The Modern Families Index

2018
Bright Horizons is proud to continue to sponsor the Modern Families Index – supporting this annual opportunity for us all to understand the challenges facing working mothers, fathers and carers and reflect on the implications these have for our society and for business.

At Bright Horizons it is our founding mission to make a positive difference to the lives of children, families and employers, and a key part of our mission involves supporting organisations to develop family-friendly working environments and practices, which reflect the diverse and increasingly urgent dependant care needs of their employees.

We know from our own experience and from listening to our clients and families that supporting families and employers is not only the right thing to do, it’s also the smart thing to do. In this the 5th year of the Modern Families Index, what is clear is that for the vast majority, family life comes first: if circumstances demand a choice then many will choose family over work, despite the financial impact. We strongly believe that it shouldn’t have to be an either/or dilemma. As our population ages, pensions reduce and retirement age increase, it is also clear that caring for both children and adult/elderly loved ones will soon become the norm, with almost a quarter of parents already caring for an adult or elderly family member – rising to 30% in the next five years.

The figures from this year’s Index also ring clear alarm bells for any employer who is yet to take action on this important topic. There are real risks to businesses from employees downshifting roles, stalling their careers or even resigning in search for a better work-life fit, not to mention missing the opportunity to attract and retain talented individuals.

Mental health and wellbeing continues to draw media attention; the government’s “Thriving at Work” report has estimated that poor mental health costs employers up to £42 billion a year. A theme which persists in each year’s Modern Families Index is the impact of long hours and a lack of control over working time and location on employees’ mental health and resilience. Shockingly, many of this year’s respondents reported they were working the equivalent of an extra day each week; it is particularly ironic to see that around a third of those contracted to work part-time (25 hours per week) were actually working nearer to a full-time pattern of 35 hours. This has implications for family time, healthy eating and exercise, and emotional wellbeing – quite apart from the practical considerations of combining this kind of workload with care for loved ones.

Fortunately alongside this we can see many positives. It’s true that there is much that needs to be done – but equally, there is much that can be done. Organisations which encourage individuals to make their needs known and feel confident to embrace support where it is offered, create workplace cultures that respect parents and carers and their evolving responsibilities. There are many employers across a variety of sectors who can serve as role models for others in this area – those who are committed to offering practical and meaningful support for work-life balance and family responsibilities.

Together, we all have the opportunity to take a leading role in enabling today’s working families to grow and thrive both at home and in the workplace, and to shift the culture to one that is supportive of all caring responsibilities. As we look forward to the year ahead, let’s keep talking, but more importantly keep moving forward on this important topic.

Foreword from Denise Priest
Director of Employer Partnerships, Bright Horizons
This year’s Index reveals just how complex combining family and work can be for parents. Looking across the UK, and at what’s happening for mothers and fathers, what emerges is a picture of parents navigating their way against a stiff breeze. Squeezed family finances, long working hours and hostile workplace cultures are, for many parents, having real effects on family life. But they are also affecting the way that parents think and feel about work, and, as a result, prompting them to think about the value of work, and the amount of time that they devote to it. To put it simply, a substantial number of parents are beginning to question whether their current working arrangement is worth it.

That’s not to say that it’s all bad. Many parents are broadly content, and feel that they work for an employer who is supportive of their family responsibilities. But in the realities of their working lives - and the actual opportunities for work life balance that they want - there are tensions. Working hours for many are lengthy, and not just full time workers: part timers are putting in extra too.

A lot of parents work flexibly, and flexible working overall seems to be a way of getting higher levels of control over working life, but it is a mixed picture. Flexible working on its own is not able to reconcile the fundamental work life imbalance caused by long hours and workplace cultures that reward presenteeism and still see mothers as the parent who should be the main carer. This is an important message, for employers and policy makers - that flexible working on its own is not enough, and it needs a supportive work life environment to fully realise its benefits.

Caring for children and sustaining family life is something that both mothers and fathers feel a responsibility for, with almost two thirds of fathers saying that childcare is a key factor in their career choices and development. The idea that this is a role (or responsibility) just for women seems, to these parents, increasingly out of date. Almost a third of couples say that they now share work and childcare equally and it is revealing that the group of employees which is most likely to say they want to downshift jobs to get a better family and work balance is young fathers. In last year’s Index we identified millennial fathers as a bellwether, seeking a better work and family fit against an unsupportive cultural background. The situation remains the same in 2018.

What should happen in response to these findings? Here are three ideas that I think can help modern families and employers work together to get a mutually beneficial work life fit.

Firstly, organisations need to really examine their working practices and the way that they organise work to make sure that the demands of work are realistic and fair; secondly, parents should make use of the work life balance policies that are already available, driving change within their organisations; thirdly, policy makers need to consider the way that leave and pay, especially around maternity and paternity, are configured to ensure that they support real choices for families around working and caring.

Foreword from Sarah Jackson
Chief Executive, Working Families
About families in the UK

In 2017, there were 4.94 million married or civil partner couple families with dependent children in the UK. There were 1.25 million cohabiting couples with dependent children and 1.78 million single parent families with dependent children.1 Women accounted for 86 per cent of single parents with dependent children.2

Of the 14 million dependent children living in families, the majority (64 per cent) of dependent children live in a married couple family. The percentage of dependent children living in cohabitating families increased from seven per cent to 15 per cent between 1996 and 2016, while the percentage of dependent children living in single parent families changed little. Married couples with dependent children have more children on average than other family types. In 2016, 55 per cent of single parents with dependent children had one child, whereas 40 per cent of married couples with dependent children had one child.3

Dual-earner households are now the norm in the UK. Among couple families, the percentage of both parents working full time increased from 26 per cent in 2001 to 31 per cent in 2013.4

There is little difference in the proportion of couple families with one or two children where both parents are in employment (76 and 75 per cent respectively). Families that have one child are most likely to have both parents in full-time employment (40 per cent). Families with two children are more likely to split employment so that fathers work full-time and mothers work part-time (41 per cent).

In couple families where there are three or more dependent children, 41 per cent have just one parent in employment. Couple families with three or more children are most likely to split their employment so that the father works full-time and the mother is not in employment.5

The proportion of working mothers has risen over the last two decades and now stands at 71%.6 Mothers with dependent children were more likely to be in employment than women without children, but they were less likely to work full time (46 per cent) than women without (68 per cent) in 2014. The proportion of mothers in employment with children aged between three and four has gone up by almost 10 per cent since 1997. This was largely driven by an increase in full-time employment.7 The percentage of mothers working full-time increases as their child gets older.

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1 Families and Households: 2017, ONS (Office of National Statistics)
2 Families and Households: 2016, ONS
3 Families and Households: 2017 ONS
5 Families and the labour market 2017, ONS
6 Labour Force Survey 2017 ONS
7 https://visual.ons.gov.uk/more-mothers-with-young-children-working-full-time/
Since the extension of the right to request flexible working in 2014, 36 per cent of women in employment with children under six have requested more flexible hours, with 80 per cent of requests either partially or fully agreed.8

Qualitative studies show that fathers in employment feel marginalised from access to flexible working opportunities, due to their managers’ assumption that they are the breadwinner.9 Studies also show that mothers working flexibly, including part-time, tend to be side-lined or downgraded.10 For both mothers and fathers there is a gap between policy and practice with regard to flexible working.

Turning to types of occupation, in 2014 single mothers with dependent children were more likely to work in low skilled jobs such as cleaning and catering than mothers living in couple households. More than 14 per cent of single mothers were employed in low-skilled occupations, compared with eight per cent of mothers in a couple relationship. 40 per cent of mothers in a couple relationship worked in higher skilled occupations like nursing or teaching, compared with 17 per cent of single mothers.11

There has been a change in father’s working hours in the UK. Although they still work some of the longest hours in Europe, their hours have fallen from 47 hours per week in 2001 to 45 hours per week in 2011, driven by a decline in weekend and evening working. There has also been a significant change in the proportion of fathers working 48 hours or more. In 2001, 40 per cent of fathers in the UK worked 48 hours or more. However, this proportion declined to 31 per cent by 2013.12

While mothers tend to perform more routine family activities and be more involved with children than fathers13, it is clear that fathers’ involvement with children has grown and is growing. Their involvement in childcare increased from less than 15 minutes a day in the mid-1970s to three hours a day during the week by the late 1990s.14 In 2005, fathers did a third of parental childcare within households.15 Analysis of time use data shows that women carry out an average of 60 per cent more unpaid work than men.16 On average, men spend 16 hours a week doing unpaid care work including childcare, laundry and cleaning, compared to women (26 hours a week).

The gendered division of labour within households is a barrier to women’s participation in the labour market. While only one per cent of men aged 16 to 64 were economically inactive due to unpaid care work, ten per cent of women aged 16 to 64

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8 Women and Flexible Working, IPPR, 2014
11 Families in the labour market 2014, ONS
12 Modern Fatherhood, Parental Working in Europe, 2016
13 Modern Fatherhood, Fathers’ Involvement with Children, 2013
14 Fathers Network Scotland, Dad Matters, 2014
15 Ibid
16 https://visual.ons.gov.uk/the-value-of-your-unpaid-work/
stayed out of work to look after the family or home. The high cost of childcare has a great influence on parents’ choices, particularly mothers, to give up work or reduce their working hours.\footnote{High childcare costs mean one in five parents are considering reducing hours or giving up work altogether, Action for Children, 2015}

According to the Joseph Rowntree Foundation in 2017, a single parent with one child (pre-school) needed to earn at least £25,900 a year before tax to achieve the minimum income standard (how much income households need to afford an acceptable standard of living). Couples with two children (requiring childcare) need to earn at least £20,400 each before tax.\footnote{A minimum income standard for the UK in 2017, JRF}

It is estimated to cost £152,000 in two parent families and £183,000 in single parent families to bring up a child.\footnote{The Cost of A Child in 2016, Child Poverty Action Group} By 2014/15 the number of children in poverty had increased by 60,000 to 3.7 million from 2002/03. Children in single parent families are more likely to live in poverty (44 per cent of children) than in couple parent families (24 per cent).\footnote{Child Poverty by Family Type, 2016, and Child Poverty Rate by Family Type and Parent Work Status, 2016 JRF}

The use of formal childcare in the UK is high. 68 per cent of families use childcare, with 42 per cent of families using more than one type of childcare. Informal care plays a significant role in childcare – grandparental care is most commonly used (31 per cent).\footnote{Provision and Use of Preschool Childcare in Britain, 2015. Institute of Education, University College London}

The cost of nursery part-time (25 hours) is £116 per week in 2017. A registered childminder now costs £110 per week for part-time care for a child under two, compared with £104.06 in 2015. Childcare costs account for a significant proportion of family expenditure. For example, childcare costs of £6000 per annum are more than double what families spend on food and drink each year.\footnote{Childcare survey 2017, Family and Childcare Trust.}

**About the Modern Families Index**

The Index is the most comprehensive survey of how working families manage the balance between work and family life in the UK. 2,761 working parents across the UK responded with at least one dependent child aged 13 or under. The sample comprised 1,304 fathers and 1,457 mothers spread equally across 12 regions of the UK including Scotland and Wales. Single parent households accounted for 21 per cent of the sample, and married couples were the most frequently occurring at 63 per cent (fig1). The majority of parents (91 per cent) looked after their children all of the time, whilst 9 per cent looked after them some of the time.

\footnote{High childcare costs mean one in five parents are considering reducing hours or giving up work altogether, Action for Children, 2015}
\footnote{A minimum income standard for the UK in 2017, JRF}
\footnote{The Cost of A Child in 2016, Child Poverty Action Group}
\footnote{Child Poverty by Family Type, 2016, and Child Poverty Rate by Family Type and Parent Work Status, 2016 JRF}
\footnote{Provision and Use of Preschool Childcare in Britain, 2015. Institute of Education, University College London}
\footnote{Childcare survey 2017, Family and Childcare Trust.}
Household incomes were most frequently reported in the range of £25-49,000 (44 per cent), with the next most common being in the £50-74,000 bracket (27 per cent). Only 3 per cent reported a household income below £15,000 and 9 per cent reported an income in the range of £15-24,000. At the other end of the household income scale, 16 per cent reported income of above £75,000 (7 per cent said this was more than £100,000). Married and cohabiting respondents reported higher household incomes than lone parent families, reflecting that in these families there are often two incomes (and often two full time incomes) coming in. London had the highest household incomes, with more than double the number reporting incomes of over £100,000 than the next highest region.

In terms of main respondents (n2761) fathers reported higher incomes than mothers. More than a third of mothers (36 per cent) earned less than £15,000 per year. In terms of generational earnings, there were not pronounced differences in earnings across the generations, although older parents earned slightly more than younger ones.

All respondents to the survey were working parents. The majority were employed full time (69 per cent) with a further 23 per cent employed part time. Seven per cent were self-employed and one per cent were on zero hours contracts. There were clear gender differences. Most fathers (90 per cent) worked full time, whilst 51 per cent of mothers did. Only 4 per cent of men worked part time, whereas 40 per cent of women did. Those in couple households were more likely than single parent households to be working full time, and London had the highest proportion of full time workers and the lowest proportion of part time ones.

A very high proportion of couple households had both parents working full time (71 per cent). Fifty six per cent of fathers reported that their partner was in full time

![Diagram showing relationship status and corresponding percentages.](image-url)
employment, with 78 per cent of mothers reporting the same. Millennials had the highest rates of dual full time employment (at 72 per cent). There was little evidence of both parents working part time, with only 3 per cent identifying as working in this way. Dual full time work, or full time with part time work were the dominant models, suggesting that both parents reducing working time is not yet commonplace for couple households. It is important to understand the importance of flexible working within this context of full time work that is the reality for many households, both couple and single parent ones. Shifting working time or place may be helping parents maintain full time jobs, rather than reducing hours (and income).

Sixty three per cent of the respondents worked in the private sector, although women were much more likely than men to work in the public sector (44 per cent to 26), reflecting the national trend. Private sector employment was highest in London and the South East where there were low levels of public sector employment. Occupational sectors are shown below (fig 2).

![Occupational sectors chart](chart.png)
Working time

There was strong evidence of extra working occurring, where parents said they were working beyond their contracted hours each week. The majority of respondents were contracted to work between 35 and 40 hours per week (47 per cent), with 10 per cent contracted to work more than this and 43 per cent contracted to work below 35 hours per week. The following table (fig 3) shows the extra hours being worked by those parents contracted to work between 31 and 42 hours per week.

![Contracted vs actual hours](image)

It is evident that for many parents working extra is a regular occurrence. For those parents working ‘normal’ full time jobs (7 – 8 hours a day, five days a week), the numbers putting in extra time is substantial. Of those parents who are contracted to work 35-36 hours per week, 40 per cent are putting in extra hours of whom almost a third are putting in an extra 7 hours (the equivalent to an extra working day) each week. Parents who work part time are also finding themselves working extra. For example, 34 per cent of parents who worked 25 hours per week are doing extra hours, and 30 per cent of these are putting in enough hours to qualify as full time workers doing around 35 hours per week.

Flexible working was used by just over half of respondents (54 per cent). Women were more likely to report working flexibly than men (58 per cent vs 49 per cent). Millennials were the most likely to report they worked flexibly. Of the regions of the UK, 72 per cent of parents in London said they worked flexibly – the highest proportion of any region; parents in the North West and North East were least likely to work flexibly (56 and 54 per cent did not work flexibly, respectively). The types of flexible working used are shown in the following table (fig 4).
Fathers were more likely to make use of workplace flexibility, and also working time flexibility. Twice as many mothers as fathers worked flexibly through reducing their hours; interestingly, although numbers were relatively small, more fathers (11 per cent) than mothers (9 per cent) said that they were part of a job share arrangement. Fourteen per cent of millennials said that they worked in a job share, more than twice that of any other age group. In general millennials were more likely to work flexibly in all ways other than variable working times.

The main driver of flexibility was reconciling work with caring responsibilities, with 46 per cent of fathers and 67 per cent of mothers saying this was the primary reason they worked flexibly. More fathers than mothers said they worked flexibly to manage their wellbeing (38 vs 26 per cent) and identical numbers said they worked flexibly to pursue outside interests, suggesting that fathers are more likely to use flexibility for non-caring reasons. More fathers (34 vs 19 per cent of mothers) said that their employer had required them to work flexibly, too. Millennials were more likely (30 per cent) to have been asked by their employer to work flexibly. Requirements to work flexibly may not be as positively associated with work life balance as when it has been chosen by employees. Required flexibility, which may come as part of organisational restructuring, may offer less choice and control to employees, the balance of the benefits of such flexibility tilting towards the employer.

Forty six percent of parents did not work flexibly. Of these, 45 per cent said they did not because flexible working was not available at their workplace, and 36 per cent

said that the type of flexibility they wanted was not available in their current role. Only 16 per cent said that they didn’t want to work flexibly, with other barriers cited as reduced income (10 per cent), hostile manager sentiment (9 per cent) and fears about career damage and negative perceptions (6 per cent each). Only four per cent had had a request for flexibility rejected. Availability of flexibility was most restricted in accommodation and food, manufacturing, education and human health and social work sectors, where over a quarter of respondents working in those sectors said flex wasn’t available, corresponding with other research.\(^\text{24}\)

As well as the flexibility they did and didn’t have, parents were also asked to report on the level of control they had over their working lives. The relevance of control as a key factor in satisfaction with work and family balance is discussed later in this report (p24) but it is worth reiterating that control over working life correlates with better work life balance. Parents were asked about the levels of control that they enjoyed in three areas: control over their working times; control over their working place; and control over the number hours they worked. The results are summarised in the table below (fig 5).

![Figure 5](image)

Fathers had more control over their working times, places and hours worked than mothers. Control was equivalent between parents of different ages, with younger workers saying they had no less control than older counterparts. Parents in London appear to enjoy the highest levels of control.

The availability of flexible working was linked with control, as might be expected (fig 6) although a substantial number of parents who had flexibility still found control restricted: one fifth of those who had flexibility had restricted or no control over their

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working time, 31 per cent had restricted or no control over their workplace, and a quarter had no or little control over the number of working hours. For these parents, flexible working was not delivering control over their working lives.

The highest levels of control were found amongst those who were able to work from different locations (including home), and this conferred the highest levels of control over start and finish times and number of hours worked. Part-time or reduced hours working offered lower levels of control particularly in terms of working location control. It may be that part time work, although it affords some work-life balance, offers less scope for flexibility because it is perceived as being unable to accommodate further deviation from a full time ‘norm’. No type of flexibility was associated overall with lower levels of control – all had a positive effect.

In terms of control over start and finish times, the best sectors to work in were professional scientific and technical activities, real estate and construction. The worst sectors were accommodation and food and transport and storage. For control over working place the best sectors were information and communication, scientific and technical activities and real estate. The worst sectors again were accommodation and food and transport and storage. For control over number of working hours the best and worst sectors mirror those of start and finish times. Parents who did not work flexibly had lower levels of control over their working times, working place and working hours than parents who did use flexible working. Figs 7-9 show the level of control parents had depending if they worked flexibly.
Control of start/finish times by flexible working type

- Working from different locations (e.g. working from home or anywhere else other than the normal workplace)
- Variable working times (e.g. flexitime or compressed hours)
- Job share (e.g. 2 people do one job and split the hours)
- Term-based self-rostering
- Part-time or reduced hours e.g. working less than full-time hours including term-time only

High control: When I start and finish work
No control: When I start and finish work

Figure 7 n=1483

Control of working place by flexible working type

- Working from different locations (e.g. working from home or anywhere else other than the normal workplace)
- Variable working times (e.g. flexitime or compressed hours)
- Job share (e.g. 2 people do one job and split the hours)
- Term-based self-rostering
- Part-time or reduced hours e.g. working less than full-time hours including term-time only

High control: Where I work from (e.g. homeworking)
No control: Where I work from (e.g. homeworking)

Figure 8 n=1483

Control over number of hours worked by flexible working type

- Working from different locations (e.g. working from home or anywhere else other than the normal workplace)
- Variable working times (e.g. flexitime or compressed hours)
- Job share (e.g. 2 people do one job and split the hours)
- Term-based self-rostering
- Part-time or reduced hours e.g. working less than full-time hours including term-time only

High control: How many hours I work
No control: How many hours I work

Figure 9 n=1483
Parents were asked about their working time, and, bearing in mind the disruptive effects on family life of longer hours, how often they stayed late at work. Just over a third (35 per cent) said that they went home on time every day, with another third saying that they went home on time only half of the time (or less frequently). Going home on time does not necessarily signal the end of the working day for many of the parents surveyed. Forty-two per cent said that they put in extra hours in the evenings or at weekends often or all the time. Only 28 per cent of parents were able to say that they never did this. The following chart (fig 10) shows the proportions working ‘extra’, particularly fathers and millennials.

![Chart showing the proportions working extra](image)

The reasons for putting in extra hours have remained disappointingly consistent in the Index over a number of years, despite evidence that longer hours are counterproductive.\(^{25}\) That hours remain a problem for many parents suggests a disconnect in the way that organisations see flexible working. Although there is evidence that organisations see flexibility as a way of improving operational effectiveness\(^{26}\), these parents are experiencing workplaces where work organisation, the style of management and the organisation’s culture do not support work-life balance. The following chart shows the reasons parents work extra hours (fig 11).

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26 Top Employers for Working Families Benchmark, Working Families 2017
The main drivers for parents putting in extra hours at work are work overload (it’s the only way to deal with my workload; it’s the only way to get proper planning and thinking done) and organisational culture (it’s part of my organisation’s culture; it’s expected by my manager; it’s a worthwhile sacrifice to get on in my career). As noted in previous years of the Index, these working practices are sustainable for neither the employee or the business, are not family friendly and are hostile and discriminate against those with caring responsibilities who cannot put in extra hours. It’s also unlikely that flexible working itself can alleviate the problem of work overload and jobs that are not the right fit for their hours. What is required is job design that accurately matches work and hours. **Flexibility may allow parents to shift their working times and workplaces to allow them to accommodate work and family life better, but it is not a way of achieving a better work life balance when the fundamental aspect is insufficient time.** With parents encountering organisational cultures that send out the signal that working longer is the way to get on and win manager approval, flexibility may only be viable and acceptable in the context of creating a way to put in more time, whether this is at home in the evenings or at weekends.
Finances
Families reported how they felt about their finances and whether or not they felt that it had got easier or more difficult financially to raise a family over the last three years. The majority felt that it had become more difficult, shown below (fig 12).

Figure 12 n=2761

This reflects the already noted context of hard pressed or ‘just about managing’ families who are experiencing slow wage growth, higher inflation, childcare costs that are rising more steeply than wages\(^{27}\) and stiff housing costs. Single parent households were more likely to report that it was becoming more difficult than couple households were, and the difference between London and the rest of the UK was clear in the following table (fig 13). It is worth noting that London parents had higher household incomes than anywhere else in the UK, and it was also the highest proportion of two full time working parent families. Working choices and working time are tied to income – the work life choices parents would make if they had sufficient income would be different to the ones that they have to make to get by. Fifteen per cent of parents who said they have increased their working time in order to bolster their family’s income also feel their work life balance is becoming increasingly stressful.

Figure 13 n=1426

\(^{27}\) https://www.tuc.org.uk/blogs/working-parents-feel-squeeze-childcare-costs-rise-four-times-faster-wages
Care and childcare

All of the parents participating in the Index had children under 13. The majority (55 per cent) had one child whilst 43 per cent had 2-3 children and 3 per cent had four or more children under 13. Forty per cent of the children were under 5 years of age, with a further 35 per cent aged 6-10.

Parents were asked about any other caring responsibilities they had for people over the age of 18 (for example elderly relatives and disabled adults). Almost a quarter (24 per cent) said that they did, rising to 30% that envisage it happening in the next five years. Of these parents, 71 per cent said they cared for this person for four hours or more per week (28 per cent said they were caring for 10+ hours each week). Fathers were doing similar levels of caring as mothers, as the following table (fig 14) shows.

This shows high levels of hours in some cases, and all of these carers are combining care and work. It clearly shows caring is not the preserve of older workers – many millennials are carers too. Reconciling caring and paid work can be very complex; caring may be short or long terms and can be unpredictable. Flexibility for carers is therefore essential, and 74 per cent of those who were carers worked flexibly in some way. The idea of longer term statutory carer’s leave has been proposed by the government, offering up to one year off work unpaid for those who need it. Parents were asked if this was something they felt would be useful: their responses are shown in the following chart (fig 15).
It is notable that about a third of parents felt that affordability would be a problem. A quarter of parents who already have a caring responsibility said that their employer wouldn’t like it, suggesting that their experience as a working carer has brought them into contact with managerial attitudes that are hostile to time out of the workplace for caring responsibilities. This is borne out by the fact that parents reported that taking time off work is more ‘acceptable’ for childcare than for adult caring: 69 per cent of parents agreed that it was easier to ask for time off when it was for childcare reasons. Those parents who are not carers did not feel that their employer would be unhappy, suggesting that the lived experience of parent carers is somewhat different to how non-carers might expect it to be. It is worth noting that many parents (53 per cent) expected to become carers for other adults. Of these, twenty-two per cent thought they would become carers within the next 5 years, and a further 31 per cent thought this would happen within the next decade. Those parents aged 46+ were particularly likely to identify caring as likely – 70 per cent foresaw a caring responsibility within the next ten years. Employers and policy makers, as well as parents, need to ensure that proper provision is in place to allow these parents to combine work with caring.

Forty-five per cent of the parents surveyed said that they used some form of childcare, with younger (millennial) parents being the most likely to use it. Forty-one per cent used registered formal childcare: 31 per cent used informal care; and 21 per cent used a mixture of formal and informal. The types of childcare used, in order of frequency were: grandparents (44 per cent); breakfast or after school club (29 per cent); private nursery (28 per cent); childminder (25 per cent); government funded nursery or pre-school (18 per cent); holiday clubs (17 per cent); friends and family (14 per cent); workplace or employer funded nursery (9 per cent); nanny (8 per cent).
In terms of access to childcare, affordability was a barrier for 23 per cent, childcare at the right time was a barrier for 6 per cent and finding appropriate childcare was an issue for 5 per cent. Thirty four per cent said that they did not require childcare because their partner looked after the children whilst they were at work, whilst 24 per cent said that they shared childcare with their partner.

Combining work and childcare

Parents answered a number of questions about how they combined working with family life. These included what arrangements were in place when childcare wasn’t available or when children were unexpectedly off school. They were also asked how often they picked up and collected their children from school, nursery or childcare.

Three quarters of parents said they used their paid annual leave to cover childcare, 38 per cent of these frequently or often, with mothers taking time off the most commonly. This gendered pattern shows that parents think and find that it is more acceptable (and that employers expect) mothers rather than fathers\(^{28}\) to take time out of work for child related issues (see chart below).

Parents were asked to what extent childcare decisions influenced their career and work choices. The results are shown in the following table (fig 17).

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A high number of parents (76 per cent) agreed that before taking a new job they would consider their childcare responsibilities. This was not confined to mothers (83 per cent) alone: fathers too (68 per cent) said that childcare would have a key bearing on their decision. Fathers’ involvement in the childcare mix means that it is likely that they will seek work, jobs and employers who allow them to combine work and family. **Employers who do not offer these opportunities, or who have workplace cultures that are hostile to work life balance may find that for parents they are not an employer of choice.** It also highlights the importance of getting flexibility into jobs from the start, through mechanisms like the Happy to Talk Flexible Working strapline, which flags flexibility at the recruitment stage.

One illustration of childcare involvement from fathers, is frequency of taking and collecting children from school, nursery and childcare, particularly amongst those of pre-primary and primary school age. Fifty one per cent of fathers said that they dropped their children off more than half the time (24 per cent do it every day) vs 69 per cent of mothers. The figure was 10 per cent higher for millennial fathers, with 61 per cent dropping off more than half the time. Collecting children presented a different picture, with fewer fathers or mothers collecting all or more than half the time. However, 43 per cent of fathers said that they were doing this, and 61 per cent of mothers, with the assumption that they are organising their work to accommodate afternoon and early evening pickups.
Work life priorities and choices

Unsurprisingly both mothers and fathers ranked family as their highest priority, with relationship with partner being ranked second. Work was ranked as equal third, alongside friends and community. Parents were asked additional questions around their work and family priorities, and about the choices they had made or would like to make to align their priorities with the realities of their working lives.

Parents were given a number of statements about balancing work and life and they were asked to agree or disagree how likely it was that within the next two years they would action them. Parents were asked if they would take a pay cut to work fewer hours. Thirty-one per cent of fathers (and 29 per cent) of mothers said that it was likely that they would do this within the next two years. Thirty six per cent of millennials said they would be likely to do this, with 26 per cent of 36-55 year olds also saying this was likely in the next two years. Forty two per cent of millennial fathers agreed it was likely, whilst 31 per cent of millennial mothers did.

Parents were also asked how likely it was that they would downshift into a less stressful job within the next two years. 36 per cent of fathers said it was likely, whilst 33 per cent of mothers did. Forty one per cent of millennials agreed that it was likely, as did 30 per cent of 36-55s. Forty eight per cent of millennial fathers agreed that this was likely, and 37 per cent of mothers also agreed that it was likely. Parents in London were particularly likely to want to either take a pay cut or downshift – 65 and 61 per cent respectively.

Parents were asked about how they perceived the effects of work. Forty eight per cent said that they felt their work life was becoming increasingly stressful (half of all fathers, 47 per cent of mothers). Millennials were the most likely to agree – more than half (52 per cent) thought that work life was becoming stressful, and Londoners (63 per cent).

Parents appear willing to make changes to their working lives, in line with the personal prioritisation of family as their highest concern. Younger parents, especially, said that they would make a change within the next two years, particularly younger fathers. There may be a number of reasons for this: childcare demands might be at their highest level for younger parents (as they are most likely to have pre-school children), and parents’ attitudes reflect the pressure of their current situation; younger parents may have different social attitudes about traditional gender roles and the place of work; attachment to work may be weaker amongst younger parents than older ones who are more established and entrenched in their career; or childcare and other costs may act to provoke parents into assessing the overall value of work, especially if the

29 British Social Attitudes: The 30th report, NatCen 2013
costs outweigh the financial benefits.

Parents were also asked about their perceptions of how their employer valued their work life balance – did their employer care? Thirty four per cent of parents said they felt resentful, with more fathers than mothers agreeing (37 vs 32 per cent). Millennials were the most resentful, suggesting that younger workers may not enjoy the same access to work life balance measures as older colleagues. Forty six per cent of millennial fathers felt resentful, the highest proportion of any group of parents. Londoners were also particularly resentful at 63 per cent. Interestingly, flexible workers did not have lower levels of resentment, suggesting that in itself, **flexible working is not a magic bullet and may in fact act as a ‘sticking plaster’, patching up work and home arrangements sufficiently to allow them to function without adding much in the way of control or genuine work life balance.**

Continuing to think about work and family, parents were asked to assess how family life was affected by the demands of work. They were asked to estimate how frequently work affected their family life across a range of everyday activities. The results are shown in the following chart.

As the chart shows, work is affecting family time in a substantial way, with less time available to parents and children as work demands encroach. This is likely to lead to a feeling of work and life imbalance and may be a factor contributing to resentment.
towards employers from parents. It is also driving intentions to downshift and take pay cuts. It undermines parents’ ability to participate in community activities and may undermine the development of social capital that such activities can create and support.

Parents said that working time negatively affected both themselves and their family life to some degree. Most notable was that working time affected their wellbeing, for example, the ability to eat healthily and to do sufficient exercise. They also noted negative effects on their relationships, as working time led to more arguments with children and partners. The results are shown in the following chart.

There are a number of points here, and these are not confined to the family sphere only but are also relevant to employers. Families need time as well as money to thrive, and a lack of either is likely to bring negative consequences. Parents are aware that they are not making, for example, the choices they might wish around diet and exercise, but time constraints as a result of working time leave them few options. Supporting families to ensure they have a good work-life balance is a matter of wellbeing. Employers have a role to play here, creating jobs that support work life balance and support sustainable family life. The benefits will accrue in terms of ameliorating work life related stress and burn out amongst employees.

Parents were asked to think about their work and family lives in relation to the twin currencies of time and money, and whether they had sufficient of each. Thirty six per
cent of parents said they had neither the time they wanted nor money they needed for their family to thrive; 34 per cent said they had enough time for family, but not enough money (mothers were more likely than fathers to say this (37 vs 31 per cent)); fewer than a quarter (23 per cent) thought they had the balance of time and money right; and only 8 per cent thought they had enough money but not enough time (fig 18).

Parents were also asked to suggest measures that would improve their work life balance for themselves and, if they had one, their partner. Thirty nine per cent of parents said they would like to work full time (the definition of which varies), but for fewer hours. Within this figure, almost twice as many fathers as mothers identified this as an option (50 vs 29 per cent). Fathers who worked 39-40 hours plus per week were the most likely to agree that their ideal was a reduction in their full time working week. This finding suggests that for many fathers, full time work remains an ideal driven by gender expectations around breadwinning, although the role of the gender pay gap and the predominance of women doing part time work are also relevant. Even for couples who are not financially pushed in to two full time jobs, they do not find it easy to choose or access two part time roles, even though this would help equalise care and probably reduce the costs of paid for childcare.

Encouraging more fathers to adopt less than full time working patterns is necessary from a gender equality perspective but this must entail a shift in consciousness and attitude, and an accompanying uptick in the availability of good quality and well paid, less than full time jobs. Only 10 per cent of men cited part time work as an option for themselves, and 13 per cent of women identified it as an option for their male partner.
Fathers and mothers were in quite close agreement about other options they would choose. Twenty three per cent of fathers and mothers identified home working as something that would improve the work-life balance, and 21 per cent of fathers and 23 per cent of mothers identified flexible hours. The biggest discrepancy was in term time working, where only eight per cent of fathers choose this, opposed to 21 per cent of mothers. Parents also cited changes in workplace culture. Fathers and mothers identified a less long hours culture (13 vs 8 per cent) and more understanding managers (11 vs 9 per cent).

Parents were asked about adjustments they had made to their working life for family reasons. The results are shown in the following chart.

**What have you already changed in your working life for family reasons?**

- I have downshifted into a lower job to get access to better work/life balance
- I have said no to a promotion
- I am looking for a job with an employer who supports working parents better than my current one
- I have applied to work flexibly formally
- I have said no to a new job
- I have taken a pay cut to work fewer hours
- I have found a new job that suits my family life better
- I work flexibly informally
- I have increased my hours to provide more income
- I have reduced my hours
- I have put off applying for a new job

Figure 19 n=2761
It is evident that some parents have made changes, reinforcing their already stated intention to downshift or take pay cuts in return for better work life balance. Many of these may be viewed positively, with parents taking advantage of flexible working or reducing hours to find the balance they want. However, there are also less positive findings here: 17 per cent of all parents deliberately stalling their careers, 13 per cent leaving their employer and 11 per cent refusing a new job because of a lack of good work life balance opportunities. The implications for employers are clear here: a lack of work life balance and family friendly working can really harm recruitment and retention prospects, as well as blocking the talent pipeline. For policy makers too, there are clear implications both in terms of wasted or under-utilised skills and in career progression.

Parents reported on their levels of ‘burn out’, where work demands and/or family demands have led to mental exhaustion. A third of parents said they felt burnt out all or most of the time, with 30 per cent saying this rarely or never happened. Fathers were slightly more likely that mothers to say they regularly felt burnt out, and millennials were the most likely age group to feel burnt out (37 per cent). The majority of parents (53 per cent) identified work as the main cause of their burn out, with only 12 per cent ascribing it to family life.

To remedy this burnout, parents said that they would try a number of things. Most popular was to take annual leave (37 per cent), or go off sick (33 per cent). Just under a quarter (24 per cent) said they would cut their hours, and a further fifth said they would ask for a reduced workload. For employers, the benefits of avoiding burnout, in terms of planned and sickness absence are clear. In addition, burned out employees are less likely to be productive and effective.

Parents were asked what the first thing that they did when they came home from work. The results are shown in the following chart.
There are clear differences between what mothers and fathers do, with fathers less likely to do domestic chores and more likely to take some ‘me’ time. This may reflect working patterns to some extent, with fathers more likely than mothers to be working full time, having less time to put into domestic chores. However, other research points to a persistent gap in time spent caring between mothers and fathers, and the discrepancy between mothers and fathers in the Index reflects the gendered levels of care.

The division of childcare within families is still highly gendered. Mothers do the bulk of childcare. Fifty-nine per cent of mothers said they did the bulk of the childcare, whilst only 17 per cent of fathers did. Twenty-nine per cent of couples said that they split childcare equally. Childcare was significantly more likely to be shared by older parents (56+) where almost half of parents (48 per cent) said they shared the care equally. However, the relatively low number of parents in this group warrants caution as to the significance of this finding; for millennials, in comparison, 28 per cent shared care equally.
The workplace and employer support for family life

Under half (44 per cent) of parents felt that flexible working was a genuine option for mothers and fathers in their workplace. Millennial parents were the most likely to agree (47 per cent), and those parents living in London (62 per cent). A similar number (43 per cent) of all parents felt that their employer cared about their work-life balance. Again, 47 per cent of millennials agreed with this and 64 per cent of London parents did (20 per cent higher than any other region).

Just under half (49 per cent) of parents felt that their employer would take account of the family responsibilities and treat them fairly. Similar numbers (47 per cent) said they would feel confident discussing family related issues with their employer.

However, parents also reported that they were not entirely comfortable bringing their family ‘needs’ into the workplace. Thirty four per cent said that had faked being sick to meet family obligations, rising to 40 per cent of fathers and 42 per cent of millennials. Almost half of millennial fathers (48 per cent) said that they had lied to their employer, vs 30 per cent of millennial mothers. This suggests that for these employees it is often preferable to conceal the reality of family demands from employers for fear of negative perceptions. A third of parents (34 per cent) confirmed that they would not be confident asking their employer for permission to miss work for a family occasion, and almost half (47 per cent) said that they would not be confident asking their employer about placing boundaries on responding to calls or emails or reducing working time. The following table (fig 21) summarises the responses for all parents.

![Bar chart](image)

**Workplace attitudes and behaviours**

- I have lied/bent the truth to my employer about my family-related responsibilities that get in the way of work
- I have faked being sick to meet family obligations
- I would feel confident asking my employer’s permission to miss a work event for a family occasion
- I would feel confident asking my employer about reducing my hours working remotely or placing boundaries on responding to calls or emails

Figure 21 n=2761
The picture here is one of parents who experience a workplace where some concessions are made to family life, but also a place where challenges remain. It is encouraging that many parents perceive that employers care about their work life balance and that employees get fair treatment and acknowledgement of their family responsibilities. But there are also substantial numbers of parents who do not feel that their employer is supportive, and that it is better to conceal the truth of family commitments in the workplace. This is an issue not just of workplace culture, but one where real action to provide options around work life policy and practice and training would seem to be necessary.

Parents themselves thought that the responsibility primarily lay with them rather than their employer when it came to ensuring a good work-life balance (see table below).

Who is responsible for a good work-life balance?

This may be because parents feel it is not the role of the employer (despite significant employer focused resentment about work life issues) to facilitate work-life balance, although many report feeling that their employer cares about this, and that it is up to the individual to find a solution. This would indicate that a work-life balance culture does not exist at a high level within many workplaces, and that reconciling work and family life is a private matter for families to sort out as best they can. It may also indicate that parents have low expectations of external help and do not see much beyond limited support from their employer. Certainly, there is little sense that parents have any expectation of legislative or other government help. The wider policy context may therefore be setting quite a low bar in terms of what parents think employers will (or can) do.

If parents think that their work life solutions rest with them, it is instructive to see how they would go about getting a better work life balance. Just under half (45 per cent) would ask their employer to make changes, an approach that probably discourages the development of flexible working cultures in favour of an individual ‘problem-solving’
approach. Individual requests for flexibility rather than collective action may obscure an organisational perspective from developing. A similar number (44 per cent) would find a new job with a different employer, one that allows a better work-life fit. This is sobering, and reinforces the message that flexibility is a powerful retention and satisfaction tool in the workplace.

Parents were clear about what employers should do. The table below (fig 23) shows what parents thought employers should do to improve work life balance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What should employers do to ensure a good work life balance?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nothing: it is not an employer’s role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let senior managers work flexibly to set a good example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertise jobs as available on a flexible basis rather than just full-time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide childcare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encourage people to use existing company policies to help their work/life balance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Put more policies in place to help people balance work and home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make efforts to change the company culture so work/life balance is more acceptable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 23 n=2761

Changing company culture to make work life balance more acceptable was the most frequent choice (37 per cent), and introducing more work life policies was similarly popular (36 per cent). Parents also observed that policies existed but were under-utilised, possibly linked to the prevailing culture. Parents have clear and sensible suggestions that employers should heed: promotion of existing policies, supportive communications around flexibility and work life balance and managers setting a good example are all concrete steps that can be implemented. Culture change is an employer’s responsibility. It’s worth noting, too, that childcare provision is something parents identify: few employers think it is their concern, but these findings highlight that there is a role for employers here.
Conclusion

The Index reveals some of the complexity of family life today, particularly as parents negotiate the shifting boundary between work and family life. What emerges is a picture of life and work combining in a structured way, but the structure itself is not ideal having been pieced together from whatever support is available. Family finances are constrained, but parents are working hard, putting in extra hours to get the job done. Many parents have some opportunity to control their working lives, through flexible working and shaping their caring responsibilities around work but this is limited and probably doesn’t offer all the control they would like. Other parents have no access to flexibility and have limited control. Family time is highly valued by parents, but work frequently encroaches with often negative consequences. Parents are resilient, and look to themselves to achieve the work and family fit they want, targeting family friendly employers as employers of choice. Questions remain, though, about the way that workplaces are organised: are they providing all the work life and family friendly opportunities they could be? And are they responding to the increasing numbers of fathers who expect (and are) involved in day to day care for their children?

Financially parents report that it is getting more difficult to afford to raise a family. Against a background of low wage growth, inflation and rising housing costs, parents are feeling the squeeze. This economic challenge may be one of the reasons that the Index finds so many families where both parents are working, and working full time. Dual incomes may be becoming increasingly necessary and common to meet the cost of raising a family. Working patterns remain gendered, with more mothers than fathers working in a reduced hours way, and parental preferences confirms that perhaps the 1.5 model is still what many parents see as the ideal.

In terms of work, and working time, the demands of work are high. Most people work extra unpaid hours, and this is the case for full and part time workers. The number of extra hours that some parents are putting in are significant, as a proportion of what their contractual hours are supposed to be, and as an overall figure. A significant number are putting in up to an extra day each week, and part time workers are also going above their expected hours. This may be particularly problematic: those parents who have part time hours have probably taken them to help them fulfil time sensitive caring responsibilities, and may find it especially difficult to accommodate demands for extra working time. Many parents also reported working at home in the evenings or at weekends, catching up with work. Although this might be part of a flexible working arrangement, allowing them to time shift some tasks, it is also the case that for many parents there is simply too much work. Jobs are too big for the
hours allotted to them, and managers expect long hours and view them as a sign of commitment. Many parents cited the workplace culture as a contributory factor in why they worked extra hours and, for example, stayed late at work.

In this context, flexible working offers some parents some control of their working lives without necessarily addressing issues like the encroachment of working time into family activities. Flexible working is associated with more control over working time, working place and the number of hours worked. Control in general was more commonly found in white collar jobs; those in service and associated sectors enjoyed less control. Many parents did not work flexibly, for a variety of reasons: personal choice, the type of job they did, managers, attitudes or organisational culture. Those parents who could not access flexibility because they said their manager was hostile or the organisation culture penalised flexible workers led to higher levels of resentment towards employers: preventing flexible working when parents want it leads to dissatisfaction.

Part of the equation of family life is childcare and care for other adults (such as elderly relatives). Parents used a range of childcare provision, with the role of grandparents prominent in providing care for children of working parents. Parents were also providing care for other adults, and in some families this is a significant amount of time. Coupled with parents’ own expectations of becoming carers in the medium future, an additional factor needs to be added in to the work and family mix. Employers and policy makers especially need to focus not just on working parents who are carers now, but carers generally, creating and strengthening policies to support them in the workplace. Parents are not oblivious to potential future responsibilities as carers of elderly parents or relatives but they need to be supported by a meaningful organisational policy and legislative framework. Proposals for an unpaid year of carers leave were not viewed very positively by parents: concerns about affordability were strong. Parents who were already carers also cited employer hostility, suggesting that being a working parent who is also a carer is a difficult and perhaps relatively unsupported position to be in at work.

The way families are combining work and life is changing. For example, the decisions that mothers and fathers are making around career progression are heavily influenced by family care arrangements. It is no longer the sole domain of the mother to think about work and career and balance it with care: fathers are doing this too. They are also doing more around school drop off and pick up, and although only 29 per cent of couples are equally sharing the work and care load, the direction of travel is one of more, not less father involvement.

There is a willingness amongst parents to consider significant changes to their working lives to achieve a better work life balance, demonstrated in their willingness
to countenance pay cuts or downshifting to do this. Indeed, some parents reported already taking these steps, whilst others said it was likely they would do this within the next couple of years. Having sufficient money and time is crucial to parents’ wellbeing and that of their families. When viewed in the context of the effects that parents noted of working time on their own lives (in terms of stress and burn out) and on family activities (having enough time for homework or simply hanging out together at home), parents may be deciding that the way they are currently working (or the employer they work for) has to change. Within the wider social context of changing expectation about gender roles, such as who works and who cares allied to a lifecycles view of employment (where employees slow or accelerate their careers in response to their work life balance needs), parents might be unwilling to stick with jobs that don’t offer the possibility of a good work life fit, and employers who understand that.

Parents have a varied experience of work, and of being able to balance work and family life and their perceptions and feelings about their employers vary. Some are broadly content, whilst others resent their employer for what they perceive to be a lack of opportunity for work life balance. Whilst more parents believe positive things about their employer (for example 46 per cent agree they treat mothers and fathers equally, and 43 per cent agree that their company cares about their work life balance), they are less willing to have difficult conversations with them about limiting work where it might be infringing on the family life. This suggests that for many, flexibility is still only acceptable up to a point within many organisations. Indeed, parents themselves identify the culture of flexibility (or lack of it) as one of the main things that their employer needs to change. Parents feel that it is up to them, primarily, to resolve their work life balance issues. Employers and policy makers should aim to meet them a little further along the way, and work with parents and other employees to develop workplaces where flexibility is everyday business as usual.
What needs to change?

1 Flexible working is, too often, an ‘individual arrangement’ for individual employees, frequently mothers. And many parents don’t even see it as an option for them. The UK needs a flexible working revolution. The UK Government’s review of the extension of the right to request flexible working in 2019 is an opportunity to turn the labour market on its head and deliver flexibility as the normal way of working; as well as to start a conversation with employers about how the flexibility on offer can be made less ‘rigid’.

2 As recommended in Matthew Taylor’s 2017 review of modern employment practice, employers should use Working Families’ Happy to Talk Flexible Working strapline and logo to recruit for more flexible and ‘human-sized’ jobs – because as well as flexible recruitment Happy to Talk prompts employers to think through the roles they recruit for – and what can realistically be done in the hours allocated to them.

3 Whilst the UK has decided to leave the EU, there must be no curtailing employment legislation supporting working parents and carers. The Index shows the damaging impact of long working hours on family life. The UK Government must consider the message any amendment of these laws would send about the importance of time for family and for work performance - both to parents and to employers.

4 Parents and carers are struggling to find the flexibility and the control over working time that they need to support family life. Enabling choice needs to be a key part of any new initiatives to support working families. The 2017 Conservative manifesto included a commitment to introducing a statutory entitlement to one year’s carer’s leave. The UK Government should set out its plans for this leave; which should include it being flexible and properly paid - enabling working parents and carers to plan to deal with a new or altered family situation, without leaving the labour market.

5 For many families the childcare trilemma – affordability, accessibility and inequality – is an all too vivid reality. Given the high numbers
of respondents in this study reporting that childcare considerations prevent them being agile in the labour market and a significant number reporting that they have already deliberately stalled their careers, employers, employees and government are all ask risk of losing out. A more comprehensive, flexible, generous and progressive childcare infrastructure is therefore required for the UK. Local authorities and employers are crucial to putting this provision in place but childcare needs to also be a central plank of government industrial and economic strategies across the UK.

Tackling gendered assumptions about who works and who cares is crucial to broadening parental choice. Parental and paternity leave rights from day one in a new job should be available to all parents, in the same way that women have access to maternity rights. Whilst the introduction of Shared Parental Leave has helped to kick start a change in attitudes and norms, the government can and should go further. The creation of a properly paid, standalone period of extended paternity leave for fathers means that it is more likely they will use it – and continue to be involved with their children’s care later. Introducing this measure would show the UK Government is serious about equality at work and tackling the gender pay gap.
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About Working Families
Working Families is the UK’s work life balance charity. We have been at the forefront of changing the way we live and work for nearly forty years. We want work to work, for people, families and the economy, so that families thrive and business prospers. We provide free legal advice to parents and carers on their rights at work and provide specialist employment support to parents of disabled children. We work in partnership with employers on their people strategies to make our vision of family friendly workplaces a reality. And we conduct ground-breaking research to support our campaigns for change. To find out more about us visit: www.workingfamilies.org.uk

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