

THE CHILDCARE TRAP

MAKING WORK PAY

Childcare Costs and Child Poverty in Wales

Parents in Wales face some of the highest childcare costs in the world. This affects their ability to work, train and study, as well as forcing families to make difficult financial choices.

In spring 2011 Save the Children and Daycare Trust ran a survey with parents across the UK to explore their views on access to childcare and the impact of childcare costs on family incomes and work prospects.

In this report Save the Children presents findings from this survey and highlights that childcare has a vital role to play in tackling child poverty. Governments must make sure parents in Wales have access to affordable and quality childcare, when and where they need it.

We are calling on the Welsh Government to:

- Examine existing pre-school childcare support in Wales to address flexibility, accessibility and availability barriers.
- Reassess the current levels of pre-school childcare entitlement in Wales in light of new enhanced provision in England.
- Investigate a dedicated funding stream to ensure that there is adequate resource to provide sufficient childcare for 5-14 year olds.
- Maximise the opportunities presented by the childcare sector in Wales by investigating dedicated funding to implement the 'Nurturing Children, Supporting Families' strategy.
- Make representations to the UK government to increase support to parents in Wales to pay for childcare under Universal Credit.

We are calling on the UK Government to:

- Ensure that 80% of childcare costs are covered under Universal Credit up to current weekly limits.
- Over time, as the economic situation improves, increase support so that it covers 100 per cent of costs.

KEY FINDINGSⁱ

The survey findings suggest that parents living in severe povertyⁱⁱ are struggling to access childcare more than other parents, particularly due to the high cost. This is supported by research in Wales which reveals a widening gap in availability of childcare between the most deprived and least deprived areas of Wales, with gaps in childcare most likely to be in deprived and rural areas.ⁱⁱⁱ

This situation is undermining one of the key pillars of the Welsh Government's Child Poverty Strategy for Wales^{iv} which aims to reduce the number of families living in workless households by supporting parents into good quality employment and making work pay.

1. Cost is a major barrier preventing parents on the lowest incomes from accessing childcare

- Eight out of ten parents living in severe poverty said that cost was a barrier to accessing childcare.

2. The high cost of childcare has a significant impact on most families, but for families in severe poverty the impact is particularly extreme

- Parents in severe poverty have cut back on key essentials, like food and household bills, simply to pay for childcare.
- Parents in severe poverty have made very difficult financial choices simply to pay for childcare such as getting into debt.

3. The high cost of childcare means that work is not paying for the poorest families

- The majority of parents in severe poverty (58%) said they were no better off working and paying for childcare, compared with just 19% of those with incomes over £30,000.

- A large number (41%) of parents in severe poverty said they would consider giving up work and 25% said they would consider reducing their hours due to the recent cut in the level of support through the childcare element of Working Tax Credit.

4. Difficulties accessing childcare are significantly affecting the ability of parents in severe poverty to work, train or study

- A quarter of the parents in severe poverty who responded had given up work, a third had turned down a job, and a quarter had not been able to take up education or training because of difficulties in accessing childcare.

The survey results suggest that in order to maximise family incomes, make work pay and in turn tackle child poverty, childcare must be both more affordable and more easily available to parents on the lowest incomes.

The devolved settlement means that the Welsh Government has a clear role to play; both in urging the UK to do more to support Welsh families with the costs of childcare and in taking steps to ensure that the various pieces of the childcare jigsaw slot together so that families in Wales get the childcare support they need.

CHANGES TO CHILDCARE SUPPORT FOR FAMILIES

The UK Government supports families on low incomes through childcare subsidies, which have formed an integral part of the tax and benefits system for many years. When Working Families' Tax Credit was introduced in October 1999, the existing childcare disregard (within Family Credit) was replaced with a childcare tax credit. This reimbursed low income working families up to 70% of their formal childcare costs.

As part of the UK Labour administration's 10-year childcare strategy, published in 2004, the childcare tax credit was replaced by the childcare element of Working Tax Credit. This increased weekly limits to

£300 per week for two or more children (£175 for one child), and increased the percentage of childcare costs that could be claimed from 70% to 80%.

In April 2011 the new UK Coalition government reduced the amount of childcare costs that could be claimed through the childcare element of working tax credit (so parents could again only claim 70% of childcare costs). This will mean an average loss of over £500 per year for the half a million families in the UK who receive this support, and up to £1,500 for families receiving the maximum help. The parents who responded to our survey indicated that the reduction in support would have a negative impact on their ability to work.

- A large number (41%) of parents in severe poverty said they would consider giving up work and 25% said they would consider reducing their hours due to the reduction in support for childcare costs through Working Tax Credit.

Under Universal Credit, which will replace many benefits and tax credits from 2013, funding for childcare will be maintained (at a fixed budget of £2 billion per annum by 2014/15) but eligibility will be extended to include parents working fewer than 16 hours per week. This inclusion of those engaged in mini-jobs is welcome, but it means that less help will be available to support parents working longer hours.

COST IS A MAJOR BARRIER PREVENTING PARENTS ON THE LOWEST INCOMES FROM ACCESSING CHILDCARE

"I'm currently not looking to go back to work as my children are still young, but in the future I would hope to be able to. However, if the cost of childcare keeps rising and as costs stand now, there would be no financial benefit to my going back to work."

Parent, Caerphilly.

Of those who responded to our survey:

- Eight out of ten parents in severe poverty said cost was a barrier to accessing childcare.
- Parents living in severe poverty were twice as likely to cite cost as a barrier to accessing childcare as any other barrier.

- The majority of parents (61%) in severe poverty who responded to the survey said they had struggled to pay for childcare, compared to over a third of parents on incomes over £30,000 (37%).
- A large number of respondents (41%) put childcare costs on a par with their mortgage or rent.

The childcare costs a parent faces depends on the number of children they have, the age of the children, household income, the number of hours needed, and where they live. Daycare Trust's annual survey of childcare costs shows that in 2011 childcare in Wales costs on average £91 per week for 25 hours of care for a child under two and £89 per week for a three or four year old.^v

Analysis by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) shows that the UK has some of the most expensive childcare in the world.^{vi} In our view, providing financial help with childcare costs is vital to make moving into and progressing in employment a realistic option for many working parents.

THE HIGH COST OF CHILDCARE HAS A SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON MOST FAMILIES, BUT FOR FAMILIES IN SEVERE POVERTY THE IMPACT IS PARTICULARLY EXTREME

Holidays? What are they? Day trips? What are they? We have resorted to living in a caravan on a building plot because we are unable to get a mortgage for a family home. It is extremely hard work. Without free or reasonably charged childcare for 3 children we are unable to work to our full potential and so have to survive on low income.

Parent, Powys

In Wales, 1 in 3, or 200,000 children are living in poverty.^{vii} Save the Children research published in February 2011 found that around 1.6 million or 13% of children in the UK were in severe poverty. In Wales around 90,000 or 14% of children were living in severe poverty, a higher proportion than in

Scotland, England or Northern Ireland.^{viii} Many family budgets are already stretched; high childcare costs can tip family finances into crisis.

Parents in severe poverty are cutting back on key essentials simply to pay for childcare:

We eat a lot more frozen food and meat as it's cheaper... We have never been on a family holiday. We tend to take our child to the park or library as we can't afford days out to the zoo. Gym membership, mobile phone contract – we have cancelled these so that we can afford childcare.

Parent, Deeside

- Nearly half of families living in severe poverty have cut back on food to afford childcare compared to one third of families on incomes over £30,000.
- Families living in severe poverty were more than twice as likely to have cut back on household bills just to afford childcare costs as families on incomes over £30,000.
- Parents in severe poverty were more than twice as likely to cut back on after school activities such as swimming for their children to afford childcare costs as parents on incomes over £30,000.

Parents in severe poverty are making very difficult financial choices simply to pay for childcare:

- The cost of childcare has caused a third of parents living in severe poverty to get into debt compared to less than a quarter of parents living on incomes over £30,000.

THE HIGH COST OF CHILDCARE MEANS THAT WORK IS NOT PAYING FOR THE POOREST FAMILIES

"I would love to work more, I enjoy it. Ridiculous as it may seem, if I worked more hours I would be worse off than now! Not really an incentive for people to go back to work that can't be bothered or even for those that would love to go back!"

Parent, UK

The results of our survey emphasise that the high costs of childcare - or perceived high costs - can act as a disincentive to take up work, training or study. The majority of parents in severe poverty who responded to our survey believe that childcare costs are stopping work from paying:

- The majority of parents in severe poverty (58%) said they were no better off working and paying for childcare.
- Nearly half of those not in paid employment believed they would be financially worse off if they returned to work.
- Parents in severe poverty were twice as likely to say that their financial position when working and paying for childcare was similar to when they were unemployed.

The cost of entering work for an average wage family's second earner is lower than the OECD average before accounting for childcare. When childcare is taken into account, over two-thirds of the family's second wage is effectively taxed away, a rate that is well above the OECD average.^x

DIFFICULTIES ACCESSING CHILDCARE ARE SIGNIFICANTLY AFFECTING THE ABILITY OF PARENTS IN SEVERE POVERTY TO WORK, TRAIN OR STUDY

[What] the government pays for is useless if you want to work as you can only have it in 2.5 hour blocks per day at the moment...What work can you do for 2 hours a day?

Parent, Cardiff

Findings from the survey suggest that parents living in severe poverty were more likely than parents on higher incomes to experience difficulties accessing childcare. The findings appear to suggest that as a family's income increases the likelihood of problems accessing childcare decreases.

This is supported by evidence from Wales that shows that, in recent years, the link between deprivation and childcare supply has become more marked, with an

increasing gap in levels of childcare between the most deprived and least deprived areas of Wales.^x Findings have also shown that gaps in childcare are most likely to be in deprived and rural areas where there is often little demand to stimulate the development of additional supply. This has been an ongoing issue of concern for a number of years.^{xi} It emphasises that if childcare is to play its part in overcoming barriers to employment and help tackle child poverty, then there are areas of Wales where sustained intervention in the childcare market is still needed.^{xii}

While many parents told us that cost was the main difficulty preventing them from finding the right childcare, a lack of quality childcare available in the local area was also regularly mentioned as a key barrier:

This is reiterated by studies which highlight that a shortage of childcare in Wales is a persistent problem.^{xiii} Figures for 2009 report 14.2 childcare places for every 100 children aged 0 to 14 in Wales. This compares with 14.75 places in England and 20 places per 100 children in Scotland.^{xiv}

According to Daycare Trust, 50% of Welsh Family Information Services stated that parents had reported a lack of available childcare in their area during the last twelve months.^{xv} In its manifesto for the 2011 National Assembly for Wales Elections, the End Child Poverty Network expressed concern that the Child Poverty Strategy and Delivery Plan 'still do not provide a credible plan of action for tackling the severe childcare deficit in Wales.'^{xvi}

Many parents also identified other barriers such as childcare not being available at the time of day or week that it was needed.

In Wales, the current 2.5 hour blocks of provision available 5 days a week under Flying Start for 2-3 year olds, were reported by our survey as creating a barrier to work due to their lack of flexibility.

There is also a recognised need to improve provision for school-age children (aged 5 -14-years-old) both outside school hours and during school holidays.

The average weekly cost for holiday childcare in Wales is £81.98 in Wales, an increase of 2% since last year, placing an additional burden on the already strained finances of many families. Recent figures have also shown that 19% of Welsh local authorities are offering a decreased level of holiday childcare provision.^{xvii} These services are vital to many parents and must not fall victim to future local government spending cuts. Six in ten respondents felt that getting the right childcare would become more difficult over the next year due to public spending cuts.

Our survey results suggest that the inability of parents to access suitable childcare has a number of negative consequences in relation to supporting parents to work, train or study:

- A quarter of parents in severe poverty had given up work, a third had turned down a job, and a quarter had not been able to take up education or training because of difficulties in accessing childcare.
- Parents living in severe poverty were two and a half times more likely to have had to give up work to due to difficulties finding the right childcare.
- Parents living in severe poverty were nearly three times more likely to have turned down a job because of difficulties with childcare than families with incomes over £30,000.
- Parents in severe poverty were four times more likely to have had to give up education or training than families with incomes over £30,000, and twice as likely not to be able to take up education or training opportunities in the first place.

Appropriate, good quality and sustainable work in a household remains the best way for families to escape poverty. The availability of affordable and accessible childcare plays a very significant role in parents' choices and ability to work. To tackle child poverty, it is crucial that government addresses the barriers that are preventing parents on the lowest incomes from working, training or studying.

CHILDCARE TO SUPPORT FAMILIES AND NURTURE CHILDREN

This briefing focuses on the cost of childcare, since we are at a crossroads where proposed reductions in support under Universal Credit are poised to have significant impacts on families right across the UK, particularly those living in severe poverty.

The devolved settlement means that the Welsh Government has a clear role to play - both in urging the UK to do more to support Welsh families with the costs of childcare; and in taking steps to ensure that the various pieces of the childcare jigsaw slot together so that families in Wales get the childcare support they need.

MAKING WORK PAY UNDER UNIVERSAL CREDIT

“Childcare is so expensive with two children, I have had my tax credits cut due to recent government activity and we struggle enough as it is. If the money I am on at work was not as good as it is... I may not be working.”

Parent, Cardiff

“The government cut from 80% to 70% has made a huge difference to my childcare costs and made me struggle more financially. It makes it difficult each month and the government need to put the help back up to 80% and stop making the lowest paid any more worse off.”

Parent, UK

The parents who responded to our survey indicated that the reduction in support for childcare costs would have a negative impact on their ability to work.

Save the Children is concerned about the negative impact of the reduction in support with childcare costs through Working Tax Credit. Even finding 20% of the cost of childcare can be difficult for parents on a very low income. A 10% reduction is a significant amount for families coping on very limited budgets.

The UK government's decision on how to structure and fund childcare support under Universal Credit is therefore vital. The Welsh Government needs to be clear on how proposals will affect families in Wales. Two options have been put forward with the aim of maintaining spending at current levels whilst benefiting more families – either continuing to cover 70% of childcare costs and reducing the maximum weekly limits to £125 for one child and £210 for two or more children; or covering 80% of costs but with lower limits of £100 for one child and £150 for two or more children.

The poorest families would be affected most severely by both these options. Modelling work commissioned by Save the Children shows that a single parent with two children working full-time on £15,000 per year and with childcare costs of £232.40 per week would be £59.49 worse off each week under Universal Credit (largely because of reductions in childcare support).^{xviii} Department for Work and Pensions modelling shows that more than a quarter of a million families in the UK will see their entitlement reduced under these options.^{xix} This includes many families who can currently receive up to 95.5% of childcare costs through housing benefit and council tax benefit.

Lower levels of childcare support would particularly impact on larger families. Across the UK, some 59% of families with three or more children that took part in our survey said they had experienced difficulties with childcare costs. This figure drops to 42% for families with just one child. Families with three or more children were also more than twice as likely to have cut back on after-school activities as those with one child, in order to meet childcare costs.

SUPPORTING PARENTS TO ACCESS AFFORDABLE CHILDCARE.

The Welsh Government's 2011 'Nurturing Children, Supporting Families: our policy priorities for childcare' policy statement^{xx} builds on the 2005 'Childcare is for children' strategy^{xxi} to set out their vision for a child rights centred approach developed from the perspective that the 'child comes first

in childcare'. It commits to developing a joined up system of childcare built on three core aims: Affordable, Accessible and Quality Childcare. The Welsh Government's Child Poverty Strategy published in February 2011 emphasises the vital role of 'improved-quality' childcare facilities in helping individuals to enter the labour market and reducing household poverty.^{xxii}

The Welsh Government's approach emphasises the dual function of childcare, that it should both nurture the child and support the family. However, our research shines a light on the fact that despite this dual function, many parents in Wales, particularly those on low-incomes, are still struggling to access suitable childcare.

An important way that the Welsh Government already supports parents to meet the costs of childcare is by subsidising the cost of pre-school education. The Welsh Government's flagship policy for achieving this objective has been the childcare element of the Flying Start programme which provides a range of services for children in disadvantaged areas including free part-time childcare for 2-3 year olds. The Welsh Government has committed to double the number of children benefiting from Flying Start during the next Assembly term from 18,000 to 36,000, so that almost a quarter of children in Wales will be able to benefit.

The Welsh Government's Foundation Phase also provides a minimum of 10 hours free part-time early years education to all 3-4 year olds in Wales. Currently, provision varies in different parts of Wales, with some local authorities exceeding the 10 hours minimum.

However, these provisions by the Welsh government must be set against the backdrop of UK government plans to introduce a new enhanced entitlement of 15 hours early years education to the most disadvantaged 20% of two-year-olds, in addition to 15 free hours per week for three- and four-year-olds.

The Welsh Government also has an important role to play in ensuring that childcare meets parental need and fits with busy lives and frequently atypical working hours. Findings that highlight the problems caused by

the current 2.5 hour blocks of provision have already been highlighted, indicating that there is scope to assess the flexibility and reach of current programme. Another key problem is that Flying Start does not cater for the needs of poor children who live outside designated Flying Start areas. Data from the annual Childcare Sufficiency Assessments carried out by Local Authorities in Wales could be better used to identify parents who are facing financial barriers to accessing childcare and should feed into the planning process for extending provision of Flying Start.

The need to improve provision for school-age children (aged 5 -14 years old) both outside school hours and during school holidays, is partially being met by schemes such as CONTINYOU, which receive funding from the Welsh Government. Welsh local authorities should safeguard holiday play-schemes and subsidies for low-income families. More could be done by the Welsh Government to allocate funding to ensure sufficient childcare for 5-14-year olds, to support working parents, especially those from low-income families.

There are also examples of approaches that tackle barriers to accessing childcare as part of a broader aim to support parental employability, for example the Genesis 2 programme funded by the European Social Fund (ESF) until 2014. Launched in 2008, the project operates in Convergence areas of Wales. Two of the key target groups of the project are lone female parents and teenage parents.

THE ‘OPPORTUNITY’ OF HIGH QUALITY CHILDCARE

“Trying to find suitable childcare is like running into brick walls all the time.”

Parent, UK

Quality childcare is really hard to find...Parent,
Parent, Cardiff

For many years, Wales has championed a vision of a ‘wrap-around’ approach to childhood which has shaped the direction of childcare and early-years education. Flying Start and Families First are some

of the key programmes that have been designed to provide a suite of support to target the needs of children and parents and to improve outcomes for the most disadvantaged.

We know that parents want the best quality care for their children.^{xxiii} Evidence shows that attending a high-quality early education setting over a number of years can have a lasting positive impact on children’s learning and development.^{xxiv} The opportunity posed by weaving childcare more tightly into a ‘suite of support’, has been a key area of debate in Wales, and should not be underestimated.^{xxv}

Substantial recent change in terms of regulation and implementation of new policy and programmes, have all led to the expansion and development of the childcare sector in Wales. The childcare sector represents 2.6% of all businesses in Wales and employs over 18,000 people.^{xxvi} Flying Start and the Foundation Phase both provide opportunities for training and continued professional development for the sector’s workforce, which should be maximised.

The Welsh Government’s commitment to support childcare enterprise and develop the childcare sector in Wales is welcome. We welcome the recognition that the sector itself presents a significant opportunity for parents or carers to rejoin or enter the workforce. Maximising this potential has been cited as essential in supporting Wales out of the recession and combating economic inactivity which in turn can help tackle child poverty.^{xxvii}

PRIORITIES FOR THE FUTURE: CHILDCARE AND CHILD POVERTY IN WALES

The views of parents in our survey suggest that in order to meet the Welsh Government’s goals of maximising family incomes, making work pay and in turn tackling child poverty, high quality childcare must be both more affordable and more accessible to parents on the lowest incomes.^{xxviii}

This briefing has demonstrated that the Welsh Government has a clear role in urging the UK

government to do more to support Welsh families. The forthcoming changes to childcare support under Universal Credit underline the urgency that the Welsh Government does all in its power to mitigate the impacts on lower income families by implementing its vision for a childcare system which prioritises quality, availability and affordability.

Save the Children is calling on the Welsh government to support increased access to affordable, quality childcare. **We are asking them to:**

- **Examine existing pre-school childcare support in Wales** to address flexibility, accessibility and availability barriers to help families to access support when and where they need it. When implementing the commitment to double the number of children benefiting from Flying Start the Welsh Government should:
 - o *Reassess the flexibility of current 2.5 hr blocks of provision, 5 days a week for working parents, particularly those working long or atypical hours.*
 - o *Any increase in the numbers of children benefiting from Flying Start should be matched by an increase in resource to guard against any dilution of the service that families receive.*
 - o *Examine the flexibility of rules regarding Flying Start to ensure that where possible the programme benefits more disadvantaged young people living outside the current area boundaries.*
- **Reassess the current levels of pre-school childcare entitlement** under Flying Start and the Foundation Phase in Wales in light of new enhanced provision in England.
 - o *The UK Government has promised 15 free hours per week for the most disadvantaged 20% of two-year-olds, in addition to 15 free hours per week for three- and four-year-olds.*
- **Investigate a dedicated funding stream to ensure that there is adequate resource to provide sufficient childcare for 5-14 year olds** (out of school and holiday provision) to support working parents.

- **Maximise the opportunities presented by the childcare sector in Wales** by investigating dedicated funding to implement the 'Nurturing Children, Supporting Families' strategy. This would help develop a flexible, high quality and professional childcare workforce and to support childcare enterprise as a route into employment. .

- **Make representations to the UK government** to increase support to parents to pay for childcare under Universal Credit.

We are calling on the UK Government to:

- **Ensure that 80% of childcare costs are covered under Universal Credit up to current weekly limits.** Covering this level of support for those working more than 16 hours per week would cost an extra £405 million per annum. This represents a 0.45% increase in the welfare budget but this expenditure is crucial if the Government's vital aim to make work pay is to be delivered. The Government must also provide the additional £195 million per annum to provide the same level of support for those working less than 16 hours.^{xxix}
- **Over time, as the economic situation improves, increase support so that it covers 100 per cent of costs,** increase the maximum limits in line with inflation and introduce an additional higher band for families with three or more children.

ENDNOTES

- i. The key findings are based on the views of more than 4,000 parents who responded to the survey across the UK. It should be noted that the results are indicative of issues and social trends and point to problems that require further research or attention. The results are not based on a representative sample of the population. The sample size for parents on the lowest incomes in Wales was small, therefore UK wide results are reported. Although the sample size is smaller, Welsh trends are consistent with UK wide trends.
- ii. Severe poverty refers to parents living on a yearly income of less than £12 000. £12,000 was used as a proxy for severe poverty for the purposes of the survey. Higher income families refers to parents living on a yearly income of more than £30 000.
- iii. Melyn Trust Consultancy (2010). Analysis of the Supply of Childcare in Wales 2009. Wales: Melyn Trust.
- iv. Welsh Assembly Government (2011). Child Poverty Strategy for Wales. Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government.
- v. Daycare Trust (2011). 2011 Childcare Costs Survey – Wales. London: Daycare Trust.
- vi. OECD (2011). Doing Better for Families. Paris: OECD.
- vii. Save the Children (2011). Severe Child Poverty in Wales. London: Save the Children
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- ix. OECD (2011), Doing Better for Families, Paris: OECD.
- x. Melyn Trust Consultancy (2010). Analysis of the Supply of Childcare in Wales 2009. Wales: Melyn Trust.
- xi. The Bevan Foundation (2005). A childcare revolution in Wales: summary and action. Tredegar: Bevan Foundation.
- xii. Ibid.
- xiii. Winckler (2009). What is Needed to End Child Poverty in Wales. Tredegar: The Bevan Foundation; The Bevan Foundation (2005). A Childcare Revolution in Wales. Tredegar: The Bevan Foundation.
- xiv. Melyn Trust Consultancy (2010). Analysis of the Supply of Childcare in Wales 2009. Wales: Melyn Trust.
- xv. Daycare Trust (2011). 2011 Childcare Costs Survey – Wales. London: Daycare Trust.
- xvi. ECPN (2011) Child Poverty: A Manifesto Towards Eradication. Welsh Assembly Elections 2011.
- xvii. Daycare Trust (2011). 2011 Holiday Childcare Costs Survey – Wales. London: Daycare Trust.
- xviii. Centre for Economic and Social Inclusion and Save the Children (2011), The Full Benefits of Universal Credit, Save the Children.
- xix. Department for Work and Pensions, 2011.
- xx. Welsh Government (2011). 'Nurturing Children, Supporting Families: our policy priorities for childcare'. Cardiff: Welsh Government.
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- xxii. Welsh Assembly Government (2011). Child Poverty Strategy for Wales. Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government.
- xxiii. National Centre for Social Research (2009). Childcare and Early Years Survey. Cardiff: National Centre for Social Research.
- xxiv. Effective Provision of Pre-School Education (EPPE) Project: Final Report - A Longitudinal Study Funded by the DfES 1997 - 2004
- xxv. Wincott (2004). Learning from Devolution: Making Childcare Labour's 'Big Idea', Briefing No.4, February 2004, Findings from the ESRC Research programme on Devolution and Constitutional Change. Available at: www.devolution.ac.uk
- xxvi. Welsh Government (2011). 'Nurturing Children, Supporting Families: our policy priorities for childcare'. Cardiff: Welsh Government.
- xxvii. Welsh Government (2010). Economic Renewal: A New Direction. Cardiff: Welsh Government.
- xxviii. Welsh Assembly Government (2011). Child Poverty Strategy for Wales. Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government.
- xxix. Costs from: Centre for Economic and Social Inclusion and Save the Children (2011). Full Benefits of Universal Credit. London: Save the Children.

ABOUT US

Save the Children works in more than 120 countries. We save children's lives. We fight for their rights. We help them fulfil their potential.

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