## TROUBLES IN NORTHERN IRELAND

## Harper Forsgren

## **FOOTNOTES**

- 1. Robert Brown Asprey, "Guerrilla Warfare," Encyclopedia Britannica, April 23, 2018, https://www.britannica.com/topic/guerrilla-warfare.
- 2. Sankaran Kalyanaraman, "Conceptualisations of Guerrilla Warfare," Strategic Analysis 27, no. 2 (2003): 172-185.
- "The Belfast Agreement/Good Friday Agreement 1998," Northern Ireland Assembly, accessed August 10, 2019, http://education.niassembly.gov.uk/post\_16/snapshots\_of\_devolution/gfa.
- 4. Sarah E. Jankowitz, The Order of Victimhood: Violence, Hierarchy and Building Peace in Northern Ireland, Springer (2018), 158.
- 5. Ibid.
- 6. "Who Are the UVF?," BBC, June 22, 2011, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-11313364.
- Paul Arthur and Kimberly Cowell-Meyers, "Irish Republican Army | History, Attacks, & Facts," Encyclopedia Britannica, July 1, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Irish-Republican-Army.
- 8. "Bloody Sunday' in Northern Ireland" HISTORY, updated July 28, 2019, https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/bloody-sunday-in-northern-ireland.
- Ruairi Wiepking, "The Path to Peace: Conflict Theory and Northern Ireland's Troubles (1968–1998)," (Master's Thesis, University of San Francisco, 2011), 23. https://repository.usfca.edu/thes/13.
- **10.** Donald G. Ellis, "Ethno-Political Conflict," The International Encyclopedia of Interpersonal Communication (2015): 1–10
- 11. Wallenfeldt, "The Troubles."
- 12. Gavin Stamp, "Neighbours across the Sea: A Brief History of Anglo-Irish Relations," BBC News, April 08, 2014, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26883211.
- **13.** Jonathan Powell, Great Hatred, Little Room: Making Peace in Northern Ireland (Great Britain: Random House, 2008), 34–35.
- **14.** Steven Ellis, "History Turning Ireland English," BBC, February 17, 2011, http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/tudors/elizabeth\_ireland\_01.shtml.
- **15.** Jonathan Powell, Great Hatred, Little Room: Making Peace in Northern Ireland (Great Britain: Random House, 2008), 34–35.
- "Easter Sunday," HISTORY, updated January 25, 2019, https://www.history.com/topics/british-history/easter-rising.
- Sean Kay and Frederick Henry Boland, "Ireland: The Rise of Fenianism," Encyclopædia Britannica, updated August 7, 2019,
  - https://www.britannica.com/place/Ireland/The-rise-of-Fenianism#ref316077.
- **18.** Graham Gudgin, "Discrimination in Housing and Employment Under the Stormont Administration," in The Northern Ireland Question: Nationalism, Unionism and Partition,

- (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 1999), https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/issues/discrimination/gudgin99.htm.
- 19. Bob Purdie, "The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association," Politics in the Streets: The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement, (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1990), https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/events/crights/purdie.htm#nicra.
- 20. "Northern Ireland's Violent History Explained," BBC News, January 8, 2013, http://www.bbc.co.uk/newsbeat/article/20930976/northern-irelands-violent-history-explained.
- 21. "The 1968 Civil Rights Movement," PBS, 1997, https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ira/conflict/civil.html.
- 22. Jeff Wallenfeldt, "The Troubles," Encyclopædia Britannica, May 14, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/event/The-Troubles-Northern-Ireland-history.
- 23. "Northern Ireland Loyalist Paramilitaries," Council on Foreign Relations, November 1, 2005,
  - https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/northern-ireland-loyalist-paramilitaries-uk-extremists.
- **24**. Ibid.
- 25. Malcolm Sutton, "Sutton Index of Deaths," CAIN, accessed July 22, 2019, https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/sutton/tables/Status.html.
- 26. Great Britain, Northern Ireland, Republic of Ireland, The Agreement: Agreement Reached in the Multi-party Negotiations, Belfast, Northern Ireland: Northern Ireland Office, 1998,
  - https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment \_data/file/136652/agreement.pdf.
- 27. "Leadership and Governance," The Church of England, accessed August 13 2019, https://www.churchofengland.org/about/leadership-and-governance.
- 28. Cathal J. Nolan, The Age of Wars of Religion, 1000–1650: An Encyclopedia of Global Warfare and Civilization, Volume 2 (London: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006), 708–710.
- 29. Aernout J. Nieuwenhuis, "State and religion, a multidimensional relationship: Some comparative law remarks," *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 10 no. 1 (2012): 153–174.
- 30. Padraig Lenihan, 1690: Battle of the Boyne (Stroud: Tempus, 2003).
- **31.** "Twelfth of July Parades: Thousands March Across NI," BBC News, July 12, 2019, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-48824821.
- 32. "Welcome to the Grand Orange Lodge," Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, accessed August 2019,
  - http://www.grandorangelodge.co.uk/what-is-the-orange-order#.XUudFZNKgnU.
- 33. "A Concise History of the Orange Order," The Irish Times, July 5, 2014, https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/heritage/a-concise-history-of-the-orange-order-1.1855 664.
- **34.** Stephan R. Millar, "Musically Consonant, Socially Dissonant: Orange Walks and Catholic Interpretation in West-Central Scotland," *Music and Politics* 9, no. 1 (2015), http://dx.doi.org/10.3998/mp.9460447.0009.102.

- 35. L. Philip Barnes, "Was the Northern Ireland Conflict Religious?" *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 20, no. 1 (2005): 55–69
- 36. Chelsea Fuchs, "What Are You? The Curious Case of Reinforcing Identities in Northern Ireland," Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs, February 16, 2018, https://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/posts/what-are-you-the-curious-case-of-reinforcing-identities-in-northern-ireland.
- 37. Laurence Elliott, "Religion and Sectarianism in Ulster: Interpreting the Northern Ireland Troubles," *Religion Compass* 7, no.3 (2013): 93–101, https://doi.org/10.1111/rec3.12025
- **38.** "Penal Laws," Encyclopædia Britannica, March 27, 2008, https://www.britannica.com/event/Penal-Laws.
- 39. "Irish Penal Law Statutes by Subject Religious Practice," University of Minnesota Law School, March 20, 2017, https://www.law.umn.edu/library/irishlaw/subjectlist/practice.
- **40.** "Irish Penal Law Statutes by Subject Land," University of Minnesota Law School, March 20, 2017, https://www.law.umn.edu/library/irishlaw/subjectlist/land.
- **41.** "Religious Practice.
- 42. "Catholic Emancipation," Encyclopædia Britannica, April 24, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/event/Catholic-Emancipation
- 43. Gudgin, "Discrimination in Housing."
- **44.** Ibid.
- 45. "Census of Population 1971 Religion Tables Northern Ireland," Northern Ireland General Register Office, 1975, https://www.nisra.gov.uk/sites/nisra.gov.uk/files/publications/1971-census-religion-tables.
- **46.** "Northern Ireland: The Civil Rights Movement," BBC Bitesize, accessed August 9, 2019, https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/guides/z3w2mp3/revision/2.
- 47. Purdie, "Civil Rights Association."
- 48. "Northern Ireland's Lost Moment: How the Peaceful Protests of '68 Escalated into Years of Bloody Conflict," The Guardian, accessed August 9, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/apr/22/lost-moment-exhibition-northern-irelan d-civil-rights-1968-troubles-what-if.
- 49. Henry Patterson, "The British State and the Rise of the IRA, 1969–71: The View from the Conway Hotel," *Irish Political Studies* 23, no. 4 (2008): 491–511.
- **50.** Charles Townshend, "The Irish Republican Army and the development of guerrilla warfare, 1916–1921," *The English Historical Review* 94, no. 371 (1979): 318–345.
- **51.** "CAIN: Issues: Violence—Chronology of Major Violent Incidents, 1969–1998," accessed August 7, 2019, https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/issues/violence/chronmaj.htm.
- 52. Marie Smyth and Patricia Campbell, "Young People and Armed Violence in Northern Ireland," (Rio de Janeiro: Viva Rio, 2005), http://www.oijj.org/sites/default/files/documental\_2801\_en.pdf.
- 53. Raymond Russell, "Migration in Northern Ireland: An Update," Northern Ireland Assembly, February 2012, http://www.niassembly.gov.uk/globalassets/documents/raise/publications/2012/general/3 112.pdf.

- **54.** Niall Ó Dochartaigh, "The longest negotiation: British policy, IRA strategy and the making of the Northern Ireland peace settlement," *Political Studies* 63, no. 1 (2015): 202–220, https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.12091.
- 55. "Who Are the UVF?"
- **56.** David McKittrick, "The Ulster Armies That Can Kill More People than the IRA," October 13, 1996,
  - https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/the-ulster-armies-that-can-kill-more-people-than-the-ira-1358130.html.
- 57. "Paramilitary Groups in Northern Ireland," Government of the United Kingdom, October 19, 2015,
  - https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment \_data/file/469548/Paramilitary\_Groups\_in\_Northern\_Ireland\_-\_20\_Oct\_2015.pdf.
- 58. Ignacio Alvarez Prieto, "Peace Walls," Northern Ireland Foundation (blog), January 31, 2013, https://northernireland.foundation/projects/sharedfuture/peace-walls/.
- **59**. Ibid.
- 60. Jonny Byrne, Cathy Gormley-Heenan, and Gillian Robinson, "Attitudes to Peace Walls," 2012, http://uir.ulster.ac.uk/23439/1/Peace walls Report.pdf.
- 61. "Will NI's Peace Walls Come down by 2023?" BBC, May 3, 2018, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-43991851.
- 62. "No Walls Just Safe Streets," BBC, June 9, 2011, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-13710969.
- 63. "Will NI's Peace Walls Come Down by 2023?"
- **64.** H. M. Knox, "Religious segregation in the schools of Northern Ireland," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 21, no. 3 (1973): 307–312, doi:10.2307/3120328.
- 65. "Growing Numbers of Northern Irish Children Learn alongside Those of Other Faiths," February 8, 2018,
  - https://www.economist.com/britain/2018/02/08/growing-numbers-of-northern-irish-childre n-learn-alongside-those-of-other-faiths.
- 66. "Schools in Statistics," AgendaNi (blog), October 8, 2012, https://www.agendani.com/schools-in-statistics/.
- 67. Vani Borooah and Colin Knox, "Inequality and Segregation in Northern Ireland Schools," (2015): 84–113.
- **68.** Ibid.
- **69**. Ibid.
- 70. "Northern Ireland Education System," The Good Schools Guide, January 23, 2018, https://www.goodschoolsguide.co.uk/choosing-a-school/northern-ireland-education-system
- 71. Kristin Archick, "Northern Ireland: Current Issues and Ongoing Challenges in the Peace Process," Congressional Research Service Published 14 (2019), https://www.everycrsreport.com/files/20190308\_RS21333\_658fe4a89e163a1b30bd4d6d 991b15b473fe6262.pdf.
- 72. Branka Marijan and Sean Brennan, "Paramilitary Violence and Policing in Northern Ireland," May 20, 2015, https://secgovcentre.org/2015/05/paramilitary-violence-and-policing-in-northern-ireland/.

- 73. "Police Recorded Security Situation Statistics," Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, September 7, 2018, https://www.psni.police.uk/globalassets/inside-the-psni/our-statistics/security-situation-statistics/2018/august/security-situation-statistics-to-august\_2018.pdf.
- 74. "Paramilitary Groups in Northern Ireland."
- 75. Carey Bell and Mary Scarlett, "Health Survey Northern Ireland First Results 2014/15," Department of Health, Social Services, and Public Safety, November 2015, https://www.health-ni.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/dhssps/hsni-first-results-14-1 5.pdf.
- 76. "Mental Health in Northern Ireland: Fundamental Facts 2016," Mental Health Foundation, October 12, 2016, https://www.mentalhealth.org.uk/publications/mental-health-northern-ireland-fundamental-facts.
- 77. Finola Ferry, David Bolton, Brendan Bunting, Barney Devine, Siobhan McCann, and Sam Murphy, "Trauma, Health and Conflict in Northern Ireland, A study of the epidemiology of trauma related disorders and qualitative investigation of the impact of trauma on the individual," Omagh and Belfast: The Northern Ireland Centre for Trauma and Transformation and the Psychology Research Institute, University of Ulster (2008).
- 78. "NI Has World's Highest Rate of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder," accessed August 22, 2019, https://www.ulster.ac.uk/news/2011/december/ni-has-worlds-highest-rate-of-post-trauma
- 79. Finola Ferry, Edel Ennis, Brendan Bunting, Samuel Murphy, David Bolton, and Siobhan O'Neill, "Exposure to trauma and mental health service engagement among adults who were children of the Northern Ireland Troubles of 1968 to 1998," *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 30, no. 6 (2017): 593–601.
- **80.** Ibid.

tic-stress-disorder.

- 81. Brendan Bunting, Samuel Murphy, Siobhan O'neill, and Finola Ferry, "Lifetime Prevalence of Mental Health Disorders and Delay in Treatment Following Initial Onset: Evidence From the Northern Ireland Study of Health and Stress," *Psychological Medicine* 42, no. 8 (2012): 1727–1739.
- 82. "Transgenerational Trauma and Dealing with the Past in Northern Ireland," Wave Trauma Centre, accessed July 4, 2019, http://www.wavetraumacentre.org.uk/uploads/pdf/1404220890--100105-WAVE-transgen -report.pdf.
- 83. Emily Fitzgerald, Mark Given, Maighread Gough, Linzi Kelso, Victoria Mcilwaine, and Chloe Miskelly, "The Transgenerational Impact of 'The Troubles' in Northern Ireland," Queen's University Belfast, 2017.
- **84.** The Agreement: Agreement Reached.
- "Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister," Department of Justice, September 10, 2015,
  - https://www.justice-ni.gov.uk/contacts/office-first-minister-and-deputy-first-minister-ofmdf m.

- "Power-Sharing," Northern Ireland Assembly Education Service, accessed August 9, 2019,
  - http://education.niassembly.gov.uk/post\_16/snapshots\_of\_devolution/gfa/power\_sharing
- 87. "Stormont: Why Does Northern Ireland Not Have a Government?" BBC, January 8, 2019, https://www.bbc.co.uk/newsround/38648719.
- 88. Ceimin Burke, "Explainer: What Is the Irish Language Act and Why Is It Causing Political Deadlock in Northern Ireland?" The Journal, February 14, 2018, https://www.thejournal.ie/irish-language-act-explainer-3851417-Feb2018/.
- **89.** Alexander Newman, "Two Years of Shutdown In Northern Ireland," March 10, 2019, http://www.wupr.org/2019/03/10/two-years-of-shutdown-in-northern-ireland/.
- **90.** Cain Burdeau, "Northern Ireland Struggles On Without a Government," May 6, 2019, https://www.courthousenews.com/northern-ireland-struggles-on-without-a-government/.
- 91. Brian Wheeler, Paul Seddon, and Richard Morris, "Brexit: All You Need to Know," BBC, May 10, 2019, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887.
- 92. Amanda Sloat, "Explaining Brexit and the Northern Ireland Question," Brookings (blog), October 15, 2018, https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2018/10/15/explaining-brexit-and-the-northern-ireland-question/.
- **93.** "EU Referendum Results," BBC News, accessed August 9, 2019, https://www.bbc.com/news/politics/eu\_referendum/results.
- **94.** Mark Devenport, "What Are the Implications of Brexit for NI?," BBC, February 25, 2019, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-36695084.
- 95. "Benefits of Trading in the European Union," Text, nibusinessinfo.co.uk, December 7, 2010, https://www.nibusinessinfo.co.uk/content/benefits-trading-european-union.
- **96.** Paul Mac Flynn, "The economic implications of Brexit for Northern Ireland," (2016), https://www.nerinstitute.net/download/pdf/brexit\_wp\_250416.pdf.
- 97. Beatriz Rios, "Northern Ireland A Cross-Border Economy at Stake," Euractiv.Com (blog), February 26, 2019, https://www.euractiv.com/section/economy-jobs/news/northern-ireland-a-cross-border-economy-at-stake/.
- "Hard or Soft Border: UK Faces Two Options after Brexit," The National, August 16, 2017, https://www.thenational.ae/world/europe/hard-or-soft-border-uk-faces-two-options-after-b
- 99. Tom Edgington, "Backstop: Why Is the Irish Border Blocking Brexit?," BBC, July 25, 2019, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-48826360.
- 100. Peter Foster, "Brexit and the Irish Border Explained: Why the Headache Is Not Going Away Any Time Soon," February 26, 2019, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/0/brexit-irish-border-explained-headache-not-going-a way-time-soon/.
- **101.** Ibid.

rexit-1.620371.

**102.** K. V. Turley, "Border Posts and Border Ghosts," July 1, 2019, https://www.nationalreview.com/2019/07/border-posts-and-border-ghosts/.

- 103. "What Assistance Can We Offer?" Victims & Survivors Service, accessed August 9, 2019, https://victimsservice.org/support-for-individuals/what-assistance-can-we-offer/.
- **104.** "Individual Needs Programme 18–19," Victims & Survivors Service, accessed August 10, 2019, https://victimsservice.org/inp-18-19/.
- 105. "Victims and Survivors Strategy Mid-Term Review," Public and Corporate Economic Consultants, March 2017,
  - https://www.cvsni.org/media/1688/vs-strategy-mid-term-summary-report.pdf.
- 106. Ibid.
- 107. "About Wave Trauma Centre," Wave Trauma Centre, accessed August 10, 2019, http://www.wavetraumacentre.org.uk/about-us.
- 108. Amy M. Kilbourne, Donna Keyser, and Harold Alan Pincus, "Challenges and Opportunities in Measuring the Quality of Mental Health Care," *The Canadian Journal of Psychiatry* 55, no. 9 (2010): 549–557.
- 109. Amy M. Kilbourne, Kathryn Beck, Brigitta Spaeth-Rublee, Parashar Ramanuj, Robert W. O'Brien, Naomi Tomoyasu, and Harold Alan Pincus, "Measuring and Improving the Quality of Mental Health Care: A Global Perspective," *World Psychiatry* 17, no. 1 (2018): 30–38.
- 110. Mandy Irvine, Chris McCusker, Jennifer Coulter, Helen Corbett, Nadene O'Loan, and Martin Dempster, "Advancing Psychological Therapies Research in Northern Ireland," Belfast Health and Social Care Trust, 2011, https://research.hscni.net/sites/default/files/Advancing%20psychological%20therapies.pdf.
- **111.** "Northern Ireland Affairs Committee," Parliament Live TV, December 12, 2018, https://www.parliamentlive.tv/Event/Index/22b455cf-2a2c-45e8-b375-2a0df775460c#pla yer-tabs.
- 112. "Mental Health in Northern Ireland."
- 113. "What Are the Treatments for PTSD?" Web MD, accessed August 10, 2019, https://www.webmd.com/mental-health/what-are-treatments-for-posttraumatic-stress-disorder.
- 114. K. Kirby, O. McDevit-Petrovic, O. McBride, M. Shevlin, D. McAteer, C. Gorman, and J. Murphy, "A New Mental Health Service Model for NI: Evaluating the Effectiveness of Low Intensity CBT (LI-CBT)," in Mental Health: Treatments and Interventions, 2017, doi:10.1017/S1352465818000322.
- 115. Kate Gillespie, Michael Duffy, Ann Hackmann, and David M. Clark, "Community Based Cognitive Therapy in the Treatment of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder Following the Omagh Bomb," *Behaviour Research and Therapy* 40, no. 4 (2002): 345–357.
- 116. "State of Mental Health Care Funding in Northern Ireland Examined News from Parliament," UK Parliament, accessed August 10, 2019, https://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/norther n-ireland-affairs-committee/news-parliament-2017/ni-health-funding-evidence-17-194/.
- 117. Allison G. Harvey, Richard A. Bryant, and Nicholas Tarrier, "Cognitive Behaviour Therapy for Posttraumatic Stress Disorder," *Clinical Psychology Review* 23, no. 3 (2003): 501–522.

- 118. Allen Rubin, "Bridging the Gap Between Research-Supported Interventions and Everyday Social Work Practice: A New Approach," *Social Work* 59, no. 3 (2014): 223–230.
- 119. "The History of NICIE," Integrated Education Northern Ireland, accessed August 10, 2019, https://www.nicie.org/about-us/who-we-are/the-history-of-nicie/.
- 120. "Integration Works: Transforming Your School," Northern Ireland Department of Education, December 2017,
  - https://www.education-ni.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/education/Integration%20 Works%20-%20Transforming%20your%20School%20December%202017.pdf.
- 121. "Integrated Education Northern Ireland," Integrated Education Northern Ireland, accessed August 10, 2019, https://www.nicie.org.
- **122.** "Integration Works."
- 123. Alison Montgomery, Grace Fraser, Claire McGlynn, Alan Smith, and Tony Gallagher, "Integrated Education in Northern Ireland: Integration in Practice," 2003, https://www.ulster.ac.uk/\_\_data/assets/pdf\_file/0008/223397/2003\_Integrated\_Education\_in\_NI\_Integration\_in\_Practice.pdf.
- 124. Ulf Hansson, Una O'Connor Bones, and John McCord, "Integrated Education: A Review of Policy and Research Evidence 1999–2012," Integrated Education Fund, January 2013
  - https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/issues/education/docs/ief 2013 report unesco.pdf.
- 125. Maurice Stringer, Paul Irwing, Melanie Giles, Carol McClenahan, Ronnie Wilson, and Jackie A. Hunter, "Intergroup contact, friendship quality and political attitudes in integrated and segregated schools in Northern Ireland," *British Journal of Educational Psychology* 79, no. 2 (2009): 239–257.
- 126. Oxford Economics, "Developing the Case for Shared Education," Integrated Education Fund, September 2010,
  - https://www.ief.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/Economic-case.pdf.
- 127. Hansson et. al, "Integrated Education: A Review of Policy and Research Evidence 1999–2012."
- **128.** "The History of NICIE."
- 129. Caitlin Donnelly, Andrea Furey, and Joanne Hughes, "Integrated Schools and Intergroup Relations in Northern Ireland: The Importance of Parents," *Educational Research* 58, no. 4 (2016): 442–456.