

Executive summary

The working-from-home revolution kickstarted by Covid-19 has sparked fierce debate. On one side are those who fear WFH is bad for productivity, or risks damaging quality of life in the city. On the other are those who see the promise of a bright and flexible future of work, one which might even help "level up" the UK.

To explore these issues, the Policy Institute and King's Business School are bringing together policymakers, researchers and London-based employers as part of a joint programme of activities and research called **Work/Place: London returning.**

This major representative survey of 2,015 London workers aged 16+, carried out between 25 March and 13 April 2022, forms part of this programme. It reveals the following key findings:

There has been a huge change in how employees based in the capital work now compared with before the pandemic – and the vast majority think we're never going back...

- Six in 10 London workers say they are now hybrid working, as defined by working from home at least one day a week and from their workplace fewer than five days a week.
- Of those in work at the time, 37% said they worked from home at least one day a week on average before the pandemic. Now roughly double this proportion 75% report doing so in the past four weeks.
- Three-quarters of London workers think we're never returning to the previous way of working where most people come into their workplace five or more days a week.

... even if there's a perception that senior management want people back in workplaces more often

- 56% believe senior management at their work want more of their staff to come into the workplace more often, compared with 16% who don't think this is the case.
- But there is a disconnect between perceptions of how often senior management want staff to WFH and how often senior management themselves are seen to be WFH.

It's clear why people think we're not returning to the way things were: high proportions of London workers say they've experienced benefits from WFH and that it's better for people's quality of life. They're also more likely to feel in control and generally connected to things that are important to them

- Eight in 10 London workers who report working from home at least one day a
 week say it has had a positive impact for them, with large majorities of
 different groups feeling this way.
- The lack of a commute is seen as the top benefit of WFH, followed by being able to manage home/social responsibilities and gender and childcare responsibilities are associated with differences in views.
- Despite suggestions that new ways of working have the biggest benefits for people who are more introverted, extroverts are nearly as likely as introverts to cite benefits of WFH that relate to wellbeing.
- There is an overwhelming sense that a day or two of WFH is better for people's quality of life, and WFH appears to provide a greater feeling of being in control.



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 While people are much less likely to report feeling connected to others when working from home versus going into their workplace, they are more likely to say they generally feel connected to things that are important to them.

Only a small minority think those who WFH are less productive – most people disagree with this view, regardless of politics, age or seniority. And there is a perception that the media exaggerates the negative impacts of WFH

- Two-thirds disagree that people who work from home don't work as hard as those who commute to a workplace, compared with 16% who agree with this view and most senior managers reject the idea that WFH means not working as hard.
- Conservative voters are twice as likely to disagree than agree with the idea that home-workers are less hard-working, while Labour voters are more than six times as likely to.
- And six in 10 London workers agree the media often exaggerates the negative impacts of working from home a view shared by majorities of voters of both main parties. One in 10 workers disagree with this view.

People also find it easier to work from home rather than their workplace – but their love of WFH is not down to a hatred of the office, with most still feeling positive about going into their traditional place of work in the capital

• Among those who are in their London workplace at least a day a week, only 13% say they're finding it difficult to work from there, with the cost and length of their commute the top reasons they are struggling.

• 57% of London workers say they feel positive about working from their workplace in the capital, compared with 15% who feel negative about doing so.

But still, people are not keen on being forced back to their workplaces, nor on being paid less for WFH

- Just 16% of London workers say they'd feel positive about being required to work more days a week at their workplace in the capital far lower than the 58% who say they'd feel negative.
- London workers are much more likely to disagree (66%) than agree (18%) with employers being able to pay home-workers less than those who go into the workplace – and even people who go into their workplace every day of the week are more likely to reject than support this idea.

Ideally, most London workers would like to WFH three or more days a week – but one in six say they'd rather not WFH at all

- 54% of London workers would work from home three days a week or more if they had a free choice, while 30% would prefer one or two days. 17% say they wouldn't work from home at all if they could.
- And while introverts might have been expected to favour working from home more often, their preferences differ little from those of extroverts.



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There is little consensus on whether WFH threatens the quality of life in central London or future jobs in the capital, but there is a greater sense that young people's careers will suffer more

- People are split on whether WFH is a threat to the quality of life in central London but views vary by political support, age and current work patterns.
- Opinions are also divided on the risk that WFH poses to jobs in the capital, and on whether there's any point living in London if you can work remotely.
- By 48% to 25%, London workers are more likely to agree than disagree that the move towards working more from home will have a greater negative impact on younger people's careers and experiences of work than those of older workers.

Note: Throughout this report, some figures described may differ from those shown on charts. This is due to rounding.

Figures for Conservative/Labour are based on 2019 general election vote.

For sizes of subgroups described, see the survey details section at the end of this report.



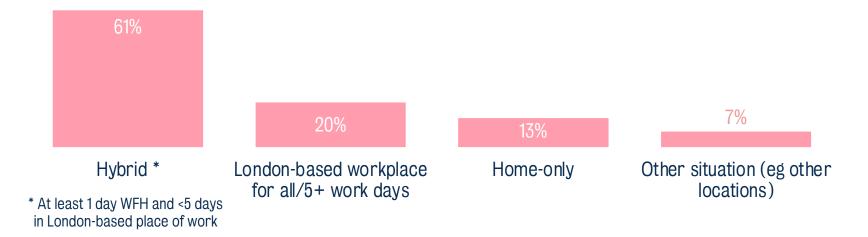


Six in 10 London workers say they are now hybrid working

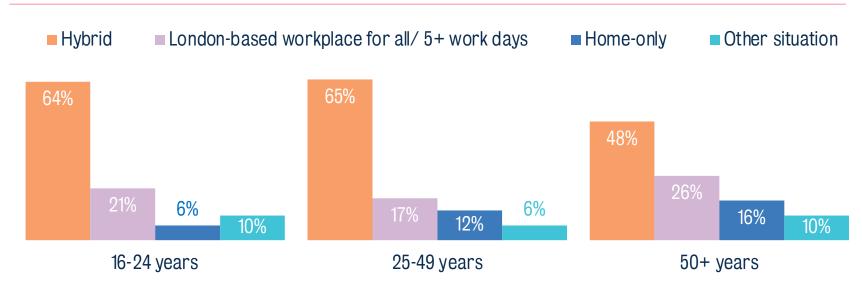
61% of London workers report working from home at least one day a week and from their workplace fewer than five days a week, with this being the most common arrangement among all age groups surveyed.

Levels of hybrid working are lowest among those aged 50 and above, with around half working in this way, compared with around two-thirds of younger age groups.

Within the past 4 weeks, on average how many days per week did you work from the following locations? Your usual London-based place of work (eg an office, retail or hospitality outlet or worksite) / your home / any other London-based location



How London workers say they are currently working, by age group





Base: 2,015 London workers aged 16+, interviewed 25 Mar-13 Apr 2022

How other estimates of hybrid working in London compare

This survey is the first to focus specifically on London's workers and their perceptions of working patterns. There have however been extensive national surveys undertaken during and after the pandemic which have looked at different aspects of working from home. The different scope and methods adopted for these are reflected in their different findings.

For example, the ONS Business Insights and Conditions Survey has asked businesses in selected sectors what proportion of their workforce worked from home or worked hybrid in the preceding fortnight (and more recently about their plans for the future). These data provide a valuable record of changing management perceptions and intentions, but the regional figures only provide a partial picture: they exclude businesses with multiple sites as well as employers in financial services and public services, who employ many of London's workers. At the end of January 2022 (the last date for which regional estimates are available) London businesses surveyed estimated that around **50%** of their employees were either working from home or hybrid working.

Another survey, the ONS Opinion and Lifestyle Survey, has asked working people whether they have worked at home in recent days because of Covid-19. Regional figures were available for London's residents (not workers) until the end of March 2022, when they estimated that **up to 47%** of Londoners were working from home at least one day a week. Since then, the survey has changed: it no longer asks whether working from home is *because of Covid-19*: regional data are no longer published, but national figures for working from home have risen sharply.

Other surveys, such as the Annual Population Survey, have generated detailed data on home working (by region of workplace and region of residence), but to date these have only been published for 2020.

Our survey is the first we're aware of to focus on London workers, defined as those who have a regular workplace in London – and so including workers who live outside London but would have commuted into the city in the past. This may be part of the explanation for our higher estimate of hybrid working than some other measures – but in many ways "London workers" are the crucial population to focus on, given the impact of their working patterns on the city as a whole.

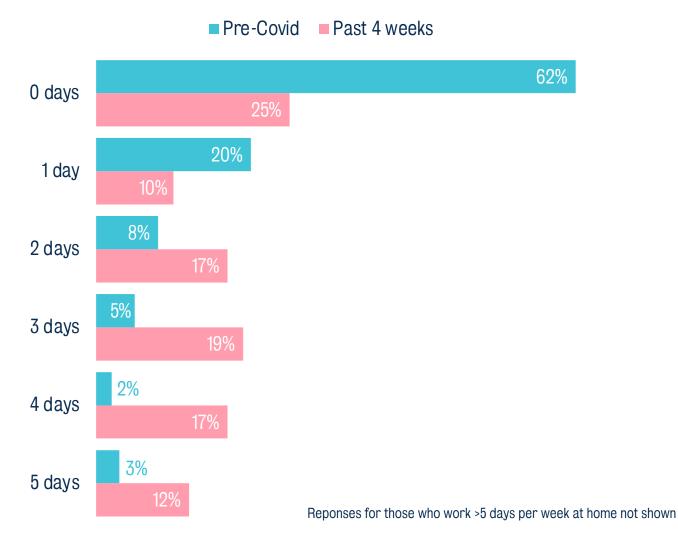


Pre-Covid, working from home was something only a minority did – but this has completely changed

37% of London workers say they worked from home at least one day a week on average before the pandemic. Now roughly double this proportion – 75% – do so.

Correspondingly, 62% say they didn't work from home at all on average pre-Covid, whereas now only 25% say this is the case.

Within the past 4 weeks / prior to the Covid-19 pandemic in January or February 2020, on average how many days per week did you work from your home?





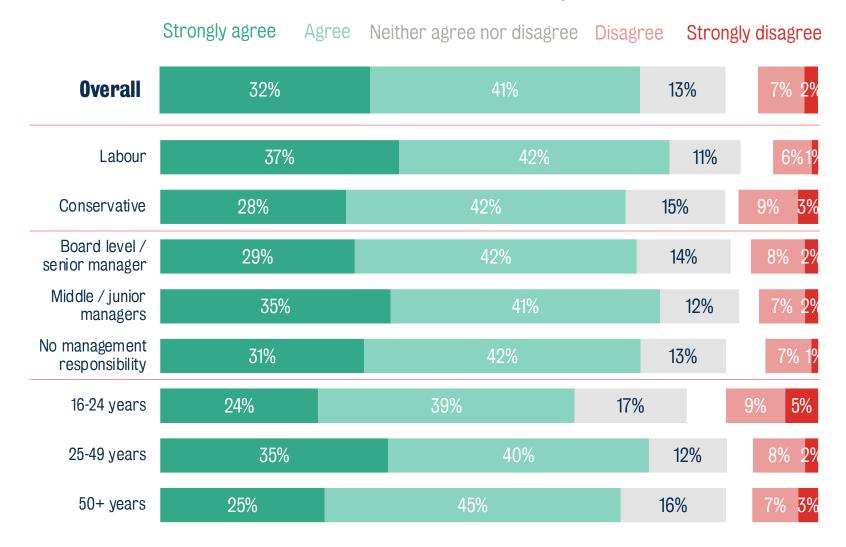
Base: 1,914 Londoners in work pre-pandemic, and 2,001 Londoners currently in work, aged 16+, interviewed 25 Mar-13 Apr 2022

A large majority say we're never going back to old ways of working – a view that cuts across groups

Three-quarters (73%) of London workers think we're never going back to the previous way of working where most people come into their workplace five or more days a week, compared with 10% who think we will.

And the belief that we're never returning to past work arrangements cuts across political support, level of seniority at work and age.

To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree... We're never going back to the previous way of working where most people come into their London workplace five or more days a week





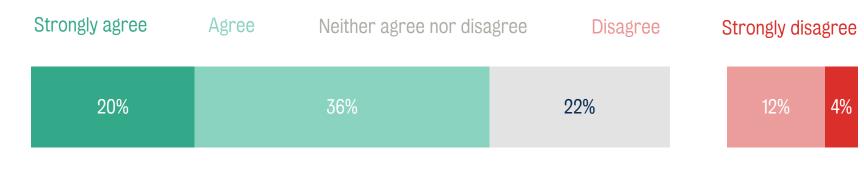


Most London workers think senior management want staff to come into the workplace more often

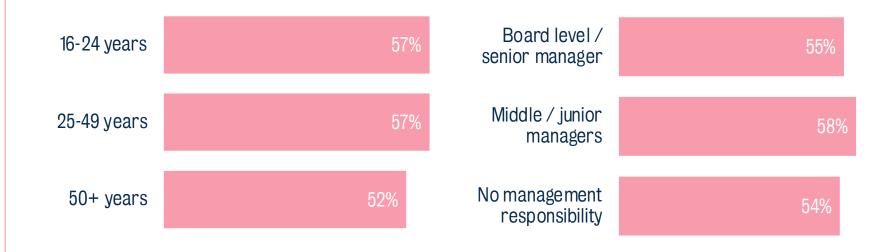
56% believe senior management at their work want more of their staff to come into the workplace more often, compared with 16% who don't think this is the case.

There is little difference in views among people of different ages or career stages, with at least half feeling that their senior management would like people to come into the workplace more frequently.

To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree... Senior management at my work want more of their staff to come into the workplace more often



% who agree/strongly agree

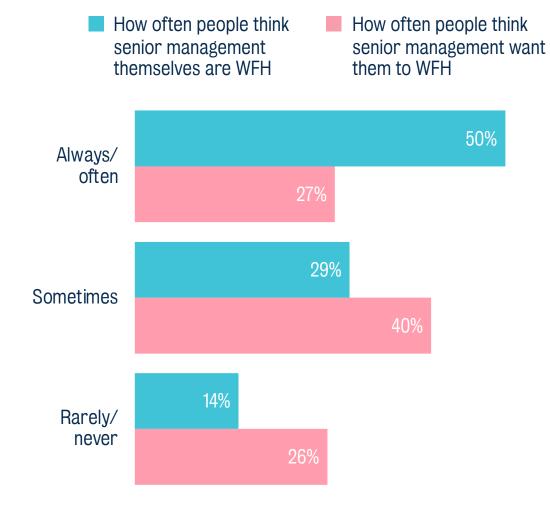




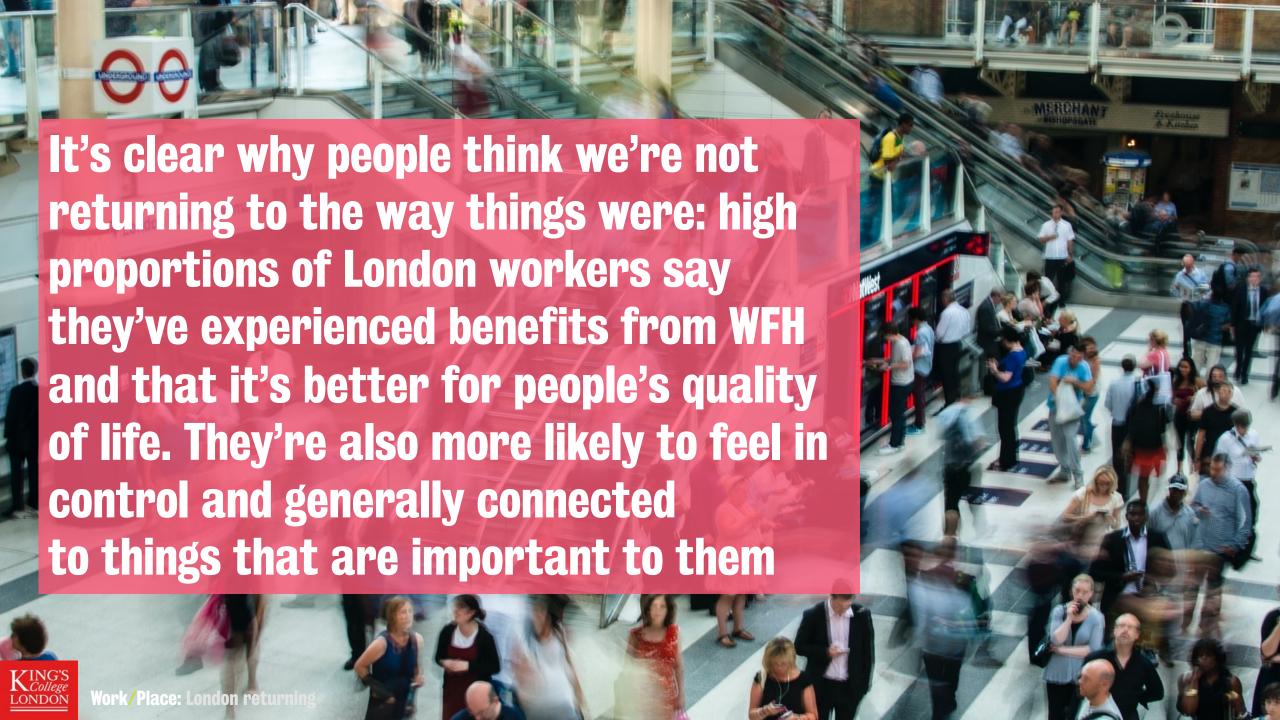
But there is a disconnect between perceptions of how often senior management want staff to WFH and how often senior management themselves are seen to be WFH

Among workers in organisations of two or more employees, 27% believe senior management want their staff to always or often WFH – but almost double this proportion, 51%, think senior management themselves are always or often WFH. This suggests people may have an overly negative view of how their managers feel about home-working, or that managers are not being consistent with their approach to WFH.

To what extent does senior management at your organisation believe that people in job roles like yours should be working from home? / In general, how often, if at all, are senior management at your organisation working from home?





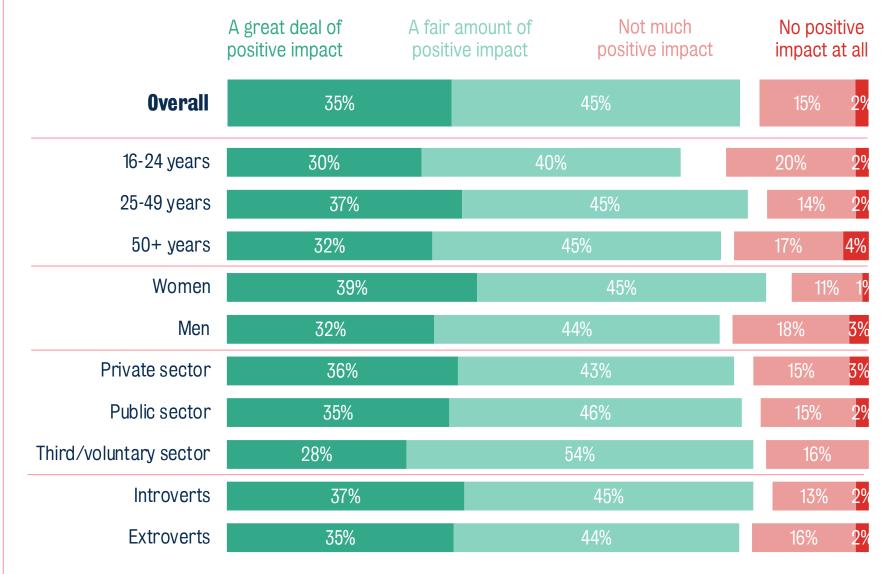


Large majorities of a range of groups all say they've experienced positive impacts from WFH

Eight in 10 (80%) London workers who report working from home at least one day a week say it has had a positive impact for them, with large majorities of different groups feeling this way.

Women (84%) are more likely than men (76%) to say they've experienced a positive impact, as are older groups compared with younger ones. And there is virtually no difference between introverts (82%) and extroverts (79%), despite the former potentially having greater reason to enjoy working from home.

To what extent, if at all, has there been a positive impact for you as a result of working from home?



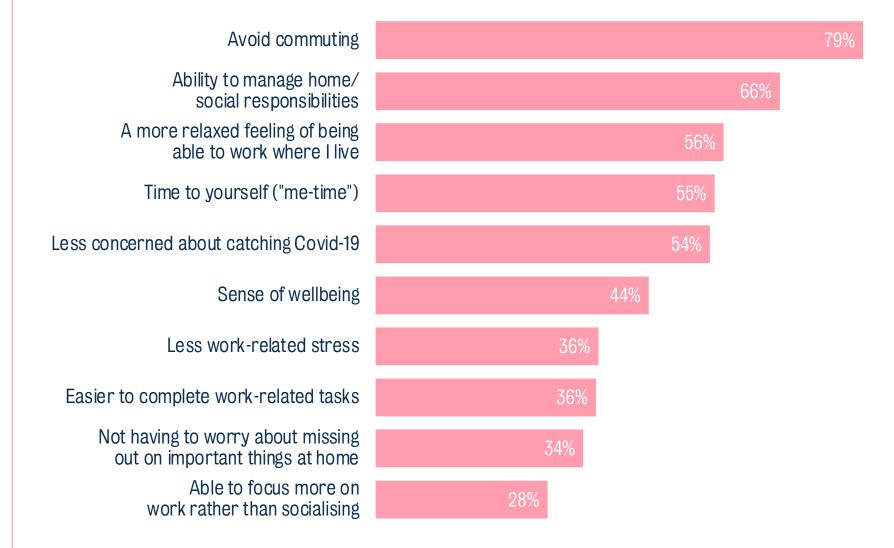


The lack of a commute is seen as the top benefit of WFH

Among those who say they're experiencing positive impacts from working from home, eight in 10 (79%) cite avoiding commuting as a key reason – the top answer given.

This is followed by the ability to manage home/social responsibilities (66%), a more relaxed feeling of people being able to work where they live (56%) and time to oneself (55%).

A reduced risk of catching Covid is also a factor for many (54%), while the ability to focus more (28%) or complete work tasks more easily (36%) are seen as positive impacts by relatively smaller proportions. Which, if any, of the following type of positive impacts are you experiencing working from home? Please tick all that apply (top 10 shown)





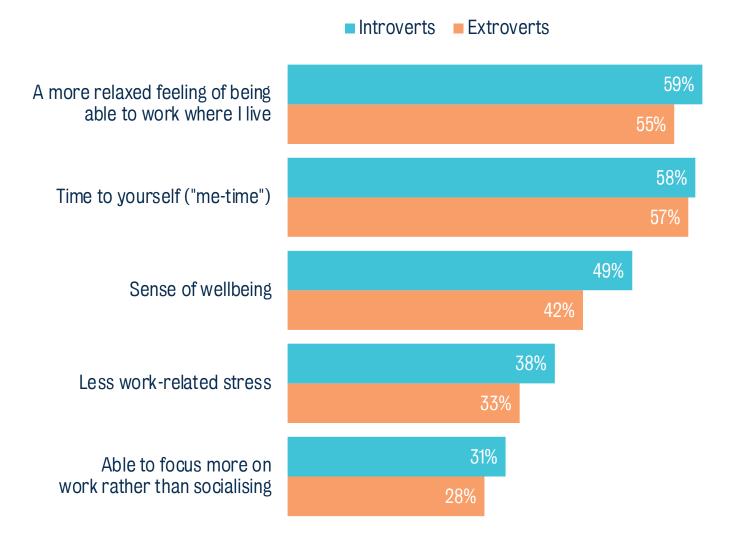
Extroverts are nearly as likely as introverts to cite benefits of WFH that relate to wellbeing

Despite suggestions that new ways of working have the biggest benefits for people who are more introverted, extroverts are virtually just as likely as introverts to say that working from home has positive impacts linked to mental health and personal wellbeing.

For example, 58% of introverts cite time to yourself ("metime") as being a key benefit, compared with 57% of introverts.

However, introverts (49%) are slightly more likely than extroverts (42%) to say a sense of wellbeing is one of the positive impacts they're experiencing.

Which, if any, of the following type of positive impacts are you experiencing working from home? (Impacts related to wellbeing shown)



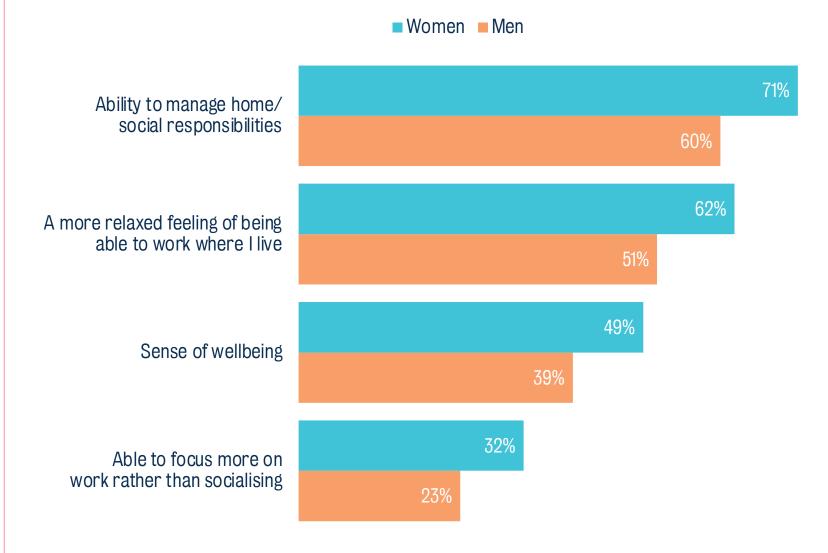


There are some gender differences in what are seen as benefits of WFH

Women (71%) are more likely than men (60%) to say the ability to manage home/social responsibilities is one of the positive impacts of working from home.

And there is a similar gender gap in likelihood to report a more relaxed feeling at work, a sense of wellbeing and an ability to focus as positive impacts of home-working.

Which, if any, of the following type of positive impacts are you experiencing working from home? (Impacts with notable gender differences shown)



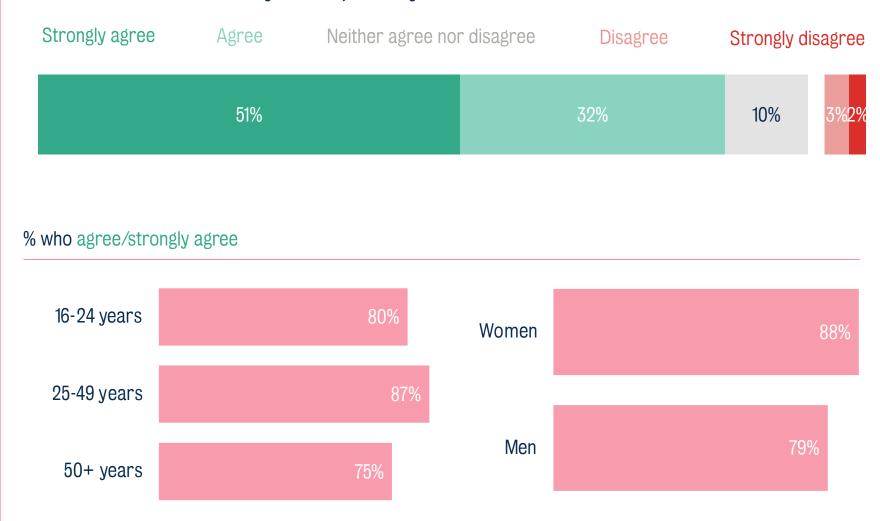


There is an overwhelming sense that a day or two of WFH is better for people's quality of life

More than eight in 10 (84%) London workers feel it's better for people's quality of life to work from home one or two days a week. Only 4% disagree.

Women (88%) are slightly more likely than men (79%) to think home-working leads to quality-of-life improvements, while at least three-quarters of all age groups surveyed feel the same.

To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree... It is better for people's quality of life for them to be able to work at home one or two days a week, if their job allows that



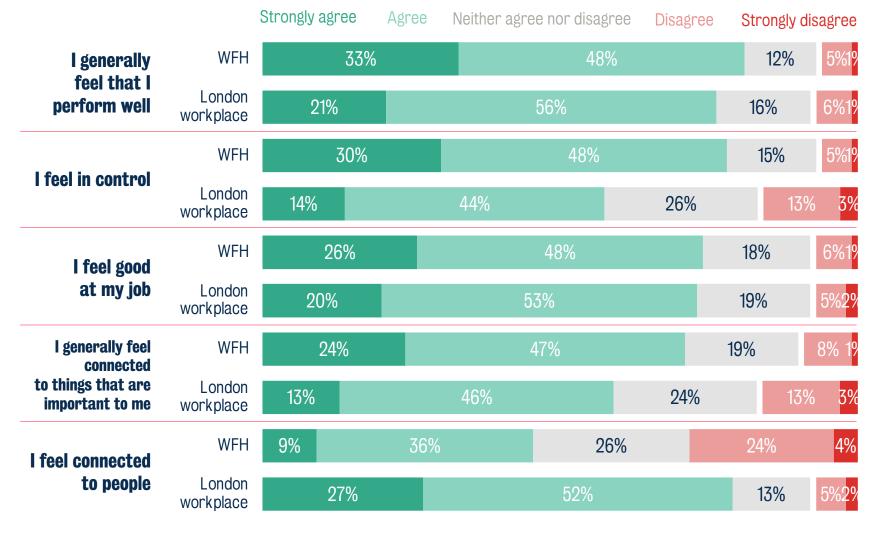


WFH appears to provide a greater feeling of being in control

78% of London workers who work from home at least a day a week say they feel in control when home-working. This compares with 57% of those who work from their London workplace at least once a week who feel in control when working from that location.

And while people are much less likely to report feeling connected to others when working from home (45%) versus going into their London workplace (79%), they are more likely to say they generally feel connected to things that are important to them (71% vs 59%).

To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree with the following statements... When I am working from home / my regular London-based workplace...



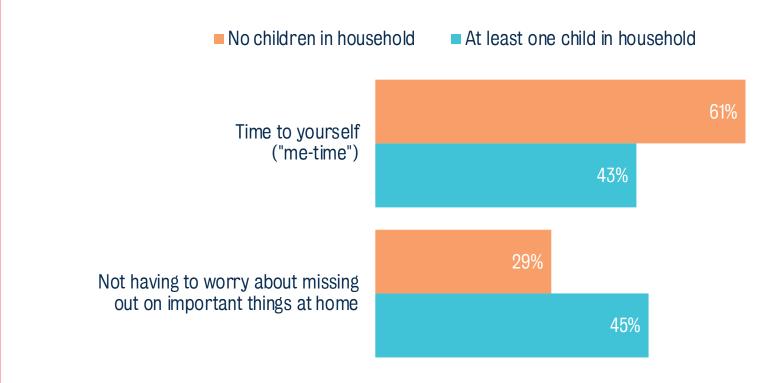


Base: 1,505 London workers working from home at least 1 day a week, and 1,686 working from their London workplace at least 1 day a week, aged 16+, interviewed 25 Mar-13 Apr 2022

People with children in their household are less likely to say WFH allows them to have "me-time", but more likely to say it means they don't miss out on important things at home

Among London workers working from home at least a day a week, those with children in their household are less likely than those without to cite time to themselves or "me-time" as a benefit of WFH (43% vs 61%), but more likely to say it means they don't have to worry about missing out on important things at home (45% vs 29%).

% who cite different positive impacts of working from home, by childcare responsibilities



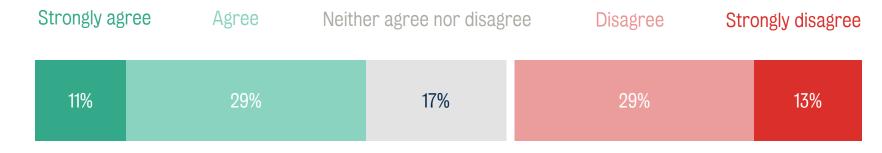


But people are split on whether they find it harder to switch off after WFH

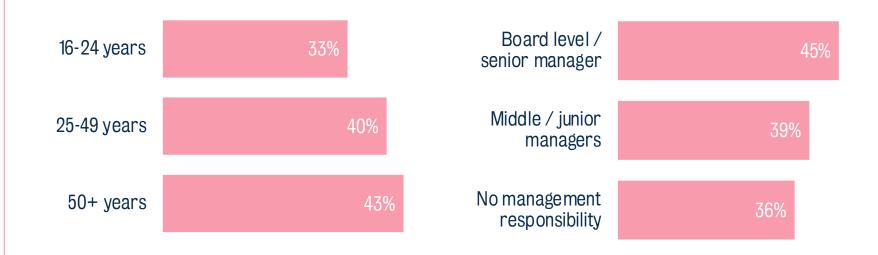
Four in 10 (40%) of those who work from home at least a day a week agree it is harder to switch off from work compared with when they go into their London workplace – but this is matched by another four in 10 (42%) who disagree.

There is little difference in views across most groups surveyed.

To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree... I find it harder to switch off from work when I'm working from home than when I come into my workplace



% who agree/strongly agree







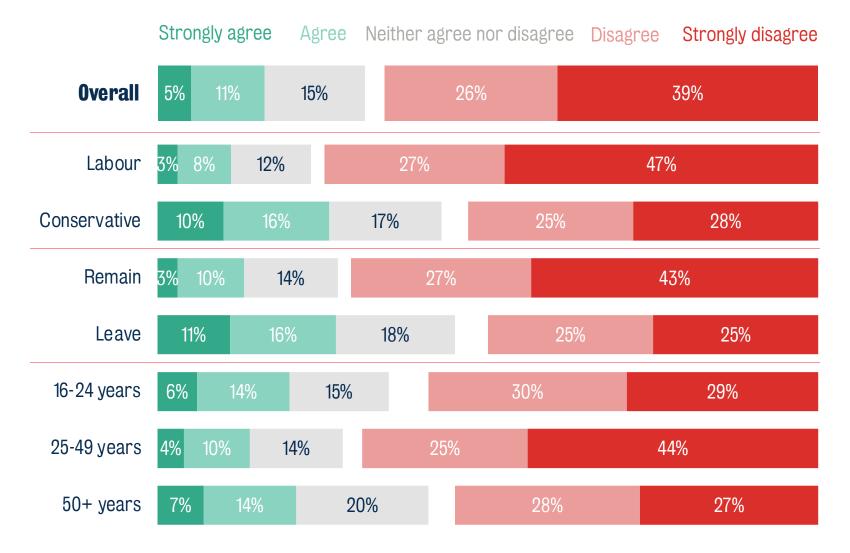
Two-thirds reject the idea that people don't work as hard when WFH

65% disagree that people who work from home don't work as hard as those who commute to a workplace, compared with 16% who agree with this view.

London workers who voted Conservative in 2019 are twice as likely to disagree (54%) than agree (25%) with the idea that home-workers are less hardworking, while Labour voters are more than six times as likely to (74% vs 11%).

And across age groups, those aged 25 to 49 are most likely to disagree (69%), though majorities of younger (58%) and older (56%) workers still take the same view.

To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree... People who work from home don't work as hard as those who commute to a workplace



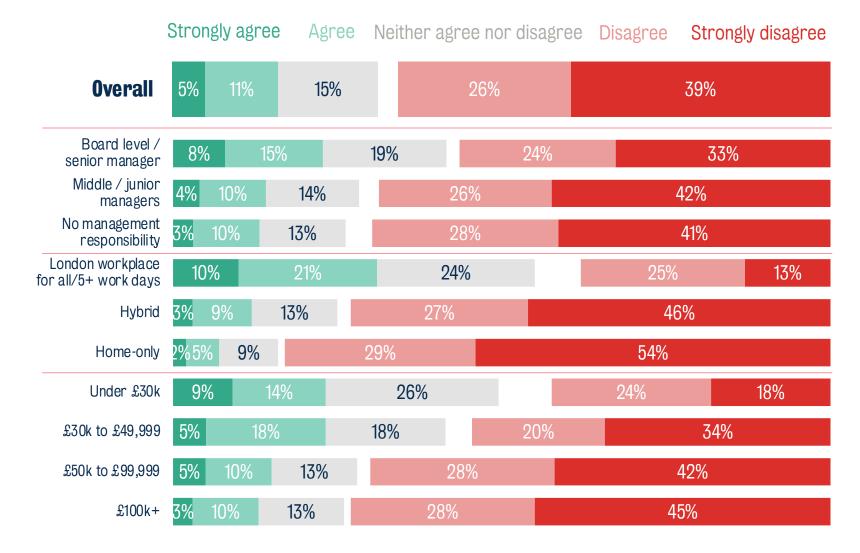


Most senior managers disagree that WFH means not working as hard

Those in board level or senior management roles have a less favourable view of homeworkers' productivity than do those in more junior roles – but nonetheless, a majority of 57% still disagree that people who work from home don't work as hard, compared with 22% who agree.

Even those who are in their workplace five or more days a week are slightly more likely to disagree (38%) than agree with this view (31%), while there is also an income divide in opinions, with higher earners having a much more positive perception of how hard people work when at home.

To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree... People who work from home don't work as hard as those who commute to a workplace



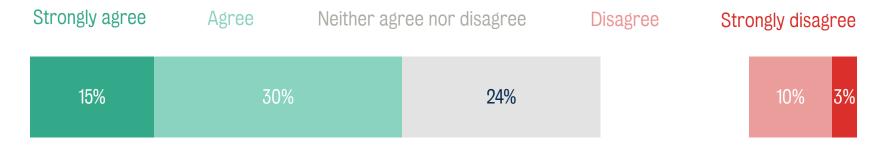


People are more likely to agree than disagree that WFH has been a boost to economic productivity

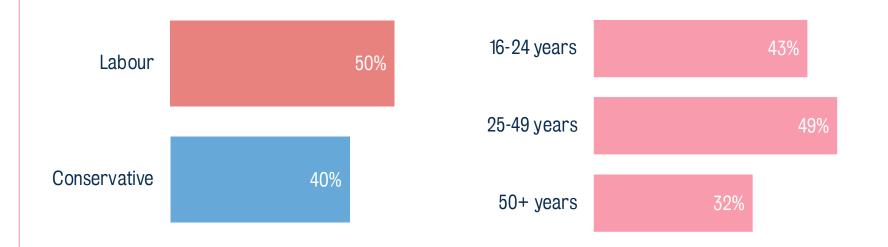
A greater share of London workers agree (45%) than disagree (13%) that productivity in the economy is higher now that more people can work from home.

Those aged 50 and over are less likely to agree than people from younger age groups, as are Conservative voters (40%) relative to Labour voters (50%) – although both sets of voters are much more likely than not to say working from home has led to greater economic productivity (Con: 40% vs 22%; Lab: 50% vs 8%).





% who agree/strongly agree





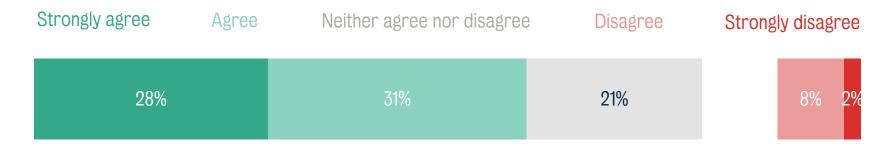
A majority feel the media often exaggerates the downsides of WFH

Six in 10 (59%) London workers agree the media often exaggerates the negative impacts of working from home, while one in 10 (11%) disagree with this view.

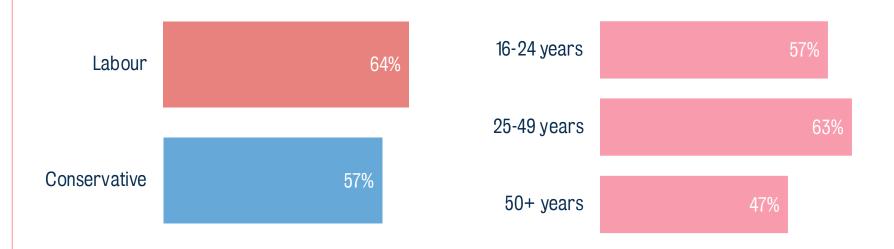
Agreement that the media overstates the downsides of working from home cuts across political lines, with majorities of both Labour (64%) and Conservative voters (57%) feeling this way.

Older people are least likely to hold this opinion, with just under half of those aged 50 and above doing so, compared with majorities of younger age groups.

To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree... The media often exaggerates the negative impacts of working from home









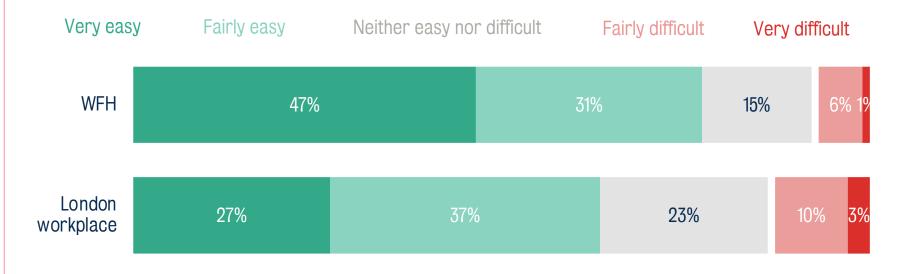


People find WFH easier than working from their London workplace – but only a small minority say working from their workplace is difficult

78% of those working from home at least one day a week say they're currently finding it easy to do so, including 47% who say it is very easy for them.

By contrast, among those who are in their London workplace at least a day a week, 64% are finding it easy, and a much smaller proportion – 27% – are finding it very easy. Despite this, only 13% of these workers go as far as saying they're finding it difficult to work from their regular workplace in the capital.

To what extent, if at all, are you currently finding it difficult or easy to work from home / your regular London-based place of work – for example, your company's office, retail or hospitality outlet or worksite?



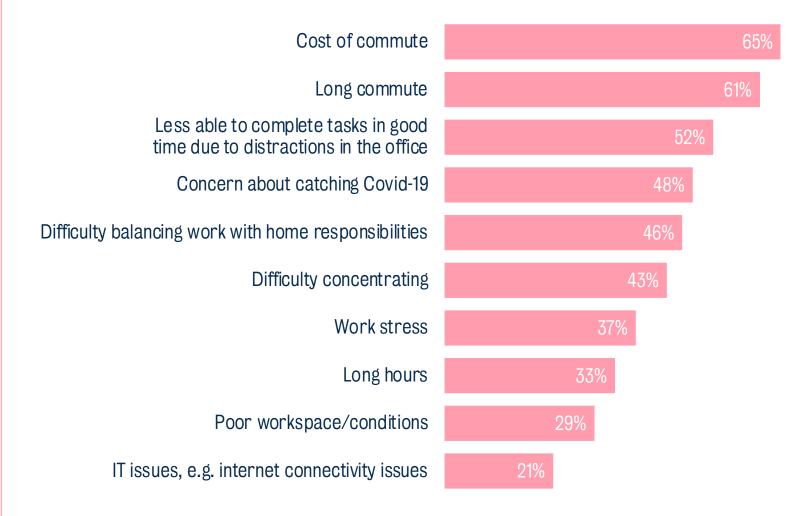


Commuting is the top reason people struggle with working from their London workplace

Among London workers who find it difficult to work from their usual workplace in the city, around six in 10 say the cost (65%) and length (61%) of their commute are problems for them – the top difficulties cited.

Around half mention having trouble completing tasks in good time due to distractions (52%), and similar proportions say concern about catching Covid (48%) and difficulty balancing work with home responsibilities (46%) are problems they experience.

Which of the following types of difficulties are you experiencing with working from your regular London-based place of work – for example, your company's office, retail or hospitality outlet or worksite? Please tick all that apply (top 10 shown)



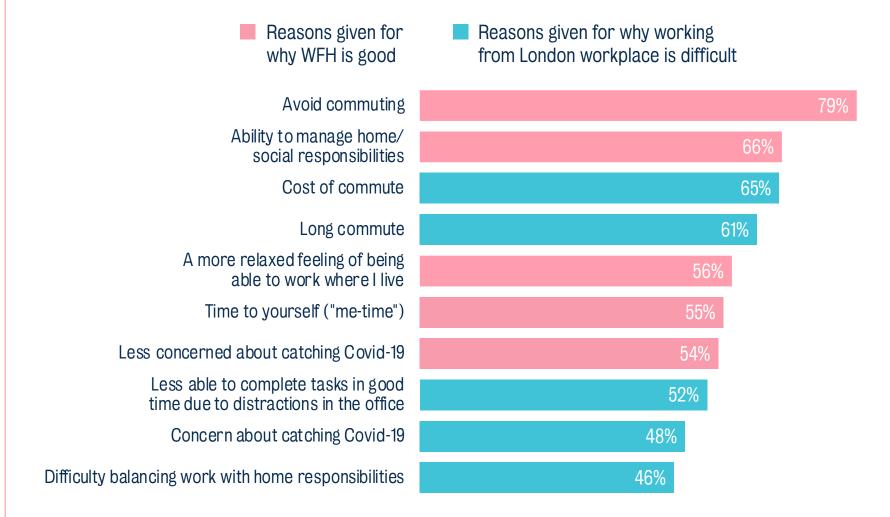


Managing home responsibilities is seen more as a reason why WFH is good than a reason why it's difficult to work from the workplace

Looking across responses to questions on both the positives of working from home and the difficulties of going into the workplace, it's clear that commuting is the top factor in both directions.

But there is a greater difference when it comes to managing responsibilities at home – this is the second-most cited benefit of working from home, but the fifth-most cited difficulty associated with going into the workplace.

Which, if any, of the following type of positive impacts are you experiencing working from home? / Which of the following types of difficulties are you experiencing with working from your regular London-based place of work?



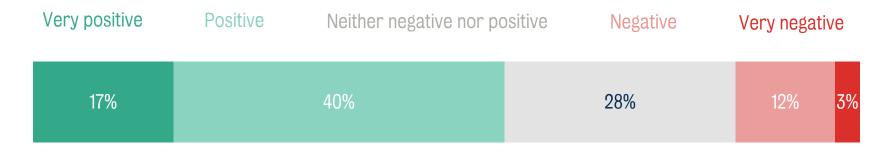


Most people still feel positive about going into their London workplace

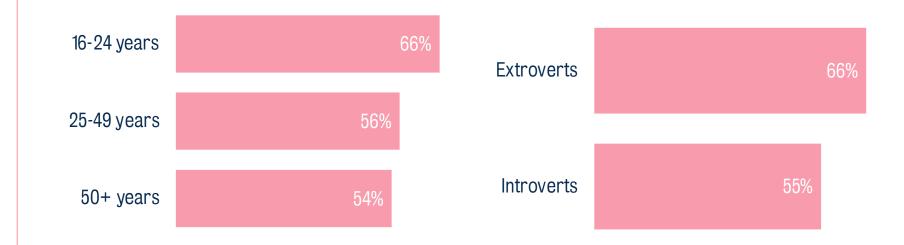
57% of London workers say they feel positive about working from their workplace in the capital, compared with 15% who feel negative about doing so.

Younger people in particular feel good about going into their regular place of work, but majorities of all age groups feel this way, as do majorities of both extroverts and introverts – though the latter are slightly less likely to be positive about doing so.

How do you currently feel about working from your London-based place of work – for example, your company's office, retail or hospitality outlet or worksite?



% who feel positive/very positive





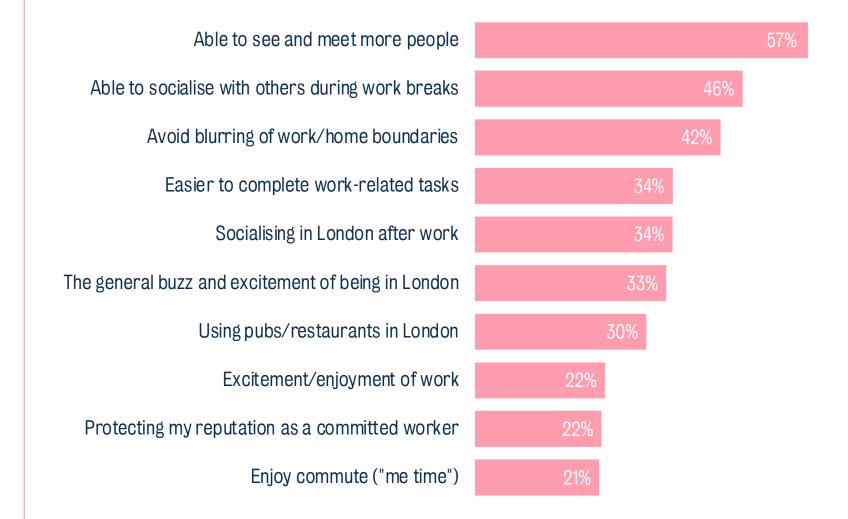
Seeing more people is viewed as the main positive of going into the workplace

57% of London workers who say they're experiencing positive impacts from going into their workplace say being able to see and meet more people is one of the benefits – the most commonly cited factor.

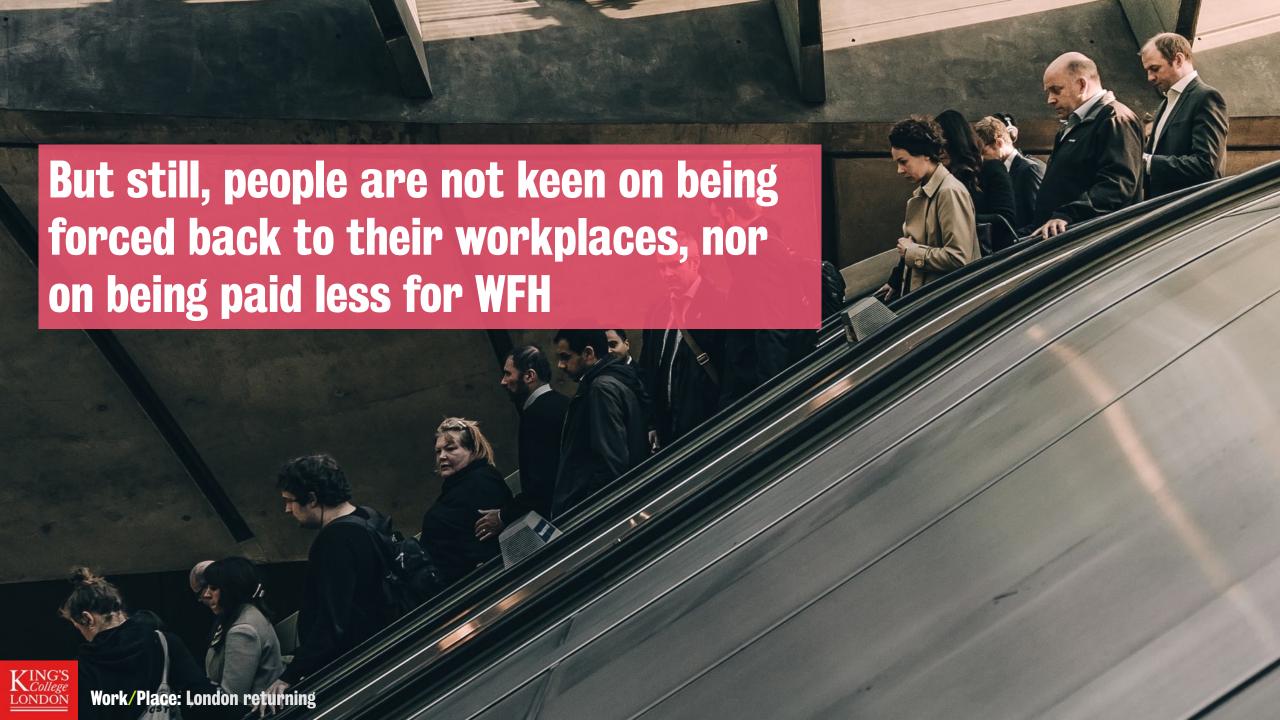
46% say socialising with others during work breaks is a positive they experience, while a similar proportion – 42% – say avoiding the blurring of work and home boundaries is a benefit for them.

Other positives linked to the capital itself are cited by smaller proportions – 34% mention socialising in London after work and 30% mention using pubs or restaurants in London.

Which, if any, of the following "positives" are you experiencing as a result of working from your regular London-based place of work?







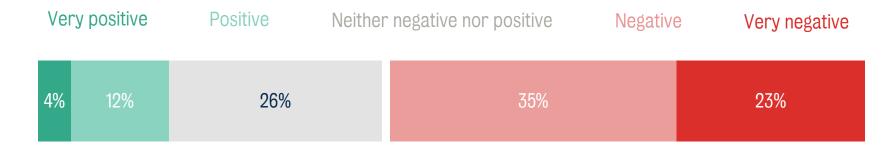
Only a minority would feel positive about having to be in their London workplace more often

16% of London workers say they'd feel positive about being required to work more days a week at their workplace in the capital – far lower than the 58% who say they'd feel negative.

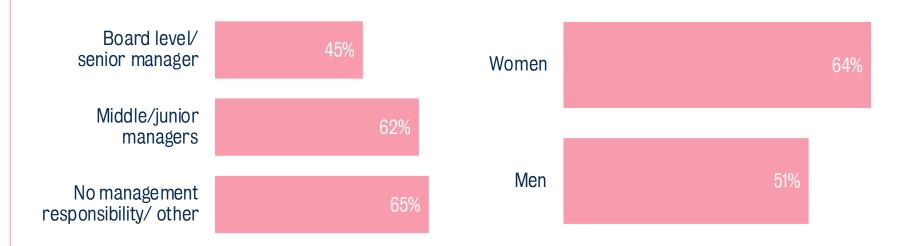
Those in board level or senior management roles are most likely to be comfortable with this idea: 45% of this group would feel negative about being made to return to their workplaces more frequently, compared with 63% among people in more junior roles.

And women (64%) would feel worse than men (51%) about having to go back more often.

How would you feel about being required to work more days a week at your London-based place of work – for example, your company's office, retail or hospitality outlet or worksite?



% who would feel negative/very negative





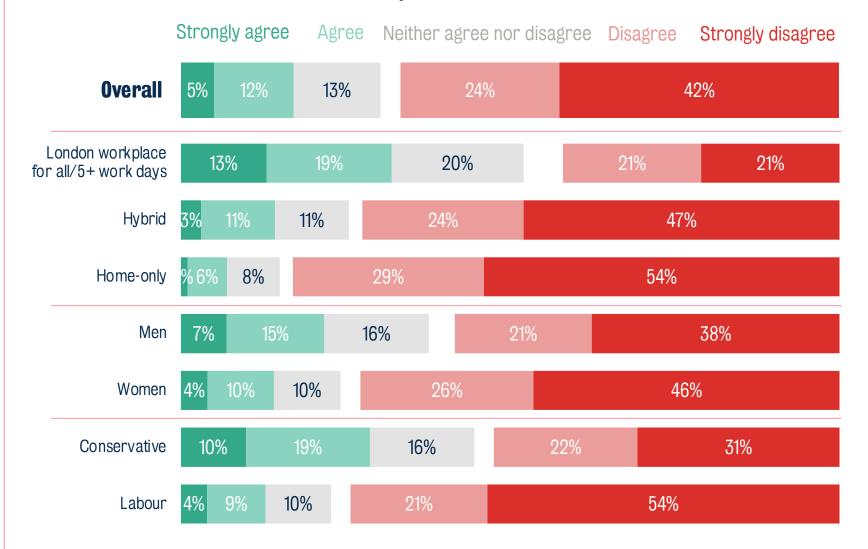
There is very little support for paying people less for WFH

London workers are much more likely to disagree (66%) than agree (18%) with employers being able to pay home-workers less than those who go into the workplace.

Even people who go into their workplace every day of the week are more likely to reject (42%) than support (32%) this idea.

Meanwhile, women (73%) are more opposed than men (59%), as are 2019 Labour voters (74%) compared with Conservative voters (53%) – although a majority of the latter are still against paying such workers less.

To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree... **Employers should be allowed to pay those who work from home less than those who come into their workplace**



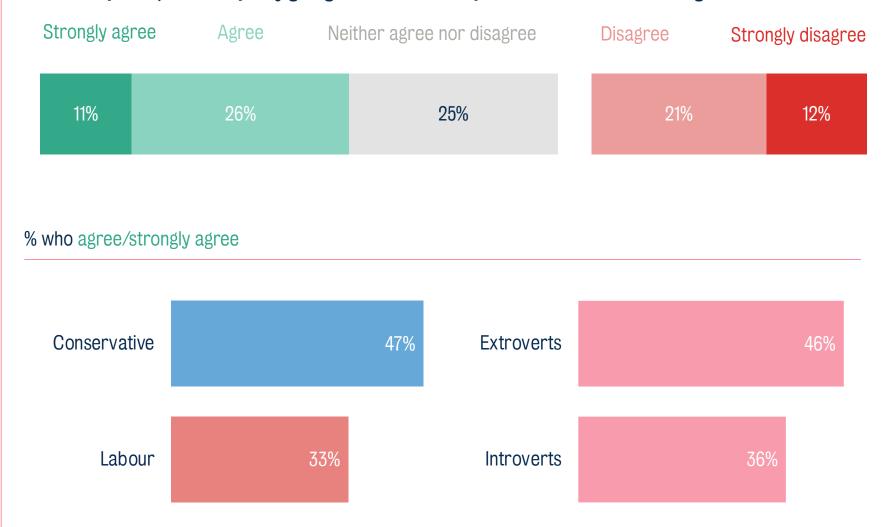


Views are divided on the government incentivising people to return to workplaces

38% of London workers think the government should encourage people to go back to their workplaces, for example by giving tax breaks to help with the cost of commuting – but virtually the same proportion, 34%, are against this idea.

Support for this proposal varies according to how people voted in the 2019 general election and whether they are more extroverted or introverted.

To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree... The government should encourage people to go back to their workplaces, for example by giving tax breaks to help with the cost of commuting







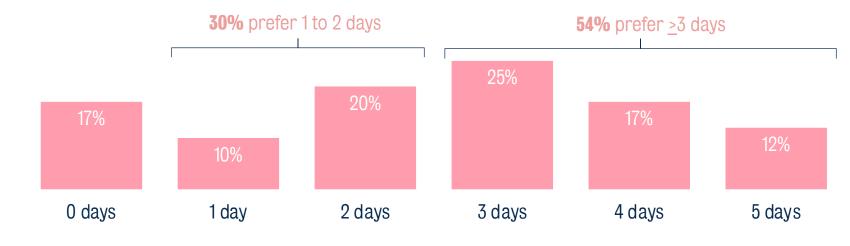
WFH three days a week or more is most people's preference – and whether you are an introvert or extrovert makes little difference

54% of London workers would work from home three days a week or more if they had a free choice, while 30% would prefer one or two days.

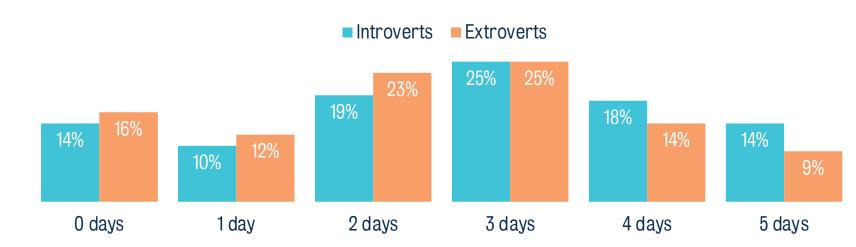
17% say they wouldn't work from home at all if they could.

And while introverts might have been expected to favour working from home more often, their preferences differ little from those of extroverts.

Hypothetically, assuming you were to work 5 days in a week, how many days would you spend working from your home if you had a free choice?



How many days a week introverts and extroverts would prefer to work from home





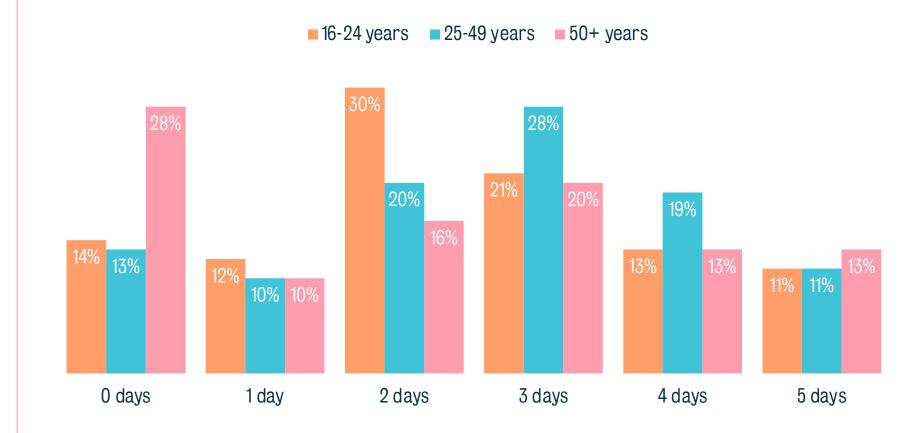
Base: 2,015 London workers aged 16+, interviewed 25 Mar-13 Apr 2022

Older workers are twice as likely as younger ones to say they'd rather not WFH at all

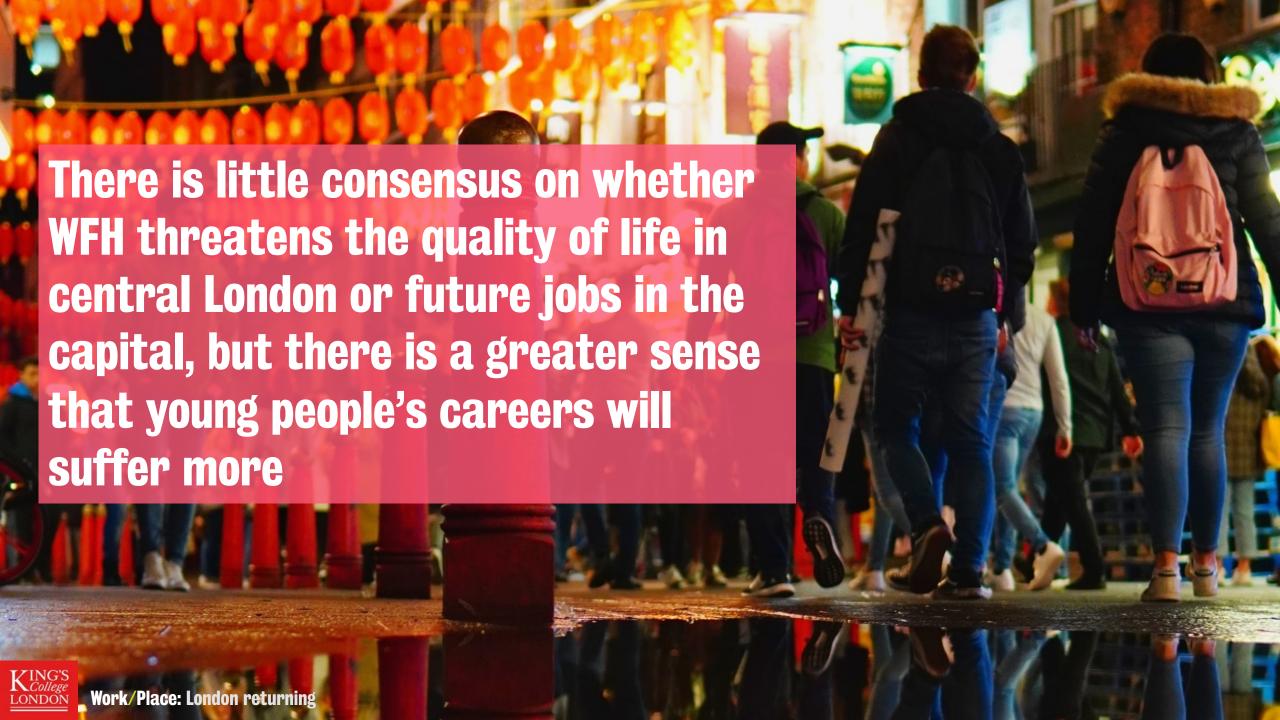
28% of London workers aged 50 and over say they wouldn't work from home at all if they had a free choice – double the proportion of younger age groups (14%) who would prefer this arrangement.

Among 16- to 24-year-olds, working from two days a week is the most widely preferred option, selected by three in 10 people. Meanwhile, virtually the same proportion of 25- to 49-year-olds would prefer to do three days a week at home — the most popular option among this age category.

Hypothetically, assuming you were to work 5 days in a week, how many days would you spend working from home if you had a free choice?







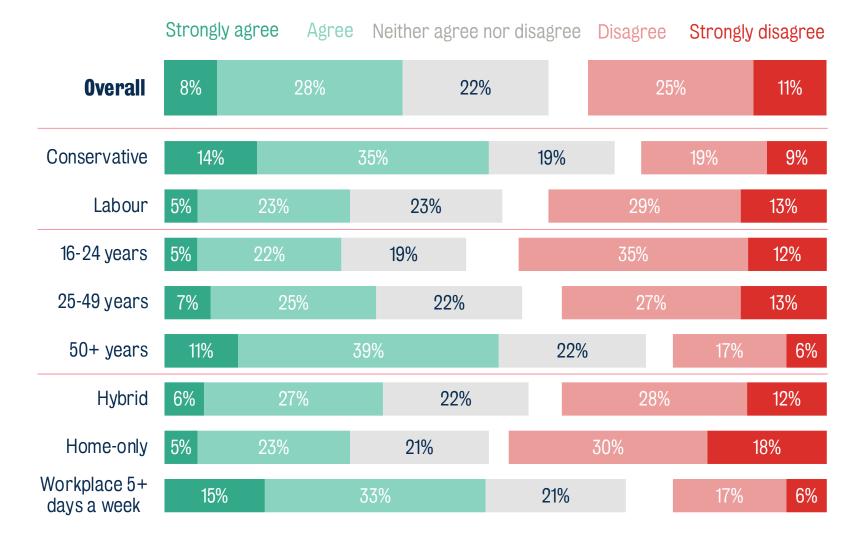
People are split on whether WFH is a threat to the quality of life in central London – but views vary by political support, age and current work patterns

Around a third (36%) of London workers feel the quality of life in central London is at risk if people do not return to workplaces at their pre-pandemic levels – but roughly another third (37%) disagree with this view.

2019 Conservative voters (49%) are much more likely than Labour voters (28%) to see working from home as a potential threat to quality of life in the centre of the capital, as are those who go into their workplace five or more days a week compared with those who have adopted hybrid or homeonly working.

Older workers are also more pessimistic about this than younger ones.

To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree... The quality of life in central London is at risk if people do not return to workplaces at their pre-pandemic levels





People are also split on the risk that WFH poses to jobs in the capital

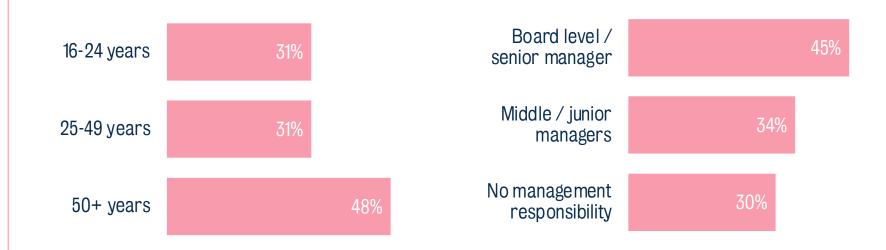
38% of London workers disagree that large-scale remote working is a risk to the future of jobs in London, but 35% agree.

Older workers are more likely than younger workers to perceive such a threat to jobs, as are those in more senior roles compared with those with no management responsibility.

To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree... Remote working on a large scale is a risk to the future of jobs in London



% who agree/strongly agree

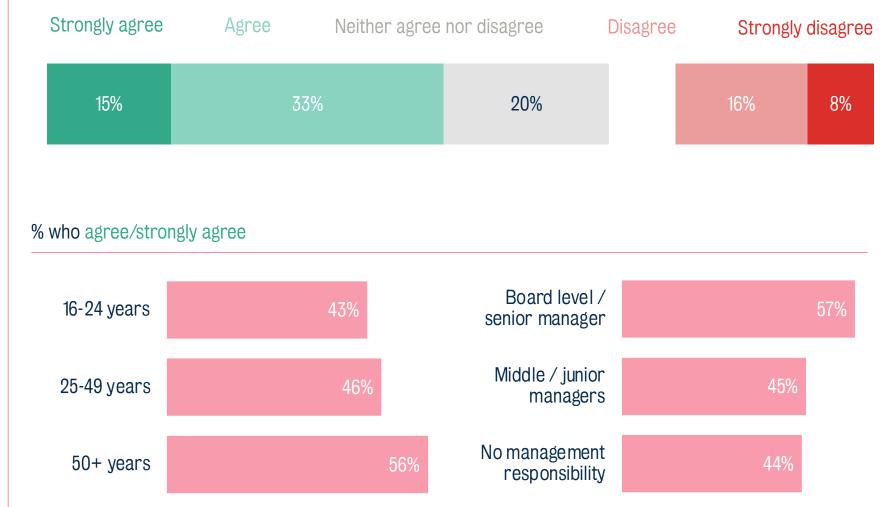




London workers are more likely to agree than disagree that WFH will harm younger people's careers the most

By 48% to 25%, London workers are more likely to agree than disagree that the move towards working more from home will have a greater negative impact on younger people's careers and experiences of work than those of older workers.

But younger workers themselves are less likely than older workers to perceive such a threat to young people's careers. To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree... The move towards working more from home will have a greater negative impact on younger people's careers and experiences of work than older workers





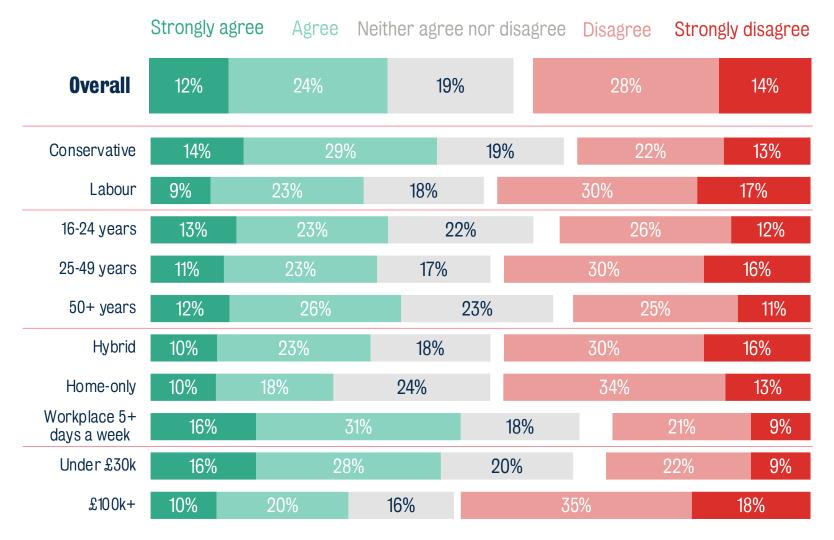
Opinions are relatively divided on whether there's any point living in the capital if you can work remotely

43% of London workers reject the idea that there's no point living in London if you are able to work remotely, while a slightly smaller proportion – 36% – agree with it.

Again, views vary according to people's current work patterns, with those who go into their workplace five or more days a week more likely than those who don't to feel there's no point living in the capital when remote-working is an option.

Conservative voters (43%) are also more likely than Labour voters (32%) to agree with this view, as are lower earners compared with higher earners.

To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree... There is no point living in London if you are able to work remotely





Survey details

All figures, unless otherwise stated, are from YouGov Plc. Total sample size was 2,015 adults. Fieldwork was undertaken between 25 March and 13 April 2022. The survey was carried out online. The figures have been weighted and are representative of London workers, defined as those who have a regular workplace in the capital.

Subgroups

Variable	Base	Variable	Base
Gender		Sector	
Male	1.046	Private sector	1,466
Female	969	Public sector	343
Age		Third/voluntary sector	206
16-24	139	Income level	
25-49	1,367	Under £30,000	172
50+	509	£30,000 to £49,999	331
2019 general election vote		£50,000 to £99,999	712
Conservative	514	£100,000+	544
Labour	697	Children in household	
Work pattern/location		None	1,403
London-based place of work for all/ 5+ work days	398	Any	580
Hybrid (at least 1 day WFH and <5 days in London-based place of work)	1,221	Personality traits	
Home-only (All WFH)	258	Extroverted, enthusiastic	751
Job seniority		Reserved, quiet	1,068
Board level/senior manager	576		
Middle/junior managers	743		
No management responsibility/other	673		



Work/Place







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