

A Mandated Narrative:

The British Government's News Censorship in the Northern Irish Troubles

Name: Mollie Schnurr  
Student Number: 0692925  
Professor: Hannes Černý  
Course: POST 3290  
Date: December 13th, 2023

War propaganda is a form of warfare directed at a country's population to control national beliefs and behaviours. During the Troubles, a period of civil conflict in Northern Ireland, the British government sought to control the media to promote the government's narrative of the war. Two styles of media control were exercised; the informal Reference Upwards system, and the formalized 1988 Broadcasting Ban. Both of these methods sought to control the media through censorship, limiting whose voices were heard and what narratives were told, and ensuring radio and TV media broadcast stories aligned with government narratives. This propaganda was aimed at the British population and sought to downplay the conflict's complexity. The British government's attempts at censorship during the Troubles should be viewed as a form of war propaganda as it sought to decontextualize violence and create binary narratives.

The Troubles were a civil conflict in Northern Ireland from the 1960s to 1998.<sup>1</sup> This conflict emerged out of grievances concerning imperial policies in Ireland and the mistreatment of Catholic residents.<sup>2</sup> There were three major groups involved in the conflict; Republicans, Unionists, and the British government. Republicans were primarily concerned with civil rights discrimination against Catholics and a lack of political voice.<sup>3</sup> They aimed to have Northern Ireland leave the United Kingdom (UK) and join the Republic of Ireland.<sup>4</sup> The most notable Republican paramilitary group was the Irish Republican Army (IRA).<sup>5</sup> The largest Republican

---

<sup>1</sup> Graham Spencer, "Motivation and Intervention in the Northern Ireland Peace Process: An Interview with President Bill Clinton," *Negotiation Journal* 35, no. 2 (2019): 271, <https://doi.org/10.1111/nejo.12288>.

<sup>2</sup> Gerry Adams, "To cherish a just and lasting peace," *Fordham international law journal*, 22(4) (1999): 1180, <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/frdint22&i=1203>.

<sup>3</sup> Spencer, "Motivation and Intervention in the Northern Ireland Peace Process" 271.

<sup>4</sup> Hewstone, et. al. "Intergroup Contact, Forgiveness, and Experience of 'The Troubles' in Northern Ireland," *Journal of Social Issues* 62, no. 1 (2006): 101, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2006.00441.x>.

<sup>5</sup> David Mitchell, "Sticking to Their Guns? The Politics of Arms Decommissioning in Northern Ireland, 1998-2007," *Contemporary British History* 24, no. 3 (2010): 147, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13619462.2010.497253>.

political party was Sinn Fein, which was often believed to have been linked with the IRA.<sup>6</sup> Unionists wished to remain part of the UK.<sup>7</sup> The largest paramilitary organizations associated with unionism were the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) and the Ulster Defence Association (UDA).<sup>8</sup> Their associated political party was the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP).<sup>9</sup> Unionists were supported by the British government from 1969 onwards, as the British military was brought in to supplement existing institutions, like the police in Northern Ireland.<sup>10</sup> The British government denied that this conflict was a war, but their main objective can be viewed as for Northern Ireland to remain part of the UK, and to reduce violence in the region.<sup>11</sup>

The thirty-year duration of this conflict resulted in over 3,600 deaths.<sup>12</sup> It was sparked in the 1960s as a civil rights movement by Republicans.<sup>13</sup> The violence of the civil rights movement was then reciprocated by Unionist paramilitary organizations.<sup>14</sup> Violence continued throughout the 60s, 70s and 80s, with the worst of the violence occurring in the 1970s.<sup>15</sup> Violence was conducted mostly through small-scale rioting and bombings.<sup>16</sup> Urban guerilla-style tactics were

---

<sup>6</sup> Catherine Switzer and Brian Graham, "From Thorn to Thorn': Commemorating the Royal Ulster Constabulary in Northern Ireland," *Social & Cultural Geography* 10, no. 2 (2009): 154, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649360802652129>.

<sup>7</sup> Hewstone, et. al. "Intergroup Contact, Forgiveness, and Experience of 'The Troubles' in Northern Ireland," 101.

<sup>8</sup> Paul Corthorn, "Ulster Unionist Political Thought in the Era of the Northern Ireland Troubles, 1968–1998," *The English Historical Review*, Vol 137, 589, (December 2022); 1761, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ehr/cead005>.

<sup>9</sup> Corthorn, "Ulster Unionist Political Thought in the Era of the Northern Ireland Troubles, 1968–1998," 1761.

<sup>10</sup> Elodie Gallet, "'This Is Not Censorship': The BBC and the Broadcasting Ban (1988-1994)," *Cahiers Du MIMMOC* 27, no. 27 (2022) <https://doi.org/10.4000/mimmoc.10215>.

<sup>11</sup> Adrian Guelke, "The Northern Ireland Peace Process and the War Against Terrorism: Conflicting Conceptions?" *Government and Opposition (London)* 42, no. 3 (2007): 274, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2007.00224.x>.

<sup>12</sup> Victor Mesev, Peter Shirlow, and Joni Downs, "The Geography of Conflict and Death in Belfast, Northern Ireland," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 99, no. 5 (2009): 894, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00045600903260556>.

<sup>13</sup> Martin Doherty, "'Roving Vultures': Television News and the Outbreak of the Troubles in Northern Ireland," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio, and Television* 39, no. 4 (2019): 871, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01439685.2019.1600915>.

<sup>14</sup> Crisis Continues." Scholastic News, Mar 20, 2000.

<http://proxy.lib.trentu.ca/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/magazines/crisis-continues/docview/212782768/se-2?accountid=14391>.

<sup>15</sup> Douglas Woodwell, "The 'Troubles' of Northern Ireland," *Understanding Civil War*, World Bank, 2005, 161, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep02484.10>.

<sup>16</sup> Woodwell, "The 'Troubles' of Northern Ireland," 168.

used due to the asymmetrical nature of the war.<sup>17</sup> This was because the Republican-supported IRA had limited resources, often working with homemade bombs and smuggled guns, while the Unionists and British Army were better equipped, and backed by the legal system.

The conflict came to an end in 1998 with the signing of the Good Friday Agreement (GFA).<sup>18</sup> This agreement was negotiated between Republican political leaders and the Irish and British prime ministers.<sup>19</sup> The GFA ended hostilities and provided a governing framework for Northern Ireland.<sup>20</sup> Negotiations were successful, as by the 1990s there was a recognition that military victory was not possible.<sup>21</sup> While the conflict is no longer active, hostilities do continue, and governance systems in Northern Ireland are unstable.

During this conflict, the British government ran a censorship machine which acted as a form of war propaganda. This propaganda is interesting in that it targeted the home front in order to keep it passive and not inspire citizens to become involved in the war. To this end, the British government made consistent efforts to control the local news media. This took two forms, unofficial censorship prior to 1988 in the Reference Upwards system, and then official censorship in the form of the 1988 Broadcasting Ban.

The Reference Upwards system was created in 1971.<sup>22</sup> It was formalized in 1979.<sup>23</sup> This was a system of internal editorial control whereby articles regarding the Troubles were to be referred up in the chain of command, and approved at each level of their respective news

---

<sup>17</sup> Woodwell, "The "Troubles" of Northern Ireland," 174.

<sup>18</sup> "What was the Good Friday Agreement?" BBC Newsround, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/newsround/14118775>

<sup>19</sup> Adams, "To cherish a just and lasting peace," 1180.

<sup>20</sup> Jarlath Kearney, Peter Shirlow, and Etain Tannam. "Partition to Partnership to Brexit: Strategically Reinvigorating the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement," *The RUSI Journal* 167, no. 3 (2022): 15, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071847.2022.2124078>.

<sup>21</sup> William Hazleton, "Encouragement from the Sidelines: Clinton's Role in the Good Friday Agreement," *Irish Studies in International Affairs* 11 (2000): 113, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30001915>.

<sup>22</sup> Max Pettigrew, "The 'Oxygen of Publicity' and the Suffocation of Censorship: National Newspaper Representations of the British Broadcasting Ban (1988–94)," *In The Northern Ireland Troubles in Britain*, 1st ed., (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 228.

<sup>23</sup> Robert J. Savage, *The BBC's 'Irish Troubles': Television, Conflict and Northern Ireland*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 212.

organization before publication.<sup>24</sup> This served to narrow debate parameters, exclude Republican voices, encourage self-censorship, and discourage investigative journalism.<sup>25</sup> While not an official publication ban, this system often led to content not being published, and disobedient journalists being relegated to undesirable departments within the news organizations.<sup>26</sup> The government's narrative was thus the most widely reported.<sup>27</sup> When journalists attempted to break from the consensus, they experienced threats, legal restraints, direct requests to pull programs, and eventually bans.<sup>28</sup>

After a series of fights over controversial documentaries, and escalating violence, a more formalized censorship system was put in place.<sup>29</sup> On October 19th, 1988, the Broadcasting Ban was introduced by Home Secretary Douglas Hurd.<sup>30</sup> Upon its introduction Hurd stated that “this is not censorship” as it did not prevent the reporting of specific events explicitly.<sup>31</sup> Instead, it prohibited certain voices from accessing TV and radio news. These included both legal and illegal Republican and Unionist organizations, most notably Sinn Fein.<sup>32</sup> Representatives of these organizations were prohibited from providing interviews and quotes.<sup>33</sup> Excerpts from their statements were not allowed to be published.<sup>34</sup> Print media was excluded from this ban.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup> Gary Edgerton, “Quelling the ‘Oxygen of Publicity’: British Broadcasting and ‘The Troubles’ During the Thatcher Years,” *Journal of Popular Culture* 30, no. 1 (1996): 117, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0022-3840.1996.00115.x>.

<sup>25</sup> Pettigrew, “The ‘Oxygen of Publicity’ and the Suffocation of Censorship: National Newspaper Representations of the British Broadcasting Ban (1988–94),” 228.

<sup>26</sup> Maria Armoudian, “The Frame Changers: Journalists, the Conflict, and Peace Process,” *Irish Political Studies* 33, no. 3 (2018): 356, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07907184.2017.1411345>.

<sup>27</sup> Bill Rolston, “Facing Reality: The Media, the Past and Conflict Transformation in Northern Ireland,” *Crime, Media, Culture* 3, no. 3 (2007): 347, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1741659007082470>.

<sup>28</sup> Rolston, “Facing Reality: The Media, the Past and Conflict Transformation in Northern Ireland,” 347.

<sup>29</sup> Pettigrew, “The ‘Oxygen of Publicity’ and the Suffocation of Censorship: National Newspaper Representations of the British Broadcasting Ban (1988–94),” 229.

<sup>30</sup> Pettigrew, “The ‘Oxygen of Publicity’ and the Suffocation of Censorship: National Newspaper Representations of the British Broadcasting Ban (1988–94),” 230.

<sup>31</sup> Pettigrew, “The ‘Oxygen of Publicity’ and the Suffocation of Censorship: National Newspaper Representations of the British Broadcasting Ban (1988–94),” 230.

<sup>32</sup> Richard Deutsch, “The United Kingdom Ban on News of October 19, 1988,” *Etudes Irlandaises (Villeneuve-d'Ascq)* 15, no. 1 (1990): 157, <https://doi.org/10.3406/irlan.1990.923>

<sup>33</sup> Deutsch, “The United Kingdom Ban on News of October 19, 1988,” 157.

<sup>34</sup> Deutsch, “The United Kingdom Ban on News of October 19, 1988,” 157.

<sup>35</sup> Gallet, “‘This Is Not Censorship’: The BBC and the Broadcasting Ban (1988–1994).”

However, as 80% of the UK population got their news primarily from the TV or Radio, this Broadcasting Ban had a widespread impact.<sup>36</sup> Radio and TV news media often got around this ban by using voiceovers by actors or captioning instead.<sup>37</sup> This ban remained in place until the 1994 IRA ceasefire was declared, and peace talks began.<sup>38</sup> This ban served two propaganda purposes; it simplified the conflict to avoid reflection on structural causes, and it created a binary narrative.

Firstly, this censorship system attempted to downplay the genuine grievances of Republicans and simplify the conflict to one of religious differences. The Troubles were a conflict with three sets of antagonists; the British state, Republicans, and Unionists. However, government framing caused this conflict to be viewed as a sectarian one between Catholics and Protestants, extricating the government from involvement.<sup>39</sup> Simplifying the conflict also removed colonial or imperial implications from the war.<sup>40</sup> The Republicans had long tied their grievances to imperial British rule over Ireland and discrimination of the native Irish people.<sup>41</sup> However, the media and government during the Troubles excluded these Republican voices, and thus this grievance narrative.<sup>42</sup>

This was further amplified by how reporting was conducted. News reports on the conflict tended to be brief and random reports of violent incidents devoid of any socio-political and cultural context or explanation.<sup>43</sup> This approach performed social cauterization.<sup>44</sup> This allowed

---

<sup>36</sup> Deutsch, "The United Kingdom Ban on News of October 19, 1988," 153.

<sup>37</sup> Pettigrew, "The 'Oxygen of Publicity' and the Suffocation of Censorship: National Newspaper Representations of the British Broadcasting Ban (1988–94)," 231.

<sup>38</sup> Savage, *The BBC's 'Irish Troubles': Television, Conflict and Northern Ireland*, 265.

<sup>39</sup> Mesev, Shirlow, and Downs, "The Geography of Conflict and Death in Belfast, Northern Ireland," 894.

<sup>40</sup> Mesev, Shirlow, and Downs, "The Geography of Conflict and Death in Belfast, Northern Ireland," 902.

<sup>41</sup> Rolston, "Facing Reality: The Media, the Past and Conflict Transformation in Northern Ireland," 346.

<sup>42</sup> Mesev, Shirlow, and Downs, "The Geography of Conflict and Death in Belfast, Northern Ireland," 894.

<sup>43</sup> Edgerton, "Quelling the 'Oxygen of Publicity': British Broadcasting and 'The Troubles' During the Thatcher Years," 126.

<sup>44</sup> Rolston, "Facing Reality: The Media, the Past and Conflict Transformation in Northern Ireland," 347.

the British public to see the issue as one of mindless violence and terrorism, rather than through a civil rights, or imperialistic resistance lens.<sup>45</sup> When peace talks were discussed, and failed, the news would turn to expressions of exasperation and bewilderment rather than analysis, further simplifying the conflict to endless, irrational, and without true grievances.<sup>46</sup> This simplification was only possible through the exclusion of voices which may have risked complicating the narrative and presenting valid grievances outside of the accepted government narrative of religious conflict.

The narrative around why censorship was justified stood to further simplify the conflict. Rather than viewing the combatants as having an identity and ideological conflict, they were framed as terrorists and criminals.<sup>47</sup> The official reason for these restrictions was to prevent terrorists from accessing the media.<sup>48</sup> As is summarized by a quote from Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, they wished to deny dissidents the “oxygen of publicity.”<sup>49</sup> The fear presented was that if supposed terrorists were given media access, this would be playing into their plan, making them into martyrs, and provoking the reactions that they sought.<sup>50</sup> It was also believed that reporting on their beliefs would inflame violence and sectarian tensions.<sup>51</sup> As such, their voices were presented as inherently dangerous, denying them voice, and political legitimacy.

One of the most famous cases of censorship is the 1985 ‘Real Lives’ documentary.<sup>52</sup> This documentary featured an interview with Martin McGuinness of Sinn Fein, which did not cast

---

<sup>45</sup> Rolston, “Facing Reality: The Media, the Past and Conflict Transformation in Northern Ireland,” 347.

<sup>46</sup> Eddie Holt, “The Troubles We’ve Seen,” *Nieman Reports* 54, no. 2 (2000): 85, [link.gale.com/apps/doc/A63564908/AONE?u=ocul\\_thomas&sid=bookmark-AONE&xid=66050407](http://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A63564908/AONE?u=ocul_thomas&sid=bookmark-AONE&xid=66050407).

<sup>47</sup> Gallet, “‘This Is Not Censorship’: The BBC and the Broadcasting Ban (1988-1994).”

<sup>48</sup> Gallet, “‘This Is Not Censorship’: The BBC and the Broadcasting Ban (1988-1994).”

<sup>49</sup> Pettigrew, “The ‘Oxygen of Publicity’ and the Suffocation of Censorship: National Newspaper Representations of the British Broadcasting Ban (1988–94),” 227.

<sup>50</sup> Edgerton, “Quelling the ‘Oxygen of Publicity’: British Broadcasting and ‘The Troubles’ During the Thatcher Years,” 120.

<sup>51</sup> Doherty, “‘Roving Vultures’: Television News and the Outbreak of the Troubles in Northern Ireland,” 878.

<sup>52</sup> Pettigrew, “The ‘Oxygen of Publicity’ and the Suffocation of Censorship: National Newspaper Representations of the British Broadcasting Ban (1988–94),” 229.

him in a negative light.<sup>53</sup> The BBC was told that if they broadcasted this documentary they would be assisting the terrorist cause by giving a platform to murderers.<sup>54</sup> The BBC ultimately decided to cancel the broadcast.<sup>55</sup> This cancellation took a voice away from Sinn Fein, an elected political party, as it fell outside of the government's narrative, and was voiced by an individual who was deemed dangerous.

The censorship machine created a good/bad dichotomy, where the British government and the news presented a good message of peace, while dissident groups were terrorists and criminals who could not be allowed a voice in the media. This line was applied both to content reported and to journalists themselves. Journalists were told that if they were not vocally in support of British policy, they were terrorist supporters.<sup>56</sup> Additionally, talking to dissidents on the banned list was considered the equivalent of promoting the war.<sup>57</sup> This limited room for nuance and investigative journalism, as the conflict was divided into those supportive of the government narrative, and those supportive of violent terrorism.

Through censorship, the Troubles were taken from a complex conflict with multiple actors, each with their own identity and objectives, to a simple conflict where the British government was good, and fighting against irrational religious terrorists. Policies of censorship and media control allowed the government to regulate access to who could be featured on the news, thus ensuring their narrative remained supreme.

Both official and unofficial government censorship during the Northern Irish Troubles can be seen as a form of war propaganda. This censorship allowed the government to present a

---

<sup>53</sup> Pettigrew, "The 'Oxygen of Publicity' and the Suffocation of Censorship: National Newspaper Representations of the British Broadcasting Ban (1988–94)," 229.

<sup>54</sup> Tom Mills, *The BBC: Myth of a Public Service*, (London: Verso, 2016), 149.

<sup>55</sup> Mills, *The BBC: Myth of a Public Service*, 149.

<sup>56</sup> Edgerton, "Quelling the 'Oxygen of Publicity': British Broadcasting and 'The Troubles' During the Thatcher Years," 126.

<sup>57</sup> Armoudian, "The Frame Changers: Journalists, the Conflict, and Peace Process," 362.



simplified narrative of the conflict, relegating it to one of irrational religious terrorism rather than an identity or ideological conflict. It also allowed the government to present those who disagreed with them as terrorists and criminals, thus removing their voices from news media and marginalizing journalists who supported them. While the ban is no longer in place, the impact of government censorship, simplification of narratives, and the binary narratives it created continue to affect the news media. Simplification and binary narratives are classic war propaganda strategies and were mobilized by the British government to present the conflict to their civilians in a frame which minimized their culpability for the conflict and nuance which may have driven sympathy for Republican groups opposing the government. In this period, the media was not free but rather was controlled by the government, and used as a tool of propaganda.

## Bibliography

Adams, Gerry. "To cherish a just and lasting peace." *Fordham International Law Journal*, 22(4) (1999): 1179–1195.

<https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/frdint22&i=1203>.

Armoudian, Maria. "The Frame Changers: Journalists, the Conflict, and Peace Process." *Irish Political Studies* 33, no. 3 (2018): 354–380.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/07907184.2017.1411345>.

Corthorn, Paul. "Ulster Unionist Political Thought in the Era of the Northern Ireland Troubles, 1968–1998." *The English Historical Review*, Vol 137, 589, (December 2022); 1760–1791. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ehr/cead005>.

Crisis Continues." *Scholastic News*, Mar 20, 2000.

<http://proxy.lib.trentu.ca/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/magazines/crisis-continues/docview/212782768/se-2?accountid=14391>.

Deutsch, Richard. "The United Kingdom Ban on News of October 19, 1988." *Etudes Irlandaises (Villeneuve-d'Ascq)* 15, no. 1 (1990): 153–161.

<https://doi.org/10.3406/irlan.1990.923>

Doherty, Martin. "'Roving Vultures': Television News and the Outbreak of the Troubles in Northern Ireland." *Historical Journal of Film, Radio, and Television* 39, no. 4 (2019): 864–881. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01439685.2019.1600915>.

Edgerton, Gary. "Quelling the 'Oxygen of Publicity': British Broadcasting and 'The Troubles' During the Thatcher Years." *Journal of Popular Culture* 30, no. 1 (1996): 115–132. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0022-3840.1996.00115.x>.

Gallet, Elodie. "'This Is Not Censorship': The BBC and the Broadcasting Ban

(1988-1994).” *Cahiers Du MIMMOC* 27, no. 27 (2022)

<https://doi.org/10.4000/mimmoc.10215>.

Guelke, Adrian. “The Northern Ireland Peace Process and the War Against Terrorism: Conflicting Conceptions?” *Government and Opposition (London)* 42, no. 3 (2007): 272–291. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2007.00224.x>.

Hazleton, William. “Encouragement from the Sidelines: Clinton’s Role in the Good Friday Agreement.” *Irish Studies in International Affairs* 11 (2000): 103–119. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30001915>.

Hewstone, et. al. “Intergroup Contact, Forgiveness, and Experience of ‘The Troubles’ in Northern Ireland.” *Journal of Social Issues* 62, no. 1 (2006): 99–120. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2006.00441.x>.

Holt, Eddie. “The Troubles We’ve Seen.” *Nieman Reports* 54, no. 2 (2000): 84-86. [link.gale.com/apps/doc/A63564908/AONE?u=ocul\\_thomas&sid=bookmark-AONE&xid=66050407](http://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A63564908/AONE?u=ocul_thomas&sid=bookmark-AONE&xid=66050407).

Kearney, Jarlath, Peter Shirlow, and Etain Tannam. “Partition to Partnership to Brexit: Strategically Reinvigorating the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement.” *The RUSI Journal* 167, no. 3 (2022): 14–26. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071847.2022.2124078>.

Mesev, Victor, Peter Shirlow, and Joni Downs. “The Geography of Conflict and Death in Belfast, Northern Ireland.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 99, no. 5 (2009): 893–903. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00045600903260556>.

Mills, Tom. *The BBC : Myth of a Public Service*. London: Verso, 2016.

Mitchell, David. “Sticking to Their Guns? The Politics of Arms Decommissioning in Northern Ireland, 1998-2007.” *Contemporary British History* 24, no. 3 (2010): 341–361.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/13619462.2010.497253>.

Pettigrew, Max. "The 'Oxygen of Publicity' and the Suffocation of Censorship: National Newspaper Representations of the British Broadcasting Ban (1988–94)." *In The Northern Ireland Troubles in Britain*, 1st ed., 227–242. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016.

Rolston, Bill. "Facing Reality: The Media, the Past and Conflict Transformation in Northern Ireland." *Crime, Media, Culture* 3, no. 3 (2007): 345–364.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1741659007082470>.

Savage, Robert J. *The BBC's 'Irish Troubles': Television, Conflict and Northern Ireland*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015.

Spencer, Graham. "Motivation and Intervention in the Northern Ireland Peace Process: An Interview with President Bill Clinton." *Negotiation Journal* 35, no. 2 (2019): 269–295. <https://doi.org/10.1111/nejo.12288>.

Switzer, Catherine, and Brian Graham. "'From Thorn to Thorn': Commemorating the Royal Ulster Constabulary in Northern Ireland." *Social & Cultural Geography* 10, no. 2 (2009): 153–171. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649360802652129>.

"What was the Good Friday Agreement?" BBC Newsround. April 10, 2023.

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/newsround/14118775>.

Woodwell, Douglas. "The 'Troubles' of Northern Ireland." *Understanding Civil War*. World Bank, 2005. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep02484.10>.