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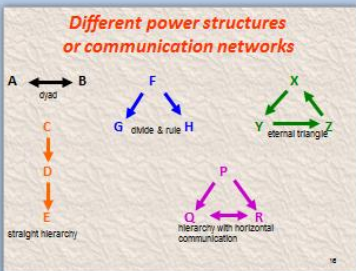
Social Reality

is both
Independent of any individual's volition
 i.e. **objective & with some stability**
 And
Dependent on individuals' perceptions
 i.e. **subjective and subject to change**

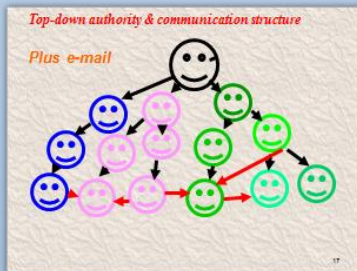
14

- ### Social Reality has Properties
- Which are **Non-Reducible** to the properties of individuals
 - SR can **enable &/or restrain**
 - Individuals &/or Groups
 - Social properties are dependent on **time & space**
 - What is **unthinkable** in one culture gets thought in another
 - What is **impossible** to do in one structure gets done in another
 - Social properties are more or less **negotiable**
 - For individuals &/or groups

15



16



17



18



19

- ### Access?
- Depends on group & time you have
 - Believer / non-Believer?
 - Covert or Overt?
 - reasons for covert (under-cover):
 - access
 - secret knowledge
 - reasons for overt:
 - ethical
 - psychological
 - methodological
 - Ask?
 - Listen
 - Don't lie, but don't have to shout the whole truth

20

- ### Triangulation for different Levels of Investigation
- Individual Interview**
 - Social Observation**
 - Sociological Questionnaire**

21



- ### Interview
- Indirect informants
 - Key informants
 - Random sample
 - Start formal then informal
 - General to specific (see what they produce)
 - E.g tell me about your childhood
 - Was your family religious?
 - Did you go to a place of worship....
 - Listen – manage pauses
 - 2-10 hours

- ### Observation visits
- Check and check again**
- One visit better than none for a 'feel',
 - but you cannot generalise.
 - Damanhur

24

STUDYING NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

Eileen Barker
London School of Economics / INFORM
Janeda, Estonia 18 November 2016

1

Why study new religions?

- Curiosity
- Scholarship
 - Laboratory – processes (e.g. conversion); bureaucratization; communication networks; authority structures)
 - NB NRMs not same as total society (power; economics; defence)
- Learn about potentials – Monty Python
 - Recognise the familiar in the unfamiliar
 - & the unfamiliar in the familiar
- Ignorance and misinformation →
 - Human rights – policy for beliefs or actions?
 - Unnecessary suffering through inappropriate reactions
 - Deprogramming; Waco
 - Obfuscate and miss real harm

2

The sociology of religion

**Who believes What?
under Which circumstances?
How? Why? When?
& with What Consequences?**

3

Max Weber 1864-1920 (1884-85)

Sociology is a science which attempts the **interpretative understanding** of social action in order thereby to arrive at a **causal explanation** of its course and effects

In **action** is included all human behaviour when and in so far as the acting individual attaches **subjective meaning** to it ...

Action is **social** in so far as, by virtue of the subjective meaning attached to it by the acting individual(s), it **takes account** of the **behaviour of others** and is thereby oriented in its course

4

Method of social research involves

Explanation ← → Understanding

Science Verstehen

5

The criterion of the scientific status of a theory is its falsifiability, or refutability, or testability

Karl Popper, *Conjectures and Refutations*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963, pp. 33-39

6

Verstehen (Weber)

Empathic understanding

- We all play different roles – fellow student; maiden aunt
- Art and technique (stage-awareness)

7

Subject of social sciences

Individual ↔ Society

individual ↔ social
freedom determinism

Choice ← → Brainwashing

8

The Social Construction of Reality

Berger, Peter L. and Thomas Luckmann 1967. *The Social Construction of Reality. Everything we possess for knowledge is social.* London: Allen Lane

The diagram shows a central oval labeled 'Social Reality' (SR). Above it is the word 'objectification'. Below it are three stick figures. Arrows labeled 'externalization' point from the figures up to the SR oval. Arrows labeled 'internalization' point from the SR oval down to the figures.

9

Levels of reality

Horizontal
never totally sharing social reality
always some sharing of social reality

10

The Social Construction of Reality

Berger, Peter L. and Thomas Luckmann 1967. *The Social Construction of Reality. Everything we possess for knowledge is social.* London: Allen Lane

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11

Levels of social reality

Horizontal
never totally sharing social reality
always some sharing of social reality

Vertical
personal (individual)
interpersonal (social)
impersonal (sociological)

12

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Damanhur
A Magical Place; A spiritual vision; Eco-village



Participant Observation

- **Passive**
 - Not noticed
 - Learn to fit in
- **Inter-Active**
 - Make mistakes
 - (converts have to learn too)
- **Pro-Active**
 - Having 'learned language' can ask questions couldn't at start



Diary/field notes

Facts before you forget or embellish
 Emotions before you take for granted
 Remember, you have to communicate what seems strange and can become familiar (Stratford)

Different kinds of statements

- **Discovery**
 - If X then Y (other things being equal)
 - e.g. If supply > then price.
 - If price > then demand *
- **Definition**
 - By X, I mean Y
 - e.g. Religion is belief in a God or gods.
- **Evaluation**
 - X is good
 - e.g. Religion is bad
- **Prescription**
 - You ought to do X
 - e.g. You should go to the temple

Rational
 All A are B
 C is A
 Therefore C is A

What science cannot do

- Theological judgements
 - describe, not assess beliefs
 - Methodological agnosticism

Theological Variables



Methodological Agnosticism



What science cannot do

- Theological judgements
- Value judgements
 - hypothetical: if ... then...
- Value freedom
 - data
- Value relevance
 - Problem choice / Use

What science cannot do

- Theological judgements
- Value judgements
- Platonic Definitions
 - cannot say what X 'really' is
 - cannot label instead of discovering
- Reportive definitions
 - What they mean by
 - More or less true
- Stipulative definitions
 - What I mean by ... Ideal type
 - More or less useful

"Is it a real religion or is it a cult?"

"It depends what you mean by a cult"

Concepts are both Necessary and Arbitrary

Or at least relative to the social context



Maharishi Mahesh Yogi
The Merv Griffin Show (1975)

49



Transcendental
Meditation

50

But no group wants to be called a cult

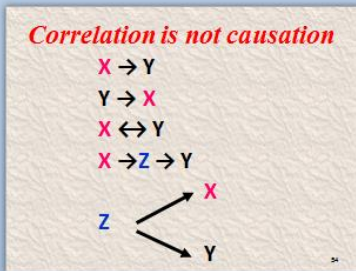
51



52

Systematic Comparison
What goes with what?
NB Correlation is not causation

53



54



Typical is not peculiar

55

Visibility is not typicality

56

“CULTIST HANGS HIMSELF”

57



1997, Mar 27: Heaven's Gate

58

“LUTHERAN HANGS HIMSELF”

59

Comparative method
Suicide rate in cult
X per thousand per annum
Suicide rate in population of same age and socio-economic status
2X per thousand per annum
c.f. Freccenon suicides

60

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Transition to manhood

A	B	C	D
Man	Man	Man	Man
Boy	Boy	Boy	Boy
21	18	13	

Boundaries vary a/c

- Importance
- Distinctiveness
- Permeability
- Flexibility
 - Negotiability
 - Manipulability

Kinds of religion

Church	Sect
No tension with society	Tension with society
Denomination	Cult

Is it a cult or a real religion?

Clearly definable difference

What is a cult?

A cult is a dangerous pseudo-religion with satanic overtones, which brainwashes and exploits its members, is involved in financial skulduggery and political intrigue, indulges in unnatural sexual practices, abuses its women and children, carries out numerous criminal activities and is likely to commit mass suicide.

Religion is Godly and good

Secular consequences

- Positive
 - Tax & other privileges
 - CoS

Secular consequences

- Positive
 - Tax & other privileges
 - CoS
- Negative
 - Restrictions - 1st Amendment
 - TM

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Maharishi Mahesh Yogi
The Merv Griffin Show (1975)

Transcendental
Meditation

But no group wants to be called a cult

Systematic Comparison
What goes with what?
NB Correlation is not causation

Correlation is not causation
 $X \rightarrow Y$
 $Y \rightarrow X$
 $X \leftrightarrow Y$
 $X \rightarrow Z \rightarrow Y$

 $Z \rightarrow X$
 $Z \rightarrow Y$

Typical is not peculiar

Visibility is not typicality

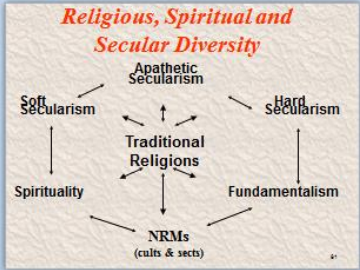
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 X per thousand per annum
 Suicide rate in population of same age and socio-economic status
 2X per thousand per annum
c.f. Rescommon suicides

Slide Sorter "Office Theme" 100%



61

One cannot generalise about NRMs

Literally tens of thousands

They differ in beliefs, practices, life style, leaders, finances; attitudes, potential for harm

There is no activity (criminal or other behaviour) that is typical of NRMs and atypical of ORMs

– Possibly more saints & sinners

Each movement has to be looked at according to what it does at a particular time and place

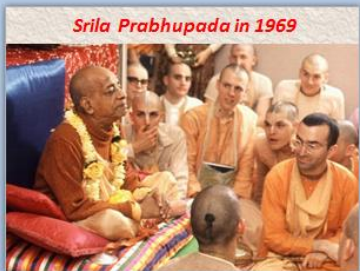
It can help to distinguish between

- The movement (It)
- The leadership (Him/Her)
- Grass-root members (Them)

62

Some Examples of variety

63



64



65



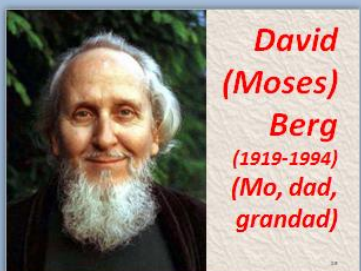
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67



68



69



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2001 Sep 11 Al Qaeda, Twin Towers, NYC

73

Who are our boys?

74

Anjem Choudary

75

Al Shabaab Women - Jihadi Brides

76

77

Fetullah Gülen

78

Druids celebrating the summer solstice

79

Sea Org

80

81

Church of the Flying Spaghetti Monster

TOUCHED BY HIS NOODLY APPENDAGE

Pastafarians with their colanders as religious headgear

Otherkin

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Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (Argentina)

85

The Embassy of the Blessed Kingdom of God for All Nations
Pastor Sunday Adelaja (Kiev)

86

Westboro Baptist Church
Shirley Phelps **Fred Phelps and family on his 83rd birthday**

87

Anton LaVey

88

Black/Satanic Mass

89

Ramtha

90

Jedi Knights

91

People Unlimited

92

People Unlimited

93

Santo Daime

94

First Church of Cannabis

95

Whitetail Chapel (Ivor VA): Clothing is optional for everyone from the pastor to the congregation. "We have one of the most involved chapels anywhere around"

96

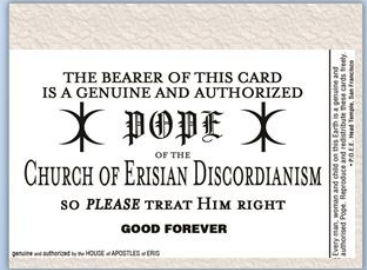
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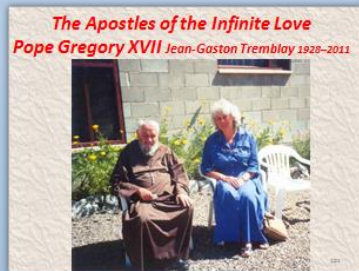
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101



102



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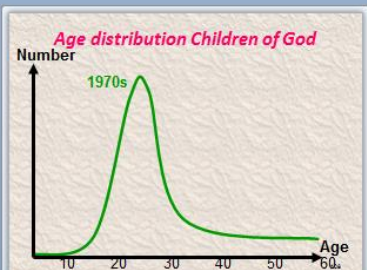
104



105

We cannot generalise about new religions
But there are some characteristics that we might look for in new new religions

- Characteristics of New New Religious Movements**
- **First-generation membership**
 - i.e. Converts
 - to a religion untested by time
 - **Atypical of population**

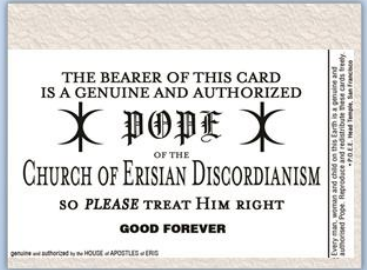




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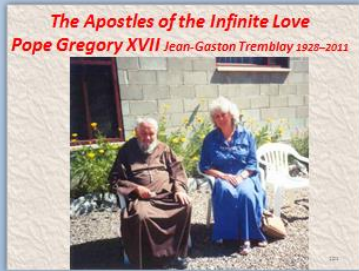
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102



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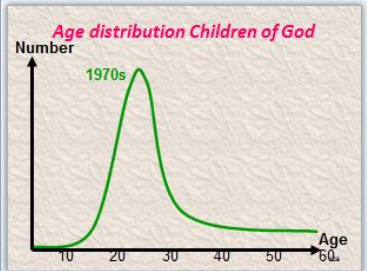
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105

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But there are some characteristics that we might look for in new new religions

- Characteristics of New New Religious Movements**
- First-generation membership
 - i.e. Converts
 - to a religion untested by time
 - Atypical of population



Characteristics of New Religious Movements

- Converts
- Atypical of population
- **Charismatic leader**
 - Followers believe there is something special about him/her
 - Therefore give him/her authority (i.e. legitimate power) over a large part of their lives



Characteristics of New New Religious Movements

- Converts
- Atypical of population
- **Charismatic leader**
 - Unbound by rules or tradition
 - > unaccountable & unpredictable
- Face-to-face 1:1 control
- Top-down hierarchal authority and communication structure



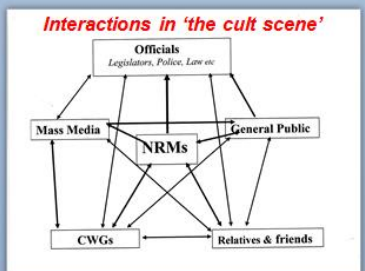
Characteristics of New new religious movements

- Converts
- Atypical of population
- Charismatic leader
- Top-down hierarchal authority and communication structure
- **Dichotomous world view**
 - Theological: Godly vs satanic; light vs dark
 - Moral: good vs bad; right vs wrong
 - Temporal: then vs now; before vs after
 - Social: us vs them; saved vs damned



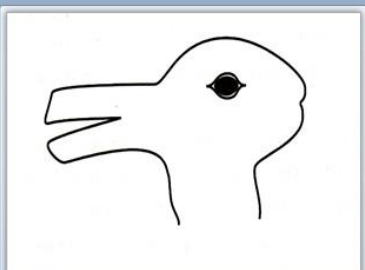
Characteristics of New Religious Movements

- Converts
- Atypical of population
- Charismatic leader
- Dichotomous world view
- **Suspicion & antagonism from non-members**



Different people perceive more or less different versions of (social) reality`

Sometimes we look at what is, objectively, exactly the same thing and yet we interpret it in different ways



Sometimes we see the same thing but give it a different value

The 'real world out there' may suggest but it does not dictate the way we construct our images of it


121

We tend to select what we perceive according to our interests
 This means that there are some systematic differences between our different versions of reality

122

Images of NRMs


	Interest	Select in	Select out
NRMs <i>New Religs</i>	Show Truth	Good	Bad



123

Images of NRMs

	Interest	Select in	Select out
NRMs	Show Truth	Good	Bad
ACM <i>Anti-cult Movement</i>	Control Ban	Bad actions	Good acts; 'Normal'




124



125

Images of NRMs

	Interest	Select in	Select out
NRMs	Show Truth	Good	Bad
ACM	Control Ban	Bad actions	Good acts; 'Normal'
CCM <i>Counter-cult movement</i>	Show truth	Wrong beliefs	Shared beliefs



126



127

Images of NRMs

	Interest	Select in	Select out
NRMs	Show Truth	Good	Bad
ACM	Control Ban	Bad actions	Good acts; 'Normal'
CCM	Show truth	Wrong beliefs	Shared beliefs
Media	Get & keep audience	Shocking, exotic	Ordinary, Every-day

128

1978 Nov 18 Peoples Temple, Guyana



129

1995 20 Mar Aum Shinrikyo



130

2001 Sep 11 Al Qaeda, Twin Towers, NYC



131

Bombing of ISKCON Temple, Manipur 2006
 (5 USA & 3 French among dead/injured)



132



133

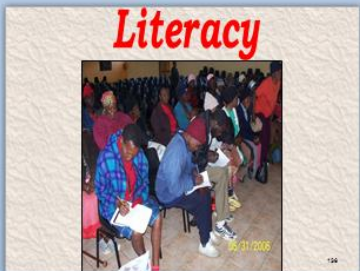


134



Regular Food Supplements

135



Literacy

136



137



Anonymous demos

138



139



Brainwashing: a popular metaphor

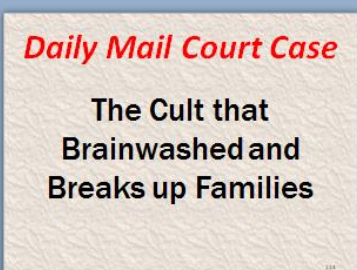
140



can cult awareness network

Ted Patrick Rick Ross Cynthia Kissel Priscilla Coster

141



Daily Mail Court Case

The Cult that Brainwashed and Breaks up Families

142



Moonies lose libel case to newspaper




143

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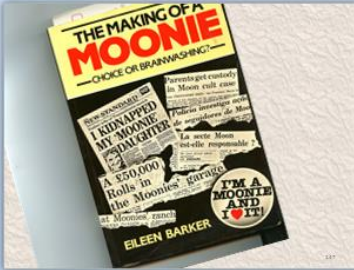
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Sun Myung Moon (1920-2012)



Unification Church


- Founded in Korea 1954 as the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity
- Members popularly known as 'Moonies' after their founder, Sun Myung Moon (1920-2012)
- Since Moon's death the UC has splintered into three main schisms led by Mrs Moon and two of his sons



Different kinds of control

- Physical control
 - Mind can still be free when body constrained
 - Studies of Korean and Chinese Prisoners of War (Robert Jay Lifton)
 - Worked with only very few – most resisted
 - (Stockholm syndrome)

Symbionese Liberation Army 1974



Different kinds of control

- Physical control
- Brainwashing
 - Usually refers not to a process, but to the end result which is disapproved of or incomprehensible to the claimant

Different kinds of control

- Physical control
- Brainwashing
- Brain control
 - The brain cannot function properly
 - Drugs
 - Lack of food
 - Lack of sleep / physical exhaustion
 - Sensory deprivation or over-stimulation



Different kinds of control

- Physical control
- Brainwashing
- Brain control
 - Hypnosis
 - Not in any recognisable sense
 - Persuasion?
 - Influence?
 - We are all influenced
 - Total influence – no other possibility?

Deception

Some Unificationists used deception in persuading people to attend the workshops and/or join the UC. However, this is not making the brain or the mind ineffective. It is giving them false information with which to imagine possible futures, and when they discover the truth they can leave. However, it can be argued that it is less easy to leave if one has, by the time one discovers the truth, made friends and become affected by some other aspects of the movement.

The brainwashing claim

The UC exerts an *irresistible and irreversible control* over the individual

The individual has *no choice*

Something is *done to him/her*

Choice?

Capacity of an individual to reflect in the present on imagined futures, drawing on past memories, values, and personality

Variables:

1. Individual (with memories etc)
2. Option A (to join UC)
3. Option B (stay in society)
4. Social situation (UC workshop)

Slide Sorter "Office Theme" 100%

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Hypothesis to be tested

If the individual has no choice because the social situation (the UC workshop) is exerting mind control over him or her, then the only outcome would be Option A (i.e. the individual would join the UC)

Irresistible and irreversible brainwashing?

- 90% attending residential workshop did NOT join the Unification Church
- The majority of those who did join left of their own volition within 2 years
- About 90% of the 1st cohort of 2nd generation Unificationists have left

Conclusion

The Hypothesis that the UC was exerting irresistible and irreversible mind control techniques was refutable and had been refutable

There must be at least something about the individuals that distinguished those who 'choose' to join from those who don't

Hypothesis II

It is only particularly suggestible individuals who were being placed under mind control

Comparing 3 groups:

- CG control group
- WS those who attended the workshop and did not join
- UC those who joined the UC

If H₀ is true then UC would contain most suggestible individuals, WS the second highest and CG would (by definition) be 'normal'

i.e. CG < WS < UC

Result

UC < WS > UC

The highest scorers on 'suggestibility' were a group to be found in WS, although a minority of the 'suggestible' did join for a few days but then left

Conclusion

- It was not suggestibility to mind control techniques that made people join the UC
- There must be other characteristics of the individuals that made them susceptible to the option of joining the UC

Can mind control ever occur?

There are certainly cases where **undue influence** has been used to persuade people to do things that they would not otherwise have done – and, indeed, they would have actually NOT wanted to do.

Some experiments

- Solomon Ashe

Which line is the longest?

A B C D E F

Some experiments

- Solomon Ashe
- Stanley Milgram
- Philip Zimbardo

Amy's Road to Terrorism

A. Joining

1. Push (a) from individual

Psychological disposition/profile

- **Achievement orientation/**
– Wanted to BE someone;
- **Idealistic**
– Wanted to make world better; to rid it of wrongs; injustice; evil
- **Spirituality/religion important**
– But not just navel contemplation; wanted to DO something

Slide Sorter "Office Theme" 100%

Push (b) from social environment

- (i) Family:
 - Brought up in strict authoritarian structure
 - Used to clear guidelines, uncompromising attitude
 - Rebelling against father
- (ii) Society:
 - Lack of answers/alternatives in society
 - Disillusion with mainstream religion/politics, seen (or easily made to seem) as unjust; hypocritical; apathetic; contrary to divine authority

169

2. Pull from movement

- Ideology:** Anti-capitalist materialism: anti-dialectical materialism
- Opportunity** to DO something God/society wants; and to BE someone (soldier for God; martyr)
- Commitment** – they care
- Spiritual practices** – ritual; meditation; study – opportunity to become more holy
- Means to achieve** Kingdom of Heaven on earth – group effort rather than by self – i.e. *Belonging*
- Womb-like protection** fits familiar authority structure; clear guidelines; uncompromising attitude

170

B. Within group

- Guru**
- Father-figure (fear, admiration and 'love'); believed to be infallible; direct hot-line to God (NB: this is usually projection);
- Development of ideology**
- Ends justify the means – and connection made between the two
 - Overthrowing bad society → good society
 - Even if superior wrong, must obey unquestioningly so do not lose group strength with individuals doing own thing (as in any army)
 - Questioning seen as disloyalty (Assumption because others don't question that any doubts are my fault)

171

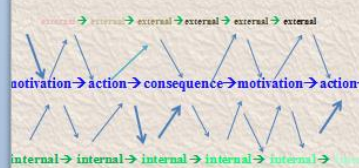
- Hierarchical authority** (Spiritual &/or administrative) → Desire to achieve 'promotion' (on way to enlightenment/ Paradise/ heaven) in hierarchy therefore try to *prove* oneself
- Identity** redefined as part of the elect/ the Family ('brothers and sisters') *belong* together so must protect against outsiders
- Group** demands total loyalty and obedience above interests of the individual
- Detachment**, being cut off from family of origin means nowhere to go;
- detachment from outside world also means alternative beliefs and actions considered less
- Dependence** on group (for identity, money, direction, world-view) increases with time

172

- Jargon** – increases sense of belonging – excludes other people (and other thoughts)
- Occupied** continually, so little time for thought. Sometimes (by no means always) exhaustion through lack of sleep; poor diet
- Fear of punishment**
- Humiliation** sexual abuse
- Suppression** of guilt, independent thought and 'ordinary sentiments'
- can lead to **numbness** – 'I stopped feeling'

173

Amy's Process of Radicalisation



174

Snapping out

- A small fundamentalist Christian group
- A small high demand Indonesian guru

175

Characteristics of New New Religious Movements

- Converts
- Atypical of population
- Charismatic leader
- Dichotomous world view
- Suspicion & antagonism from non-members
- Change**
 - NRMs change more radically and rapidly than ORMs

176

Change is inevitable

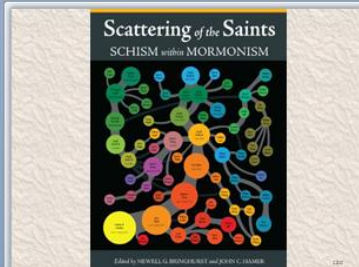
NRMs change more rapidly and radically than OLMs
 Even NRMs that want to stay the same have to change in order to be able to stay the same
 All NRMs will be affected by, and need to respond to, both *internal* and *external* pushes and pulls
 Some changes will be *specific* to particular NRMs, but others will be more *general*
 Society also changes
 directly in its attitude towards NRMs
 gets other interests
 indirectly in other ways that affect NRMs
 And New NRMs are always appearing

177

Changes in New New Religions

	Specific	General
Internal	Decisions & contingency <small>(internal strife, defection)</small>	
External		

178



179



181

Changes in New New Religions

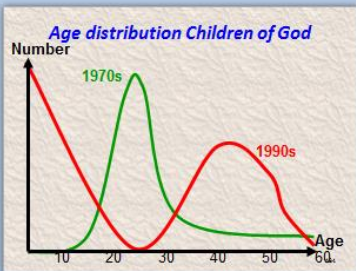
	Specific	General
Internal	Decisions & contingency <small>(internal strife; millenium)</small>	Inevitable Demographic <small>(aging; death of founder)</small>
External		

182

Charismatic Leaders die: Prabhupada 1977, Hubbard 1986, Osho 1990, Berg 1994, Moon 2012



183



184

FGC (& SG 1st cohort) boundary

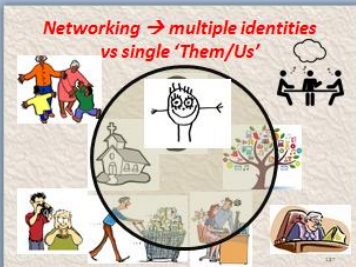


185

SG 2nd cohort boundary



186

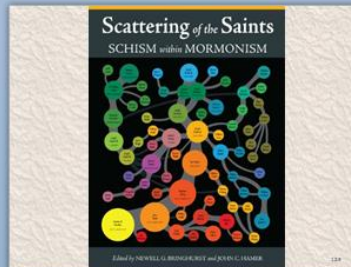


187

Denominationalisation

- Accommodation to society
- 'Normalisation'
- NB Not all groups denominationalise – some stay as sectarian
- JW; ExBr; Christadelphians; FLDS

188



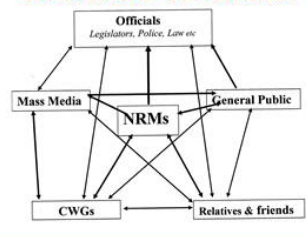
189

Changes in New New Religions

	Specific	General
Internal	Decisions & contingency <small>(internal strife; millenium)</small>	Inevitable Demographic <small>(aging; death of founder)</small>
External	Social focus on group <small>(acc; JW; Waco; media)</small>	

190

Interactions in 'the cult scene'



191

"The Cult Scene": Stage One

(an exaggeration, of course)

- NRMs protest against society
- ACM protests against NRMs
- Society engages in moral panic
- Scholars and ROGs protest against ACMs
- ACM protests against scholars and ROGs
- → 3-fold deviance amplification
- horrors; fear; deprogrammings; court cases (e.g. Singer vs scholars); demos; tragedies (e.g. BATF/FBI vs Branch Davidians at Waco)
- the 1970s & '80s 'Cult Wars'

192

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'The Cult Scene': Stage Two

More reliable information available
Some ACMs & Scholars & ROGs – and NRMs – increasingly interact and to denominationalise

More understanding and cooperation between cult-scene actors

But schisms, new NRMs, ACMs & ROGs continue to emerge in new forms with new beliefs

Changes in New New Religions

	Specific	General
Internal	Decisions & contingency	Inevitable Demographic
External	Social focus on group <small>(acc; media; JW; Waco FBI)</small>	Social change <small>(1989 E Europe; changes in law; www)</small>

2001 Sep 11 Al Qaeda, Twin Towers, NYC







Arrival of the Internet



Some changes associated with www

- Dissemination of knowledge
 - Favourable and critical
 - Accurate and false
- NRM web sites giving information about
 - Beliefs, practices, history etc
 - Sales of courses, literature, DVDs, crystals, T-shirts etc
- Other websites giving negative information
- Promotes and undermines authority of leaders
- Enables networking of current & former members
- Hosts virtual NRMs
 - Including many of invented and hyper-religions
 - Cannot be traced to divine revelation; explicitly human imagination

Some dramatic changes by 21st century

ISKCON – W^o Hippies to Hindu congregation

UC - Unification to Internal fighting & schism

CoG – practicing → virtual community

CoS - still high profile - winning cases ECtHR, UK

Osho - Community → Franchise

NAM - Age of Aquarius → New Spirituality

Communication methods

- Art is not mere reproduction
- Sometimes we have to present things in a way that they are not so that what they are can be heard
- E.g. The Bore

The Bore





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