

2020

Second-Wave Feminism in Northern Ireland in the Context of the Troubles: The Movement and Its Implications on Women

Sunya Reddy

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.library.uab.edu/vulcan>



Part of the [History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Reddy, Sunya (2020) "Second-Wave Feminism in Northern Ireland in the Context of the Troubles: The Movement and Its Implications on Women," *Vulcan Historical Review*: Vol. 24, Article 16.

Available at: <https://digitalcommons.library.uab.edu/vulcan/vol24/iss2020/16>

This content has been accepted for inclusion by an authorized administrator of the UAB Digital Commons, and is provided as a free open access item. All inquiries regarding this item or the UAB Digital Commons should be directed to the [UAB Libraries Office of Scholarly Communication](#).

SECOND-WAVE FEMINISM IN NORTHERN IRELAND IN THE CONTEXT OF THE TROUBLES: THE MOVEMENT AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON WOMEN

Sunya Reddy

Social justice movements throughout history have a tendency to influence one another around the globe. The Northern Irish Women's Movement of the late 1900s is no exception. Similar to how the Abolitionist Movement helped inspire the first wave of feminism, the Civil Rights Movement helped encourage a new "second-wave" feminism that took hold in the United States and quickly spread to many European nations.¹ This second-wave of feminism, which began in the early 1960s, hoped to increase equality for women through sociopolitical spheres that transcended mere enfranchisement.² The Movement reared its head in Northern Ireland in the early 1970s, around the same time that the Troubles exploded. The Troubles refers to a political and nationalistic period of conflict that occurred in Northern Ireland from the late 1960s to 1998.³ One of the key issues of the Troubles was the "national question" over the constitutionality of Northern Ireland. On the one hand, loyalists and unionists, who were mostly of a Protestant faith, believed that Northern Ireland should remain within the United Kingdom (UK); on the other hand, republicans and nationalists, a majority of whom were Catholic, believed that Northern Ireland should join the Republic of Ireland to form a united nation. Both the Troubles and second-wave feminism occurred during the same time period, but how were the movements impacted by one another? The Feminist Movement made significant gains in Northern Ireland, nevertheless, it had to confront difficult questions about identity and purpose. Though ideological and political disagreements were a common feature of most contemporary feminist movements, the nature of sectarian differences during the 1970s in Northern Ireland further divided the second-wave feminist movement. This research aims to demonstrate this by first contextualizing the role of women prior to the emergence of second-wave feminism, then analyzing that role under both unionist and nationalist groupings. The paper will then discuss the formal and informal institutions of the Feminist Movement and how the nature of the sectarian tensions that defined

the Troubles shaped the Movement. Finally, the paper will examine the effects of the second-wave feminism on the role of women, particularly in the peace and reconciliation process.

Carmel Roulston of the University of Ulster wrote in 1989, "Women in Northern Ireland appear in many ways to have the worst of all possible worlds."⁴ She described the struggles of Northern Irish women during this time period and their similarity to problems faced by many women living in industrialized countries. However, Roulston claimed that women in Northern Ireland simultaneously lived in an environment "more influenced by male beliefs and values than is the case for other industrialized countries."⁴ Traditional religious beliefs held significant influence in Northern Ireland during this time, especially as the backdrop upon which the Troubles' waged violence. On that end, it should come with little surprise that, regardless of sectarian differences, traditionalism characterized the roles of women in terms of 'feminine' ideals that upheld the heterosexual family unit: motherhood, domesticity, and sexual purity, to name a few.⁵ Both unionists and nationalists believed that this view of women was crucial to uphold the cultural values and continuation of their ethnic groups.⁵ Because of this, women did not seem to have a place in formal politics and were largely excluded from decision and policy-making practices. That is, of course, not to say that the roles of women were exactly the same for both nationalists and unionists, especially not as the Troubles progressed. In fact, to understand how sectarianism affected the feminist movement, it is crucial to examine the different roles of women under each ethnonationalist grouping.

Most explorations of Protestant, Unionist, and Loyalist (PUL) women during the Troubles suggest that they were less politically active than their Catholic and nationalist counterparts. These Catholic and nationalist counterparts were more visible in paramilitaries and were often present on the front lines of violence. According to

Fidelma Ashe and Caireen McCluskey, researchers on gender politics, it is worth noting that because nationalist women were seen as more active in political struggles, they were also seen as ideologically closer to feminism.⁵ Moreover, PUL women received less analytical attention than their nationalist female counterparts; their very identities seemed under-theorized.⁵ In fact, McGlynn and McAuley contend that in research terms, PUL women as a group are “doubly marginalized in relation to both male loyalists and republican women.”⁶ Due to the conservative and oftentimes patriarchal ideology of unionism, the accomplishments of PUL women often went unacknowledged and undocumented. For a long time, many individuals believed that PUL women had little to do with the unionist movement other than supporting their husbands or raising their sons; they were categorized into largely traditional female gender roles. However, recent research has led to a more appraised view of PUL women’s roles during the Troubles. PUL women are now believed to have engaged in a variety of activities within political parties, such as advocating for lower-income residencies, peace-making engagement projects, and increased support for domestic violence victims; even their participation in paramilitary activity was significantly higher than formerly believed.⁵ Ultimately, the role of PUL women during the Troubles was more multifaceted than the misconception that they were simply deferential supporters of a unionist political agenda dominated solely by men.

Catholic, Nationalist, and Republic (CNR) women were more concretely linked to the feminist movement than PUL women, partly due to their increased political activity during the conflict and partly because of nationalism’s ties to the Civil Rights Movement. However, it is important to note that the Nationalist Movement was not innately feminist. As stated earlier, nationalist sentiments oftentimes characterized womanhood in terms of motherhood and relationships to men. Many CNR women even felt that they had to wait on feminist issues to promote the more pressing nationalist cause.⁷ Moreover, not all CNR women identified or even supported feminist efforts. CNR women who upheld more traditional religious values, for example, found a point of contention within

the sexually liberating aspects of second-wave feminism and Catholicism. When looking at the interaction of CRN women and feminism, it is crucial to also look at the role CRN women played in paramilitary organizations like Cumann na mBan and the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The IRA was the principal Republican paramilitary group during the Troubles. Some CRN women were early participants in the IRA, while others were combatants. As more women joined the IRA, however, it became necessary to address the presence of women within a “hypermasculine” space.⁷ According to Jennifer Earles, after being categorized by England as the feminine “other,” the Nationalist Movement overcompensated by becoming a place of exaggerated masculinity. Earles claims that when paramilitary groups are “not divided along lines of gender, intricate steps must be taken to insure the appearance of an overall masculinity within these armies despite the presence of women.”⁸ Female nationalists were seen as subordinate and inferior to men; many were even pressured to hide or diminish their sexuality.⁸ Because of this, many CRN women were displeased with their treatment in the IRA. It was ultimately many of these women that created some of the formal organizations of the second-wave feminist movement.⁹

Against a background of local and community-led groups, some formally organized feminist groups appeared in the 1970s in Northern Ireland. According to Roulston, Belfast’s Ormeau Road was the site of the first organized second-wave feminist group based in a working-class community.⁴ Its members fought against poverty and poor housing environments with some success by using both direct action and lobbying techniques.⁴ Soon after, in 1974, the Coleraine Women’s Group made strides as a “consciousness raising” group focused on tackling the substantial problems surrounding domestic violence against women. The Coleraine Women’s Group, which was comprised of women from the New University of Ulster and from Coleraine itself, also brought public attention to the issues surrounding the lack of support for single parent families.⁴ 1975 saw the continuation of university women’s participation in feminism, as continued collaboration with the Northern Ireland Civil

Rights Association, trade-union activists, communists, republicans, unionists, and individual women ultimately led to the formation of the Northern Ireland Women's Rights Movement (NIWRM). According to the organization's Manifesto, its goal was "to spread a consciousness of women's oppression and mobilize the greatest possible number of women on feminist issues."⁴ Their members specifically called for the extension of the 1975 Sexual Discrimination Act of the UK to Northern Ireland. The act was only applied in England, Wales, and Scotland, and protected both men and women from discrimination on the basis of sex or marital status. Thus, the act's extension into Northern Ireland was of extreme importance to NIWRM members.

“ Many contemporary women's movements have faced fragmentation along ideological and political lines. ”

Many members hoped that the NIWRM would function as a kind of headquarters, the head of a partnership or collaboration of feminist groups that would extend throughout Northern Ireland. There were also hopes that the NIWRM would be able to strengthen and mobilize into a more influential movement that was inclusive of working-class women and so-called "middle-class feminists."⁴ Unfortunately, these women were unable to see these hopes achieved. Some smaller feminist groups established themselves throughout various towns and provinces near Belfast, rarely was there continuous cooperation with the NIWRM.¹⁰ The wide range of political and ideological backgrounds of the NIWRM's members produced numerous disagreements that ultimately fragmented and divided the organization.¹¹ The first divisive issue the NIWRM encountered was over the decision to include or exclude men from the organization's meetings. Some argued that NIWRM should refuse male delegates on the principle that the organization should remain autonomous and composed of only women. Others believed that the more support the organization had, the more positive change they could make for women, so allowing men membership would be beneficial.

Some members believed that the inclusion of men would force trade unions to take their demands more seriously, so by including men, the organization could make more progress when negotiating.

These divisions eventually caused a group of women to break away from the NIWRM and form the Socialist Women's Group (SWG), which combined a commitment to socialism with feminist and nationalist concerns.¹¹ Many contemporary women's movements have faced fragmentation along ideological and political lines. And though the relatively small number of participants in women's groups in Northern Ireland perhaps made unity more necessary, that unity was neither guaranteed nor realized. The Troubles only heightened these tensions and furthered the divisions.

By 1976, women's groups around Northern Ireland were becoming increasingly divided by the "national question" about the constitutional status of Northern Ireland.⁴ This was a question about whether Northern Ireland should remain as a part of the UK or if the nation should separate from the British and become a part of the larger Republic of Ireland. Unionists fought for the former and nationalists fought for the latter; this tension was a major component of the Troubles. The NIWRM had members from a wide variety of ideological backgrounds, including unionists and nationalists; the organization thereby decided not to take an official stance on the matter of the national question. Its members believed the goal of the organization was to unite women from different political backgrounds. The focus, therefore, was not on political sectarianism but rather on promoting equal rights for women in the home, workplace, and community. Some organizations, including the SWG, criticized the NIWRM for taking a "non-position" on the national question.⁴ Though the idea of uniting women was inspiring, the SWG argued that the NIWRM's stance ignored basic questions about reform, such as whether Northern Ireland could accept reforms granted by a British government if the British's governmental authority were being contested as part of the national question. In assuming that the British could make policy changes that affected Northern Irish citizens, it was then applied that the British do possess governmental authority over Northern Ireland, which was, in essence, taking a

stance on the constitutionality of the state. In taking a “non-position” and assuming the ability of the British government to grant reforms that benefited women, the SWG accused the NIWRM of complicity with the state. The stance of non-position thereby alienated potential new members and hindered collaboration with women’s groups that were sympathetic to the nationalist cause.

Support for female political prisoners was also an extremely divisive topic within the feminist movement. In fact, the Belfast Women’s Collective, a group formed by some members of the SWG following its collapse, dissolved largely because of this matter. Tensions were high in the campaign for Special Category Status for all prisoners convicted of Troubles-related offenses.¹² Special Category Status referred to certain privileges afforded to both loyalist and republican prisoners in 1972, but later rescinded, such as the ability to refuse prison uniforms, freedoms to refuse to take part in prison work or convict labor, or the power to congregate with other members of a prisoner’s paramilitary group.¹³ The IRA largely spearheaded the effort to regain the Special Category Status of prisoners. Throughout the late 1970s, the protest for political status evolved from its original form, assuming new forms with hunger strikes, dirty “no-wash” protests, and strip searches which became a part of the internment experience for many CRN women prisoners. The call to support female prisoners met mixed responses from different women’s groups, particularly because of the IRA’s involvement in the original protest to regain Special Category Status for prisoners. According to Roulston, even opposing the sexual harassment of women in prisons as a result of strip-searches was difficult to express without being drafted by the movement to regain Special Category Status.⁴ As mentioned earlier, the Belfast Women’s Collective certainly felt the strain of this tension. The Collective initially supported the prison protests and joined many of the demonstrations, but its members became unhappy with the lack of autonomy for the women in the campaign because parts of the campaign were becoming a part of the larger IRA ideology. Continued disagreements culminated in the termination of the Belfast Women’s Collective in 1981. Though the NIWRM did not dissolve over the women internment issue like the Collective did,

there were, “...deeply felt differences about it, reflecting the different perspectives held by its members on Northern Irish politics.”⁴ Most of the NIWRM’s members disagreed with the way prison authorities treated female prisoners as they often subjected these women to strip-searches, unsanitary conditions, and often severe abuse from prison guards. However, many members still had reservations about the Special Category Status issue.

The Troubles also divided the second-wave feminist movement in terms of single-issue campaigns like abortion and rape.⁴ When women’s groups attempted to start a movement on abortion law reform, for example, conversation quickly turned to whether the campaign needed to address the legitimacy of British legislation in Northern Ireland. The Troubles thus splintered second-wave feminism in two important ways. Firstly, many feminist concerns were neglected in favor of the “more pressing” issues of the Troubles that needed to be addressed. Secondly, many singular feminist campaigns were unable to confront the national question or did so in a way that aligned with one ethnonational group and alienated the other, thereby further dividing feminist support on the topic.

All in all, the attempt to create a broad, unified women’s movement in Northern Ireland proved to be extremely challenging.

Though second-wave feminism was successful in appealing to women from a variety of religious, ideological, and socioeconomic backgrounds, political issues still managed to fragment the overall movement. The goal of prioritizing women’s issues did not appeal to all women; many saw the avoidance of taking a stance on issues like the national question as complicit in the unionist agenda and “pro-British.” The women could not even consider the question of whether the state should play a role in the fight for women’s rights because the very legitimacy of the state was in question. Moreover, the violent conflict seen during the Troubles by various paramilitary and state-led groups made resistance to the mistreatment and subjugation of women more challenging to effectively organize. It is impressive that second-wave feminists managed to keep the movement alive during the Troubles

at all, considering national attention was less focused on the fight for women's rights and more focused on the conflict.

However, a fixation on the fragmentation of second-wave feminism seemingly ignores the numerous accomplishments its proponents achieved. The Equal Pay Act of 1970 was an earlier achievement of the Movement, requiring employers to pay men and women equally for equal work and banning discrimination between employees in terms of employment conditions on the basis of sex.¹⁴ The Sex Discrimination Order of 1976 protected women from discrimination on the grounds of sex or marital status, and expanded upon the Equal Pay Act by covering training, education, harassment, and a variety of other fields.¹⁵ The establishment of the Equal Opportunities Commission in the same year was also a major accomplishment for trade union activists and second-wave feminists alike because it was a formal commission that promoted gender equality and helped enforce the Sex Discrimination Order.¹¹ Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the second-wave feminist movement improved Northern Ireland's divorce laws and paid higher attention to domestic violence.⁴ For example, the Domestic Proceedings Order of 1980 gave some formal protection to victims of domestic violence.¹⁶ Outside of the scope of the legal changes, the feminist movement also saw the establishment of numerous Women's Aid centers throughout Northern Ireland, which aimed to provide a variety of services to women, including rape response centers, well-women clinics, and specialized support for domestic violence achieved mainly through direct action and lobbying.¹⁷ While the Troubles and national question may have prioritized public focus and caused further divisions in feminist organizations, the conflict certainly did not paralyze the fight for increased women's rights.

Another interesting development of the women's rights movement includes the sizable increase in local women's groups throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. These women, who came together for solidarity, unity, and support, certainly felt the ramifications of the intense violence of the Troubles. Susan McKay wrote that the conflict of the Troubles "was masking horrific levels of

violence against women and children, some of it carried out by men who saw themselves as heroes within their community."¹⁷ She called the Troubles a time of "armed patriarchy" where "men with guns which they held supposedly to defend their people . . . used those guns to intimidate, overpower and silence women and children."¹⁷ These local groups of women, then, played a vital role in the community. They held consciousness-raising courses that helped bridge the divide between unionists and loyalists and brought in mediators to calm tensions and work with local police during protests marches and violent outbreaks.¹⁸ Often, they spearheaded cross-ethnic peace organizing, like Peace People and Women Together; these were groups that came together from both sides of the divide to lead peace marches and rallies protesting against the violence of the Troubles. cooperation among such groups eventually led to the creation of a Women's Support Network.¹⁹ These cross-community cooperative efforts seem even more impressive when one considers how risky it was to facilitate such endeavors during the Troubles.

Community-based women's groups sponsored and hosted various classes on education, literature, and women's history throughout the Troubles. They allowed women to become involved in solving local problems, which eventually translated into a desire to become more involved in politics as a whole. In April of 1996, that desire manifested when a small group of women active in community development organizations, women's centers, and civic associations formed the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (NIWC).¹⁹ Kate Fearon, a founder member, describes it as a "channel for cross-community cooperation" in a "politically and socially divided society."²⁰ The NIWC was a political group composed of non-governmental organizations from both sides of the sectarian divide, republicans and unionists alike, created to contest elections. When the administration established the Northern Ireland Forum, the NIWC managed to secure one percent of the vote, which translated to two seats that would join in the discussion for peace negotiations. However, electoral success certainly did not ensure acceptance at the table, the Unionists repeatedly harassed Coalition members at the Forum talks. Some even made

“ Politics largely underrepresented women in Northern Ireland during the Troubles, and that legacy of underrepresentation persists to this day.

animal noises when the representatives of the NIWC tried to speak.¹⁹ However, despite the initial hostility against them, female participants in the peace process ultimately developed a reputation for building trust, engaging in all sides, and fostering dialogue.²¹

According to Fearon, the NIWC’s “involvement in the negotiations not only facilitated and promoted women’s participation, it also demonstrated the possibility that civil society can participate in and influence formal political negotiations.” However, not all women saw the NIWC as the catalyst for change that Kate Fearon seemed to view it as. It frustrated many that the party evaded the national question, as it maintained a policy of “non-position.” For others, it was a cause for concern because the party seemed to assume that the mere presence of women’s voice in politics, on the virtue of their gender, was the singular requirement for change.¹¹ Nevertheless, the NIWC played an important role in the 1998 Belfast/Good Friday Agreement that marked the formal end of the Troubles. As one of the only cross-community political parties at the peace talks, its members were representatives of both nationalist and unionist communities, and thus, essential for guidance during critical parts of the peace negotiation process.²² The NIWC also helped to secure language in the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement for the reintegration of political prisoners into society, compensation for victims of the conflict, an integrated education for both Protestant and Catholic children, and mixed housing – all items that were essential for reconciliation after thirty years of violence.²³ As one of the most visible representations of the changing status of women, many women looked to the NIWC with hope for peace, unity, and increased rights for women.

Though society hailed the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement

as a success, progress in gender equality is still necessary. In 2006, the NIWC officially disbanded. In 2017, the Northern Ireland Assembly collapsed until January of 2020. Considering that the Assembly, not the Parliament of the UK, is responsible for passing, amending, and upholding anti-discrimination legislation in Northern Ireland, policies and legislative actions could not ensure the effective protection of women for almost three years. The effects of this extended into many different sociopolitical spheres, but gender-based violence hit a record high, with domestic abuse crimes, which are generally under-reported, hitting a record high at 16,575 cases.²⁴ Politics largely underrepresented women in Northern Ireland during the Troubles, and that legacy of underrepresentation persists to this day. Twenty years following the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement, the administration has only appointed one woman to a monitoring body for the peace process.²² Monica McWilliams, a professor of the Transitional Justice Institute at Ulster University, observed that the “diminution of women’s contribution to peace building has meant a loss of the plurality and creativity that was so beneficial to the peace negotiations in the first place.”²² Ultimately, female participation is lacking in political and peacebuilding arenas. Gender equality has historically taken a back seat to the ethnonational pressures of the Troubles in the 1970s and the modern politics of today; we cannot allow that tradition to continue. As Brexit enters its transition period, it is crucial that women remain in the process. The UK must make active efforts to ensure that the loss of European Union (EU) funding does not lead to a regression in support for women’s rights and efforts to keep Northern Irish gender equality laws on pace with those of the EU. As tensions continue to rise, we cannot forget the valuable contributions of women’s voices to complicated peace processes.

ENDNOTES

1. History.com Editors. (2009, October 27). Civil Rights Movement. Retrieved from <https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/civil-rights-movement>.
2. Burkett, Elinor, and Laura Brunell. "The Second Wave of Feminism." *britannica.com*. Encyclopedia Britannica, February 8, 2019. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/feminism/The-second-wave-of-feminism>.
3. McKane, Pamela. "Women's Museum of Ireland." Women's Museum of Ireland | Articles | The Ulster Crisis and the Emergence of the Ulster Women's Unionist Council, n.d. <https://womensmuseumofireland.ie/articles/the-ulster-crisis-and-the-emergence-of-the-ulster-women-s-unionist-council>.
4. Roulston, Carmel. "Women on the Margin: The Women's Movement in Northern Ireland, 1973-1988." *Science & Society* 53, no. 2 (1989): 219-36. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40402997>.
5. Ashe F., McCluskey C. (2015) 'Doing Their Bit': Gendering the Constitution of Protestant, Unionist and Loyalist Identities. In: Burgess T.P., Mulvenna G. (eds) *The Contested Identities of Ulster Protestants*. Palgrave Macmillan, London.
6. McGlynn, C. and J. W. McAuley (2011), 'Auxiliaries in the Cause? Loyalist Women in Conflict and Post Conflict', in J.W. McAuley and G. Spencer (eds), *Ulster Loyalism after the Good Friday Agreement* (Oxford: Palgrave Macmillan), 132-46.
7. Piecuch, Hannah. "Feminism During the Troubles in Northern Ireland." *The Onyx Review: The Interdisciplinary Research Journal* 3, no. 1 (2017): 33-43. http://onyxreview.agnesscott.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Piecuch.H_Feminism-Northern-Ireland-formatting.pdf.
8. Earles, Jennifer, "Gender trouble in Northern Ireland: An examination of gender and bodies within the 1970s and 1980s provisional Irish Republican Army in Northern Ireland" (2009). Graduate Theses and Dissertations. Retrieved from <https://scholarcommons.usf.edu/etd/1945>.
9. Talbot, Rhiannon. "Female Combatants, Paramilitary Prisoners, and the Development of Feminism in the Republican Movement." *Irish Women and Nationalism*. Ed. Margaret Ward and Louise Ryan. Newbridge: Irish Academic Press, 2004. 132-166.
10. Loughran, C. (1986). "Armagh and Feminist Strategy." *Feminist Review*, 23: 59. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1057/fr.1986.20>.
11. "Women's Movement in Northern Ireland." *Encyclopedia of Irish History and Culture*. Retrieved August 08, 2019 from <https://www.encyclopedia.com/international/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/womens-movement-northern-ireland>.
12. Moen, Declan. 2000. "Irish Political Prisoners and Post Hunger-Strike Resistance to Criminalization." *British Criminology Conference: Selected Proceedings*, Volume 3.
13. Sweeney, G. (1993). Irish Hunger Strikes and the Cult of Self-Sacrifice. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 28(3), 421-437. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/260640>.
14. Migrator. (2018, June 12). Equal Pay Law Overview. Retrieved from <https://www.nibusbusinessinfo.co.uk/content/equal-pay-law-overview>.
15. Sex Discrimination (Northern Ireland) Order 1976. Retrieved from <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/nisi/1976/1042>.
16. Domestic Proceedings (Northern Ireland) Order 1980. Retrieved from <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/nisi/1980/563/contents>.
17. Working to eliminate domestic violence. Retrieved February 11, 2019 from <https://www.womensaidni.org/>.
18. Ford, M. (2012). Women's Role in the Resolution of Northern Ireland Conflict. Retrieved from https://www.uml.edu/docs/Ford_Paper_tcm18-91394.pdf.
19. Racioppi, L., & See, K. (2006). Engendering Democratic Transition from Conflict: Women's Inclusion in Northern Ireland's Peace Process. *Comparative Politics*, 38(2), 189-208. doi:10.2307/20433989.
20. Fearon, K. (2002). Northern Ireland's Women's Coalition: Institutionalizing a political voice and ensuring representation. Retrieved from <https://www.c-r.org/accord/public-participation/northern-ireland-s-women-s-coalition-institutionalising-political-voice>.
21. Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, WDR Gender Background Paper (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2011). Retrieved from <https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Why-Women-Brief-10.12.15.pdf>.
22. Bigio, J., & Vogelstein, R. (2018, April 13). Women's participation in peace negotiations in Northern Ireland made them less likely to fail. Retrieved from <https://thehill.com/opinion/international/383059-womens-participation-in-peace-negotiations-in-northern-ireland-made>.
23. Michelle Page, Tobie Whitman, and Cecilia Anderson, "Strategies for Policymakers: Bringing Women into Negotiations," Washington, DC: The Institute for Inclusive Security, October 2009, 16.
24. McCracken, Niall. "Domestic Violence: NI Crime Rates Highest on Record." *BBC News*, BBC, 14 Oct. 2019, www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-49985489.