested that high quality childcare can reduce the negative outcomes.8 Pilot projects testing the extension of the free hours offer to 2 year-olds in disadvantaged areas support this, with findings of improvements in vocabulary and significantly better parent–child relationships where children had attended quality settings. In assessing the relative benefits of quality childcare for 0-2 year-olds, the quality of maternal care and the family environment is key, with evidence of some children from disadvantaged backgrounds showing better behaviour and development in formal childcare.
Benefits of childcare and early years’ education appear to be particularly significant for children from ethnic minorities, with survey evidence showing that for certain outcomes, especially pre-reading and early number concepts, children from some ethnic groups, including Black Caribbean and Black African and children for whom English is not their first language, made greater progress during pre-school than White British children or those for whom English is a first language. Despite this positive impact, fewer children from ethnic minority groups participate in formal pre-school childcare.\(^9\)

The importance of early intervention for breaking the cycle of inequality and underachievement and improving life outcomes is well recognised. Also well-evidenced is the extent to which inequalities in development linked to income and characteristics are already in place by the age of five.

The Triennial Review included data on the percentage of children achieving a good level of development by age 5, using the Early Years Foundation Stage Profile (EYFSP) and found that only 35 per cent of pupils known to be eligible for free school meals achieved a good level compared with 55 per cent of pupils not eligible.

There is also a relationship between the socio-economic wellbeing of an area and the percentage of pupils achieving a good level of development. Using the Income Deprivation affecting children Indices 2007, 30 per cent of pupils in the most deprived 10 per cent of areas in England achieved a good level of development at EYFSP, compared with 67 per cent in the least deprived 10 per cent of areas.

For pupils with special educational needs (SEN) (both with and without a statement) 15 per cent achieved a good level of development compared to 65 per cent for those pupils with no identified SEN.

This signals the importance of tackling the barriers to take-up of formal childcare and early years education provision that can help to improve early development levels and life outcomes – recognising that disadvantaged families and children with the most to gain from quality provision are currently less likely to access it.

The Triennial Review has set as its second of five top equality objectives ‘society should aim to ensure that every individual has the chance to learn and realise their talents to the full’. A significant challenge in achieving this is identified as ‘reducing the disparities in educational performance by socio-economic background’. There is sufficient evidence of the positive impact of quality early years education and childcare to suggest that extending access to quality provision across all low income groups would help to close the attainment gaps between children from low and high income families.

**The role of childcare in moving children out of poverty**

Four out of 10 children living in poverty have a mother who is a lone parent. A further three out of 10 children in poverty are in families where the father works and the mother has no or low income.

A Joseph Rowntree report\(^{10}\) concluded that appropriate childcare provision could move between a sixth and a half of children out of poverty today.
Appropriate childcare can support more types of families into employment and at the same time improve child outcomes, thus reducing child poverty in the longer term.

There is some evidence from the US that economic outcomes can be influenced, alongside developmental outcomes. Also, early years provision can help eradicate intergenerational child poverty depending on its quality – high quality consistently yields better outcomes. Countries such as Denmark and Sweden have reduced the negative link between low parental educational attainment and income, and equivalent low outcomes for their children, with equal access to early years provision and social mixing in childcare playing a key role. This contrasts with the US and UK where parental income remains a key determinant of children’s outcomes, with those in lower income groups achieving lower outcomes.

The Treasury, with DWP and DfE, have also identified childcare as having a key role to play in the child poverty strategy.

**The childcare workforce and gender**

Evidence of fathers wanting greater involvement with their children’s education and care is not reflected in the make-up of the early childhood education and care workforce characterised by a low-paid, gendered workforce: 98 per cent are women.

Reasons put forward for increasing the numbers of men working in childcare include the benefits of recruiting from a wider pool of labour, the combined skills and experiences of a more diverse workforce, the importance of male role models particularly for lone parent families and evidence that suggests children can benefit from seeing men in childcare as it challenges gender inequalities. It has been suggested that low pay in the childcare sector is a deterrent for men and that more men in the sector could drive up pay.

**Childcare as an investment**

Recent research, ‘Backing the Future’,\(^1\) suggests that investment in early intervention and universal services, including early education and childcare, would save the UK economy £486 billion over the next 20 years and would improve child wellbeing. A Canadian study\(^2\) similarly found that investing in childcare provided a strong economic stimulus.

Estimates by the Institute of Fiscal Studies for Daycare Trust (2009) suggest that £9 billion would be needed to raise all group based care to high-quality standards. At a time of national cut-backs major new spend is unlikely – but there is extensive evidence of short and long term benefits for children, families and the economy and these should be factored into policy decisions.
Challenges

Lack of access to quality early years education and care

While evidence points to measurable benefits of quality early childhood education and care for child development, it also reveals, disappointingly, that early years experiences vary for different groups. Those children most at risk of poor outcomes and therefore, arguably, with the most to gain from quality early education and care, are least likely to use it.

- Non-working, low income families are less likely to use formal childcare than working and higher income families. There has been no increase in the number of children taking up formal childcare in lower income families despite this being a public service agreement (PSA) government target.

- Children from two parent families where both parents worked were more likely to receive formal childcare (53 per cent) than those who had only one parent in work (38 per cent) or whose parents were not working (23 per cent).\textsuperscript{13}

- Families experiencing multiple disadvantage have low levels of childcare use and are more negative towards formal provision – yet arguably have the most to gain from it. Formal childcare use is lower in the most deprived areas – 34 per cent in the most deprived quintile compared with 53 per cent in the least deprived quintile in 2008.\textsuperscript{14}

- Appropriate childcare for disabled children is reported as being scarce and expensive,\textsuperscript{15} with concerns about staff training for dealing with disabled children, and evidence of lower usage by children with SEN than those without.

- Fewer children from ethnic minority groups participate in formal pre-school childcare. Research has identified costs, but also preferences to stay at home linked to culture or social norms as possible reasons for this. Recent research has found that career aspirations among Pakistani and Bangladeshi young girls and women are high and this generational change may drive change in childcare usage.\textsuperscript{16}

Cost

Childcare is expensive and often unaffordable. A survey of parents in 2008 found that 37 per cent of parents thought that childcare was unaffordable, with cost reported as a barrier to childcare use (and work) particularly among low income families, lone parents and those not currently using formal childcare.

There is an association between use of formal childcare and family income. Research has found that 58 per cent of families with incomes of £45,000+ used formal childcare compared with a third of families below £10,000.
A quarter of non-working mothers with pre-school children mentioned the affordability of childcare as a reason for not working. Among parents paying for childcare, a fifth said they were struggling to meet childcare costs. This proportion was considerably higher among lone parents, families with low incomes and those living in deprived areas.

The ability to pay is a key determinant of access to appropriate childcare. Affordability divides families and is a particular barrier to low income and lone parent families, though it is also a key consideration for a wide range of parents.

The evidence is showing the benefit of the entitlement to free childcare places for working parents of 3 and 4 year-olds which has attracted a high take-up. However, as indicated above, childcare use is higher in less deprived areas, and for some groups of parents, such as lone parents, there is a lower than average take-up.

The planned extension of the entitlement to 15 hours, on a more flexible basis, and the extension to disadvantaged 2 year-olds is welcome. Questions remain about improving childcare for 0-2 year-olds, which can be the most expensive time for parents.

More affordable childcare was among the top four recommendations made by parents in the Modern Families survey in order to enable them to achieve a better work–life balance, along with better flexible working opportunities and better paternity leave and pay.

‘More affordable childcare should be made available to give parents/carers the opportunity to work if they so wish. People should have the opportunity to choose and not be restricted by affordability. It is a huge factor for consideration when having a child if you can afford to return to work and arrange for childcare, especially for those on a lower/average wage.’

Modern Families on-line forum

**Poor information**

Some parents have not traditionally used formal childcare and typically, the most disadvantaged families are still less informed and less likely to use it, even when it is free. Those groups known to have lower rates of formal care use (non-working families, lone parents, those with lower incomes) were less likely to have had access to recent information about childcare, more likely to say they had too little information on childcare and more likely to say they were unsure about the availability, quality and affordability of childcare in the local area.

Evidence suggests that some immigrant families may face barriers when accessing information on the services available.

Parents need to have access to full information on childcare – local quality, availability and on the positive benefits that it can bring, to ensure that they are making informed decisions about whether to use it.
Shortage of places

Despite an increase in childcare places, with approximately one childcare place for every three children under eight, 93 per cent of local authorities report gaps in childcare provision in: childcare before and after school, holiday care, care for older children, provision for children with SEN and disabilities, provision for parents working atypical hours and, in some places, care for those under two. There is a wide variation in provision of childcare across the Government regions with a review of Childcare Sufficiency Assessments finding a mismatch between the services on offer and those demanded by parents in some areas.

The childcare market is dominated by the private, voluntary and independent sectors (80 per cent of provision) and there is evidence of market failure and shortage of places, particularly in disadvantaged areas. In 2009, over a third of parents felt there was insufficient childcare places in their area.

Evidence suggests that the growth in places has slowed and is close to stalling.

Lack of provision for school-age children

For school-aged children, formal childcare provision is limited before and after school and during holidays. Demand for this was particularly high among lone parents. The ‘wraparound’ provision of childcare around schools and school-aged children, is inadequate and fragmented – and arguably a policy area much in need of attention.

Lack of provision for disabled children

Appropriate childcare for disabled children is scarce and expensive. Nearly half (49 per cent) of Family Information Services in both England and Wales reported that there was not enough childcare provision in their area for disabled children.

Parents of disabled children have fewer childcare options. For these families, survey evidence shows that one or other parent is likely to stay at home to cover childcare requirements. Parents with disabled children are significantly less likely to feel that they achieve a good compromise between work and childcare.

Lack of flexible childcare

Childcare provision is not always flexible enough to meet parent’s working hours. The welcome increase in flexible working has not been matched by an increase in flexible childcare. There is very little formal provision available outside standard hours (before 8am, after 6pm, or at weekends), despite evidence showing that a growing number of parents need childcare at these times, often to cover atypical working hours and that a substantial number of mothers work atypical hours, particularly evenings and Saturdays.
Anecdotal evidence points to penalty fees for parents arriving late and outside standard hours to collect their children. Whereas in other parts of Europe, for example the Nordic countries, parental aspirations are supported by highly developed early childhood education and care, in the UK, parents are working the hours necessary to fit in with the provision available. Hence the predominance of women (some highly-skilled) in low paid, part-time work – rather than childcare and flexible working supporting work choices.

Quality of provision

The review has found that there are a number of key features of quality provision – these include being in the maintained sector, having children’s centre status, higher qualifications level of staff and pay levels above the generally low levels for the sector.

Being in the maintained sector is a strong predictor of quality, with better child social interactions, improved language and reasoning skills, better literacy, maths, science and diversity of activities. Quality is best in the maintained sector and in children’s centres and worst in the private sector (although quality varies). Yet only high quality early childhood education and care has been shown to make a positive contribution to the cognitive and social development of children.

Ofsted has also found that quality is generally poorer in disadvantaged areas. While Sure Start Children’s Centres are rated highly for the quality they provide in the most deprived areas, there are insufficient to meet local demand. In 2008, there were only 1,000 Children’s Centres providing full daycare in England, compared with 56,200 childminders and 13,800 other providers of full daycare.

Having graduate-level, trained teachers has the greatest impact on quality and child outcomes. There has been a recent focus on improving skills and qualifications in the workforce through the Graduate Leader Fund but there is no long-term funding to support higher reward. Sixty-six per cent of the early years’ workforce are qualified to level 3 (A level), with only 11 per cent qualified to degree level. The maintained sector has more staff at graduate level than the private, voluntary and independent sectors.

In a 2010 Daycare Trust survey, parents ranked the following criteria when choosing childcare: ‘staff, well-qualified, trained or experienced’ (74 per cent); ‘warm and caring atmosphere’ (59 per cent); ‘Good Ofsted report’ (44 per cent), and ‘cost’ (36 per cent).
Evidence points to the importance of closing gaps and take-up, both in pre-school and school-age childcare provision that currently impact negatively on work opportunities for parents, and on child outcomes, particularly in workless and low-income families.

Action is needed to drive up both supply and demand. Cost is already a barrier for some parents, however, and particularly for those whose children could benefit from high quality childcare and early years education. Reduction in support for childcare costs will compound the problem, with higher cost to parents, already stretched to meet fees, creating a disincentive to work. A key question to be addressed in the current review of childcare policy is how can affordable, flexible, quality childcare, that supports work for parents and better child outcomes, be provided in such a way as to deliver both high quality care for children and proper reward to those working in the sector – but without passing on costs to parents?

‘Our area is very good in this respect, childcare at the local school goes up to 7.00pm as does the local nursery.’
Modern Families on-line forum

To answer this, the following considerations need to be factored into policy development:

- the association between quality, maintained provision and higher qualification levels of staff and the link to better child outcomes
- the positive impact on take-up, particularly among disadvantaged parents, of the free offer for 3 and 4 year-olds
- the inadequacy of childcare provision for disabled children and the importance of rolling out the disabled Children’s Access to Childcare project
- the need for policy development to tackle the fragmented nature of wraparound provision of childcare around schools and school-aged children
- the importance of atypical childcare provision to enable parents working flexibly and with atypical work patterns to use childcare
- the importance of improving the gender make-up of the workforce
- the need to simplify the complex raft of funding streams for parents and for providers and to build in sustainability
- finding ways of better using the Local Authority childcare sufficiency regime to ensure parents needs are being met
- improving information services, including understanding of the benefits of quality childcare, and targeting them at groups currently not accessing childcare services
building on plans to extend the free entitlement to disadvantaged 2 year-olds – and finding new ways of providing support for low income families to access quality childcare for children aged 0-2 years-old, with all the associated benefits for work and life outcomes

the possibility of extending the ‘disadvantage premium’ not just to disadvantaged families but also to deprived areas where evidence points to the market operating poorly with low take-up of early years provision and high levels of underachievement

whether there are flexible alternatives to mainstream provision, for example sitter-services, given the failure of the childcare market to provide flexible childcare

the importance of equality impact assessing policy decisions on childcare provision and funding and support for parents, and taking steps to mitigate negative impacts, recognising the current equality issues for women, disabled children, lone parents and ethnic minority children identified in this report.
Conclusions

While some parents will always choose to remain at home with their children, the way in which childcare is currently provided constrains choices for some families more than others because of:

- High costs
- Limited availability
- Inflexible timing
- Poor quality in some areas and settings

These barriers to take-up impact particularly on low income families, lone parents and parents of disabled children, despite the fact that recent childcare strategy has focused on improving childcare for disadvantaged families. It is disappointing, therefore, that evidence still points to higher take-up among those working and able to pay in higher income groups.

The childcare market operates imperfectly with supply and demand problems linked to costs for both parents and providers. Many parents find childcare too expensive and further reduction in childcare support will exacerbate this problem. The increase in take-up for 3 and 4 year-olds, when the free entitlement kicks in, points to the importance of extending the entitlement to younger children and particularly to those disadvantaged if the benefits of childcare for parents and children are to be more universally available.

Evidence from the Modern Families Survey suggests that parents are looking for more equal work and care roles. Flexible work and good childcare are essential to support these aspirations, but currently choices are constrained by limited, costly and, in some cases, poor quality childcare provision.

For mothers, choosing to work is still a fraught decision, with the fear that childcare will be detrimental to the child’s development and happiness factored strongly into decision-making.

There is extensive evidence of positive impact on child development – and of the specific qualities and types of settings that deliver the best results. Childcare policy going forward needs to develop, support and resource provision for all that is built on these quality factors.


8 ‘The great nursery debate’. Guardian www.guardian.co.uk/.../nurseries-childcare-pre-school-cortisol-


12 Cupe.ca/economics/study-major-benefits-investing-child


15 Verity Campbell-Barr and Alison Garnham 2010.


18 Wraparound care here refers to schools that are open beyond the school day in order to offer childcare. The care may be provided by the school or in partnership with another childcare provider and can include breakfast clubs, after school clubs and holiday clubs.

19 Verity Campbell-Barr and Alison Garnham 2010.

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