

Chapter 18

The Role of Visiting Professionals in Peacebuilding

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ABSTRACT

Seeking to inform the peace-through-tourism scholarly debate, this chapter revisits this complex relationship from the angle of peacebuilding professionals. International peacebuilding settings habitually welcome peace professionals as visiting contributors, consultants, and freelancers. These visiting peacebuilders are characterised by a form of geographical hybridity that identifies them as a distinct audience in international peacebuilding and a niche audience of international travellers. In order to examine their role and contribution in international peacebuilding, the present study employs a qualitative methodological approach that combines historical narrative and field interviews to the case of the Cyprus peacebuilding discourse. This chapter argues that visiting peacebuilders have a significant role in formulating optimal encounters between peacebuilder audiences and in increasing the effectiveness of international peacebuilding projects.

INTRODUCTION

Research on the relationship between tourism and peace is not new. The majority of this research has focused on verifying or refuting the argument that leisure tourism can contribute significantly to peace, either by acting as an indicator of restored relations between former rivals (Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004), or by encouraging their positive interaction in post-conflict settings (Anastasopoulos, 1992; Sonmez and Apostolopoulos, 2000; Moufakkir and Kelly, 2010). Nonetheless, in the contemporary globalised world, leisure tourism does not fully capture the nature of international travel activity; travel is no longer simply an expression of escapism, but is often an entrenched component of daily routine, with both domestic and international work travel occurring for many on a weekly and often on a daily basis. With this observation in mind, the scholarly focus on ‘peace through leisure tourism’ has left non-leisure travellers, such as conflict resolution experts and the niche audience of peace professionals in particular, underexplored.

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More specifically, visiting peacebuilders such as consultants, international facilitators and peace activists are scarcely identified as a unique audience of international travellers, while they are also rarely viewed as an independent stakeholder within the study of international peacebuilding initiatives. Peacebuilding research has thus far categorised peacebuilders as either local or international (Mac Ginty, 2015; Richmond, 2007), often overseeing a third category of travelling peace professionals that were characterised by their short-term involvement in peacebuilding projects. As a result, the contribution of these professionals and the impact of their travel activity on establishing and sustaining peace have been largely overlooked, not only in Tourism literature, but also within Conflict Resolution scholarship. This chapter seeks to shed light on the travel component within peacebuilding settings by acknowledging the contribution of short-term, hybrid professionals in international peacebuilding; an audience defined as *Visiting Peacebuilders*.

The underexplored audience of traveling professionals in peacebuilding settings does not fully conform to the conventional categorisation of peacebuilder audiences into either local or international. Instead, it is characterised by both geographical and temporal hybridity due to the traveller status of its members. This observation suggests that the binary local-international categorisation of peacebuilders might be simplistic or inaccurate. It is therefore imperative to acknowledge Visiting Peacebuilders as a distinct stakeholder in international peacebuilding and at the same time revisit the restrictive present categorisation of peacebuilding professionals.

In consideration of the hybrid nature of peace professionals (Mac Ginty, 2015), this chapter re-conceptualises the categorisation of peacebuilders beyond their geographical affiliation. In doing so, it adopts a single-case-study model and focuses on the Cyprus conflict, which has been characterised by numerous failed attempts at reaching a peace settlement between the country's partitioned Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. Cyprus showcases a decades-long discourse of international peacebuilding initiatives (Jarraud et al., 2013; Ladini, 2009), allowing for the identification of diverse peacebuilder audiences and at the same time examining the evolution of their interaction through time. The chapter draws upon the island's peacebuilding interventions and the role of peacebuilder audiences from the early years of communal partition, to the authorisation of movement across the Buffer Zone, and today's normalisation of intercommunal cooperation – within the confines of Nicosia's peacebuilding community.

To address the identified scholarly gap on the study of visiting professionals in international peacebuilding initiatives, this chapter proceeds to examine the categorisation of peacebuilding professionals and its evolution towards what is referred to as fourth-generation peacebuilding (Richmond *et al.*, 2011). It proceeds to identify traveller audiences that are relevant to the peacebuilding scene through a review of peace-oriented forms of tourism. The case study of the Cyprus peacebuilding discourse is then introduced to closely examine the interactions of Visiting Peacebuilders with long-term professionals within the island's peacebuilding projects. Findings on the contribution of Visiting Peacebuilders are discussed in reference to Allport's (1954) Contact Hypothesis, which suggests four conditions for optimal and meaningful intergroup contact.

The research aim of the chapter is to examine the ways in which Visiting Peacebuilders, as a distinct audience in international peacebuilding, contribute to the effectiveness of international peacebuilding projects. Allport's Contact Hypothesis plays a central role in achieving this aim, by outlining the nature of interactions among the categories of professionals collaborating under international peacebuilding initiatives – including Visiting Peacebuilders. These categories are further discussed below.

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CATEGORIES OF PEACEBUILDING PROFESSIONALS

Tschirgi (2004: 2) argues that the ‘original definition’ of peacebuilding speaks of ‘non-military interventions by external actors to help war-torn societies not only to avoid a relapse into conflict, but more importantly, to establish the conditions for sustainable peace’. This initial conceptualisation, however, has translated into what scholarship defines as four generations of peacebuilding. According to Richmond *et al.* (2011), first-generation peacebuilding was a limited intervention for conflict management, offering little beyond the capacities of peacekeeping. The second generation was a more integrated approach to peacebuilding that managed to acknowledge human needs and bottom-up opportunities for conflict resolution (*ibid.*). The third peacebuilding generation and the one most operated over the late-twentieth century was an approach primarily concerned with the structural reconstruction of states into liberal democracies (*ibid.*), a primarily state-centric approach to peacebuilding that was also referred to as statebuilding (Barnett and Zurcher, 2009; Woodward, 2017).

In recent years, critical and post-structuralist peacebuilding accounts have acknowledged a fourth generation in peacebuilding (Richmond, 2010; Richmond *et al.*, 2011; Roberts, 2011, 2011b; Richmond, 2012; Jabri, 2013), one that rejects third-party interventions for peacebuilding and instead emphasises the input of local populations in peacebuilding processes, with their inclusion as equal partners ensuring their empowerment and emancipation. Roberts (2011) refers to fourth-generation peacebuilding as emancipatory peacebuilding, while Jabri (2013) differentiates between colonial and post-colonial peacebuilding; the former grants agency to international experts through external peacebuilding intervention, while the latter supports self-determination and shifts the focus to local agency.

The transition from third-generation peacebuilding to a fourth-generation that enabled local populations to have increased agency in peacebuilding processes emphasised the dichotomy between local and international peacebuilding stakeholders. Doyle and Sambanis (2000) embrace the local-international differentiation through their *Peacebuilding Triangle*, which introduces three factors that are critical to the success of peacebuilding initiatives. These factors are first, the local source(s) of dispute, second, the local capacities for achieving reconciliation, and third, international support, which indicate a state-centric philosophy of third-generation peacebuilding, and at the same time a supportive role for international experts.

Richmond (2009) and Acharya (2004) highlight that third-generation local-international distinctions in peacebuilding settings have become increasingly hybridised. Mac Ginty (2015) has argued that the evolution of peacebuilding incorporates the geographically hybrid nature of peacebuilding professionals. It is vague – to the least – to discuss the geographical affiliation of peacebuilders as a constant, when witnessing local peacebuilders representing and being employed by international agencies, or peacebuilders of foreign origin working within local NGOs for years. The national affiliation of these professionals is, in many cases irrelevant, as their professional development within the field of peacebuilding work evolved along hybrid geographical and national boundaries. The emergence of fourth-generation peacebuilding has come to address the phenomenon of hybridity across categories of peacebuilding professionals, and in doing so, revisit the agency of local, international, and hybrid peacebuilder audiences.

The hybridity of the local-international differentiation across peacebuilders is not the only factor challenging its accuracy. A second factor is the assumption of a binary differentiation, which excludes the classification of peacebuilders in more than two categories. Mathieu (2018) acknowledges that the binary classification of local versus international stakeholders in peacebuilding research is not only restrictive, but it can even hinder the attempt for achieving equality across the two stakeholder catego-

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ries, and stigmatise the local contributors as beneficiaries to the process. Paffenholz (2015) adopts a similar stance by stating that the attempt to elevate the role of local peacebuilders as equal contributors is jeopardised by the binary understanding of local versus international stakeholders, as it simplifies the stakeholder scene to such an extent that vital stakeholder categories such as local elites are overlooked. In other words, the assumed classification of peacebuilding professionals into either locals or internationals establishes a binary categorisation of an audience much more diverse in nature. Paffenholz suggests that a multidisciplinary approach to reconceptualising peacebuilding stakeholders beyond the restrictive local-international classification will address this scholarly deficit, a position that this chapter advances on.

In order to address the literature gap of a limiting binary classification for peacebuilding professionals from a multidisciplinary approach, as Paffenholz (2015) advocates, this chapter expands peacebuilder categorisation through the lens of tourism, and reviews the involvement of visiting professionals in peacebuilding. Looking at peacebuilder classification more closely, both the local and international categories refer to the professionals involved in a peacebuilding initiative throughout its duration, but fail to differentiate between long-term and short-term involvement in a project. This excludes short-term contributors such as visiting experts, consultants and analysts, who can be local, international, or have a hybrid geographical affiliation to the conflict. Short-term contributors could include sociologists, economists, conflict resolution experts, heritage and urban planning consultants, facilitators, and gender experts, depending on the themes and needs of each peacebuilding project.

Visiting contributors to international peacebuilding projects feature unique characteristics that differentiate them from locally-stationed and local peacebuilders. These are the (1) short-term nature of their contributions to the projects, (2) their short-term interactions with other peacebuilder audiences, and (3) their hybrid geographical and institutional affiliations. Examining these characteristics as potential factors of influence on international peacebuilding can thus be done more effectively by identifying Visiting Peacebuilders as a distinct audience. Employing Tourism literature to revisit and reconceptualise peacebuilding stakeholders enables the scholarly relationship between tourism and peace to move beyond the causality argument of peace through tourism (D'Amore, 2009; Higgins-Desbiolles & Blanchard, 2010; Moufakkir & Kelly, 2010) and assess the contribution of tourism to peace from an underexplored, niche perspective.

PEACE TOURISM AND THE AUDIENCE OF VISITING PEACEBUILDERS

Examining short-term contributors to international peacebuilding initiatives allows for the expansion of the limiting local-international peacebuilder classification. In doing so, it is important to review tourism literature on international and domestic visitors that could be identified as short-term contributors to peacebuilding projects, or Visiting Peacebuilders (VPs).

Van den Dungen (2014) states the obvious oversight that literature on peace and tourism has neglected to identify peace tourism, or travel that is specifically motivated by and associated with conflict resolution practices and war prevention. The author clarifies that this type of tourism can be valid for both national and international contexts, reaffirming the geographical hybridity of the travellers undertaking it. Van den Dungen introduces examples of peace tourism destinations, including peace museums, city peace trails, and peace cities – cities that symbolise peace through their historical discourse or strive for peace through their institutions. Van den Dungen also identifies himself as a member of the international peace movement, and a peace tourist (*ibid*), reflectively acknowledging the gap in examining this audience.

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Peace tourism can refer to both leisure and non-leisure travel. Leisure travellers can be motivated to experience destinations associated with a past war or ongoing conflict, an activity that falls within the realm of dark tourism (Stone, 2006), or to actively engage with peacebuilding settings and societies transitioning from conflict. The latter can appeal to peace activists seeking to observe or volunteer in peace-oriented initiatives.

Israel and Palestine are popular destinations for peace activist tourism, or what has also been referred to as political tourism and justice tourism. Blanchard and Higgins-Desbiolles (2013) present political tourism as a tool of parties in conflict for sharing their perspective internationally and advocate for their demands. In the case of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Palestinians have, according to the authors, utilised political tourism to raise international awareness on the conflict and seek justice for the Palestinian community. Chaitin (2011) echoes the use of political tourism as an awareness-raising tool, and suggests that political tourism in Israel and Palestine can support peace and social justice by creating better informed international peace activists. Brin (2006) identifies activist tourists to Israel-Palestine as politically-oriented tourists, who arrange their visit through locally-stationed peace-oriented organisations, and seek to increase their understanding of the conflict through reality tours and direct experience on the ground. The author finds these politically-oriented visitor experiences problematic, as they can be less supportive to peace and more vested in promoting a biased political agenda.

Higgins-Desbiolles (2008) moves beyond the category of political tourism and defines justice tourism as travel activity that acts in line with international social justice objectives and seeks to address and reform global inequalities. Isaac (2014) places justice tourism under the umbrella term *responsible tourism*, and argues that it can contribute to peacebuilding through intercultural exchange and economic activity that supports vulnerable and marginalised communities in conflict, giving the example of justice travel to Palestine.

The above examples can be placed within leisure-based peace tourism, with the multiple examples of international travel for peace activism providing an informed understanding of its diverse applicability. Despite so, there is an evident scarcity when it comes to identifying non-leisure peace travellers. To differentiate this category from the broader peace tourist category, non-leisure peace travellers are the ones travelling for professional purposes to a destination in order to contribute, through their professional expertise, to the prevention of war, the stable transition of a post-conflict setting and for laying the ground for effective reconciliation and sustainable peace. To this end, non-leisure peacebuilding travellers, or Visiting Peacebuilders (VPs) as defined earlier, are the business tourists, or traveling professionals, directly engaged in peacebuilding projects due to their professional capacity and expertise. Differentiating this category from the broader leisure-oriented peace tourism category will allow for the output of these travelling professionals to be examined in a more detailed manner as a distinct audience of peacebuilding professionals in international peacebuilding settings. The category of VPs is thus further explored through the case study section below, pertaining to the peacebuilding discourse in Cyprus.

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

The study applies an exploratory qualitative research approach towards the single-case-study model of Cyprus. This approach is employed to achieve the de-categorisation of peacebuilding professionals from their existing binary classification as either local or international, and their re-categorisation in consideration of each professional's level and duration of involvement. More specifically, the examination of

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Visiting Peacebuilders as a distinct stakeholder in peacebuilding is achieved through a combination of narrative history and direct interviews taken from peacebuilders involved with the Cyprus reconciliation efforts. Interviewees include locally-stationed peacebuilders, representatives of international organisations on the ground, as well as experts with short-term involvement and visiting consultants. Narrative history is employed to contextualise the analysis of the identified case study and provide the background information for the emergence and evolution of the Cyprus peacebuilding community. The research approach adopted achieves both the detailed encapsulation of the Cyprus peacebuilding discourse, as well as the empowerment of the population under study, whose input is featured in the form of direct interview quotes (Foley, 2002).

Structured, open-ended interviews were conducted with 21 members of the Cyprus peacebuilding community, including three international organisation representatives (IOR), eleven peacebuilders working as local civil society experts (local stakeholders, or LS), and seven Visiting Peacebuilders (VP). The structured interviews lasted for approximately one hour each and were carried out on separate occasions on a one-on-one basis; all feedback from interviewees was anonymised, ensuring privacy and confidentiality of the information shared. The interviews were conducted between November 2014 and May 2016, aligning with the completion of the United Nations Development Programme: Action for Cooperation and Trust (UNDP-ACT) project in 2015, which entailed the majority of the peacebuilding activity in Cyprus during that period. Complementary remarks – that were collected through non-structured, informal discussions with additional members of the peacebuilding community – are also included, to inform of the status of the Nicosia-based peacebuilding community after 2016.

Data collected from the structured interviews and statements from informal conversations were analysed using thematic content analysis, to identify prevailing themes and relevant patterns to be examined. With regards to the discussion of findings, the chapter explores the audience of Visiting Peacebuilders in relation to other peacebuilding professionals, and employs the Contact Hypothesis to examine their interaction based on the Hypothesis' four optimal conditions of intergroup contact. This research design is adopted to address the study's aims as stated earlier: to assess whether Visiting Peacebuilders have positive encounters with the peacebuilding community on the ground and whether these encounters can be further optimised to achieve the implementation of more effective peacebuilding initiatives.

PEACEBUILDER AUDIENCES AND INTERACTIONS: FINDINGS FROM CYPRUS

Over the course of the twentieth century, Cyprus became the home of steep ethnic conflict between its two major ethnic communities, Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Civil unrest following the island's independence in 1960 resulted in a foreign military intervention by Turkey in 1974 and to the geographical partition of the two communities. UN-mediated negotiations between the communities' political leadership have yet to result in a comprehensive settlement of what has come to be known as the Cyprus Problem, with the conflict in Cyprus to be widely referred to as protracted, intractable and frozen (Azar, 1990; Fisher, 1997; Broome, 1998; Sozen, 2006; Makriyianni and Psaltis, 2007). Despite the lack of a comprehensive settlement, Cyprus counts decades of international peacebuilding efforts, involving a vast array of both local and global peacebuilding agents.

Following the geographical partition of the Cypriot population in 1974, contact between the two communities was only enabled by authority permission and, thus, remained at negligible levels. Commencing in 1979 and receiving support from international agencies UNDP¹ and USAID², the Nicosia

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Master Plan was the first of many intercommunal initiatives to follow, featuring a joint project involving the two municipalities of the partitioned capital city of Nicosia (UNDP, 2015).

The Cyprus peacebuilding discourse demonstrates an evolving peace-oriented, local civil society that involves a considerable contribution of Visiting Peacebuilders. UNDP's archives (Mahallae, 2015) illustrate a 34-year timeline of intercommunal engagement in peacebuilding initiatives that aimed, among others, to support capacity development for a local peacebuilding civil society. Visiting Peacebuilders to the early UNDP projects included architects, urban planners, sociologists, and economists, who were invited as international experts to provide their input – initially, through the Nicosia Master Plan, this input was on a common plan for the divided city of Nicosia, and thereafter to establish additional intercommunal structures.

Other VP audiences included academics and conflict resolution researchers, who engaged with the Cyprus peacebuilding discourse by implementing conflict resolution and problem-solving workshops for members of the two communities during the 1980s and up until the late 1990s³. As Rothman (1999: 177) stated, Cyprus offered 'an incubator for conflict resolution scholars as they apply their skills to a relatively non-volatile but none the less deeply intransigent conflict'. Cyprus was an intriguing case study for conflict professionals and appealed to a wide range of VPs for examining the conflict and parties involved. Rothman himself is an example of a conflict resolution expert visiting Cyprus on a short-term, professional basis, in order to participate in the 1994 Cyprus Conflict Resolution Consortium as an action-researcher.

Between 1998 and 2003, 200 additional peacebuilding initiatives were supported by the Bicomunal Development Program (BDP), including primarily cultural heritage, environmental and public health projects, again involving international experts, who shared techniques and best practices (UNDP, 2015). The BDP was replaced, upon its completion, with the UNDP-ACT project, which commenced in 2005 and aimed at restoring intercommunal efforts for peace after the backlash of the 2004 Annan Plan⁴ rejection (Jarraud *et al.*, 2013). Local civil society grew in expertise and, with the financial support of international funding schemes, was able to achieve public outreach and initiate joint advocacy efforts aimed at influencing the stagnated political negotiation process (Jarraud *et al.*, 2013). Despite being criticised for only impacting Nicosia's elites (Autesserre, 2014; Ladini, 2009), one of the breakthroughs achieved through international peacebuilding funding was the establishment of an intercommunal, peace-oriented civil society, which enabled multiple non-governmental organisations to implement peacebuilding activities across the divide (Jarraud *et al.*, 2013).

Intercommunal cooperation and social development evolved exponentially in Nicosia after the opening of crossing checkpoints and the ability of locals to access both sides of the UN-administered Buffer Zone. Intercommunal advocacy for peace continued to grow and culminate in a diversity of forms, from joint political movements to intercommunal think-tanks and forums. A project that is undoubtedly considered a milestone for intercommunal contact and local peacebuilding efforts is the restoration of a building within a publicly accessible part of Nicosia's Buffer Zone and its transformation into a multi-functional intercommunal venue called the Home for Cooperation (H4C, 2014).

Build Peace (2015) and the Power of One (2012) are examples of peacebuilding conferences that attracted tens of Visiting Peacebuilders to the island through their professional capacity. Additionally, for the period January 2012 – December 2014, events at the Home for Cooperation featured 23 VPs (AHDR, 2015) – mainly for conference lectures, book presentations, exhibitions and talks – while freelance journalists, photographers, authors and film-makers who have visited the Home during this period are additional to this number. The figures suggest that the Home for Cooperation, an innova-

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tion that institutionalised intercommunal cooperation and physical contact, has evolved into a hub for the island's peacebuilding initiatives, attracting peace-oriented visitors from the two communities, but also foreign Visiting Peacebuilders. While the UNDP-ACT programme ended in 2015, a number of the peacebuilding civil society organisations active in Cyprus have continued their activities through other funding opportunities, arguably of smaller scale. In 2019, the Home continues to attract funding and international visitors, while hosting a variety of events and festivals, featuring art, creative expression, dance and athletic activities, as well as academic and scholarly initiatives. As an administrator of the Home states, international visitors continue to visit, often in more frequency than local audiences (LS40, 2019).

Members of the Cyprus peacebuilding community acknowledge the participation and contribution of Visiting Peacebuilders in the Cyprus peacebuilding discourse – from the early years of its establishment until the more recent UNDP-ACT initiatives – as significant. USAID representatives IOR2 and IOR3 expressed the significance of the presence of international experts in the initial projects; they did not only benefit locals by providing technical expertise on the issues discussed, but were also able to assist the debate on more emotional or controversial issues that were found primarily in culture and heritage-related projects. In the following words:

Sometimes we would identify notable international scholars and try to link them up with locals. For example, youth camps were initially organised by finding the international experts first and then locating the children that would participate. Intercommunal initiatives were developed by identifying a local shared need of wide interest and matching it with international expertise: so the international expert would come in contact with the locals and share their expertise on an intercommunal level, to build bridges (IOR2, 2015).

Cultural heritage is an area that without international participation, no intercommunal contact and success would have been possible. The international focus became the turning point for overcoming difficulties on a topic like cultural heritage that was an emotional attachment for the public (IOR3, 2015).

While international agency representatives perceived the involvement of short-term foreign experts as successful, this position was not always echoed by local peacebuilders:

Some foreign experts came in because they had similar experiences and they shared their best practices. Their role was mainly consultative. Were they helpful? To be honest, it felt that the agenda was already set. It was supposed to be a discussion, interactive, but that wasn't the case.

I don't feel that VPs gave us something that we couldn't have figured out on our own. VPs were not that informed over the bi-communal dynamic. We created strong [intercommunal] relations within the team, we had a strong bond, and then these external professionals came in to write a short report and we would have to take that report and incorporate their feedback into our work. But that wasn't always feasible or practical (LS11, 2016).

The international peacebuilding structures enabled Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots to establish genuinely positive relationships and effective synergies, yet this was not the case for early visiting consultants. LS11 admitted that the structures in place did not enable the VP audience to build effective partnerships with the locals, despite their often promising and catalytic contributions:

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I think [VPs] have surely had an impact in Cyprus' post-conflict transition. I found out about them while doing research for a peacebuilding history infographic. I think the early mediators and conflict resolution trainers who came and trained the first wave of civil society professionals on the island were definitely influential, not just one or two professionals but many more (LS1, 2015).

LS1 made reference to early researchers for their influential role as conflict and peacebuilding experts in Cyprus' – then embryonic – peacebuilding movement. IOR3 clarified that peacebuilding programmes were designed to provide knowledge to locals, distinguishing between the professional capacities of locals and foreigners. More specifically, locals were defined as *beneficiaries* and international experts as the neutral agents assisting technical barriers to intercommunal collaboration.

The premature status of the local peacebuilding movement notwithstanding, there was an evident imbalance between foreign professionals that were introduced as experts and local professionals that were labelled as beneficiaries. Looking at the work of Fisher, Burton and Doob in Cyprus (Fisher, 1997), the foreign experts treated local audiences as research participants rather than equal partners, effectively establishing a colonial and outdated – as Yanow (2009), Jabri (2013), and Gobo and Marciniak (2016) would argue – relationship of researchers versus natives.

The year 2003 marked a new era for intercommunal relations in Cyprus, as both Greek and Turkish Cypriots were able to cross to the other community and access the island in its entirety. LS6 argues that the checkpoint opening was of historic significance, as it enabled intercommunal contact, the visualisation of a potential solution, and possibly economic balance between the partitioned communities. LS9 reiterated that the opening of the checkpoints was a highpoint for the island's peacebuilding efforts:

We had meetings within the Ledra Palace and everything was very structured, but now you just wave at the guards and pass. The Home for Cooperation provides a relaxed atmosphere and the difference is huge in terms of accessibility for intercommunal contact, in terms of perceptions and in terms of the environment and setting (LS9, 2016).

In the months following April 2004 and the rejection of the Annan Plan the decrease in intercommunal activity was notable. LS21 (2016), civil society practitioner in youth projects, indicatively mentioned a halt in youth activities after 2004 because 'there was no point', no end goal of reunification the youth would hope for. This was reaffirmed by LS3:

The momentum our organisation and our work had created reached a peak in 2004 but the political elite and 2004 referendum results managed to reverse it. The social and political levels affect one another. If the political elite make a change then they can drive the social level and vice versa (LS3, 2015).

LS30 highlighted the importance of VPs in a challenging period like the post-2004 years:

It was actually a visiting expert that brought us together [Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots] right after 2004 to discuss about the economy in the north and next steps, at a time when nothing was really happening, intercommunal-wise (LS30, 2016).

Commencing in 2005, the funding schemes provided by UNDP-ACT, USAID, and the European Union were received positively by local civil society practitioners, as they enabled their work to resume

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and evolve. UNDP-ACT representative IOR1 acknowledged the sustainability challenges faced by the projects implemented:

There has been positive feedback from local stakeholders who received grants, but traditional grant-giving projects cannot ensure their sustainability. It's a risk we take and therefore we try to select the best to implement these grants. The important thing is to create solid, sustainable partnerships, and perhaps it is the most important element of our work, even more than the production of knowledge products which also stay on and are available to people at any time (IOR1, 2015).

Following the opening of the checkpoints, intercommunal synergies and organisations sought the opportunity to establish shared working spaces, a vision that gave way to the establishment of the Home for Cooperation in 2011.

Then there was the need for a space. [Our organisation] had already been intercommunal and the first conferences we organised took place at Ledra Palace and the Fulbright Commission. We were looking for a more permanent space somewhere in the area. PRIO and the UN supported us by providing a room in the Ledra Palace hotel.

An abandoned building [on the same street] was soon identified, and we sought financial support to restore it. A number of international organisations supported the restoration of the building and the operation of the Home [thereafter].

International experts visiting the Home include political elites, such as UN Special Advisers and Heads of Mission, as well as various Ambassadors stationed in Cyprus and interested in our perspective. With regards to Visiting Peacebuilders, we have often welcomed researchers on education and conflict, journalists, authors, academics and others. I would say that today, approximately half of our visitors are invited by our local organisation and the other half visit at their own initiative (LS3, 2015).

LS5 acknowledged the importance of the physical illustrations achieved, speaking in reference to the delivery of intercommunal theatre workshops and their transformative capacities. These workshops are particularly impactful, but perhaps so is the 'mere presence of people in the Buffer Zone' and the manifestation of diverse audiences interacting, both locals and foreigners. Regarding Visiting Peacebuilders:

Academic field work [by VPs] has come to fit into the local culture, for example field work illustrated at the Home has had a great impact; it made its way back. The fact that work by VPs can potentially return back [in practice] is really important and impactful (LS5, 2015).

Peacebuilding efforts in Cyprus were actively shared on online platforms and social media, which often enabled VPs to choose Cyprus as a destination in their peace-related work. Swedish film-maker, writer and peace activist, VP1, who was eager to visit Cyprus and discuss possible future collaborations that would include film-making workshops for diverse youth audiences, shared her experience with the Cyprus Buffer Zone peacebuilding scene:

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I am amazed that in the middle of a horrible place there are still people fighting to make it better. Their courage and desire for peace and a better future makes me believe in humankind and in a way reminds me of my mother's life work to fight [South African] apartheid with good deeds.

During the past 8 years I have been to Cyprus maybe 6-7 times. When I met with a Cypriot girl at a youth conference she invited me to come and see her organisation's work in the Buffer Zone. I went there to show a movie against hate-crime but it ended up being also a meeting to discuss how we can work together (VPI, 2014).

A number of local peacebuilders agree that organic interactions with Visiting Peacebuilders were promising and enthusiastic, but unfortunately local civil society didn't always have the capacity to accommodate transnational synergies beyond their funded project outputs. On the other hand, the UNDP-ACT projects continued to recruit international experts and consultants from a top-down approach, whom local professionals dishearteningly admitted did not effectively contribute to their work and professional development:

I don't see any vested interests [by recruited international experts] because they share best practices from analogous conflict and reconciliation models. However there was no significant capacity building offered. Capacity building is important but there is expertise available locally and that was not fully acknowledged. Personally, I developed my expertise by visiting foreign conferences, not as much by the visits of VPs here (LS6, 2015).

UNDP did some very random projects with [invited] VPs. Out of the blue UNDP decided that gender was the flavour of the month and they wanted to bring together women to discuss gender. But they brought a woman that was completely ignorant of the Cyprus context. And if the trainer was more appropriate in terms of context, things would have been more successful. She was a gender expert but she wasn't impactful. UNDP had a good position as an international agency to make a great impact, but they didn't do a good job. They could have contributed to a powerful women's movement across the divide. The mistake is that they copy-pasted methods and projects that worked elsewhere but they weren't adjusted appropriately (LS9, 2016).

In terms of the bi-communal structure, [invited] VPs had zero impact, because they couldn't address the bi-communal dynamics present, especially the practical challenges that came up, for example advocacy towards the leaders could not be implemented in the north – international standards were not applied in the north, only in the south (LS10, 2016).

Nicosia's Buffer Zone structures between 2011 and 2015 – which were primarily the institutional structures of international peacebuilding projects and the physical structure of the Home – accommodated VPs very differently, with international projects failing to effectively engage invited experts and local professionals, while the Home provided a space for organic relations to form. Local professionals talk positively of organic interactions that allowed them to interact with VPs on an expert-to-expert basis, with LS7 calling VPs the 'neutral voice' between locals and international agencies that shared new perspectives. The peacebuilder continues to acknowledge that VPs could have helped even more if international agencies were not 'in the way':

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Most VPs came through the [UNDP-ACT] projects for trainings and during the [interregional conference] the Power of One. It was liberating to talk to VPs, but no in-depth discussions and connections were made, because the project design did not allow more time for more in-depth work. International agencies seemed to be 'in the way' because they created a setting that applied to the project objectives but did not necessarily achieve the best knowledge exchange possible (LS7, 2016).

LS3 elaborates on VP contribution:

Foreign audiences show more interest in the Home than local audiences, due to ideological discrepancies and a lack of active locals, active within civil society. Some VPs promote awareness for the Home [for Cooperation] and this can even reach local audiences. There is a level of legitimacy when a story comes from foreign journalists, for example, by Brownbook and the Guardian. Promoting the Home and its activity is the greatest thing, the best impact achieved [by VPs]. They share our vision and bring other VPs closer. And they even reach those who can potentially provide financial support. Another impact that is important is to host VPs that worked in other conflict and post-conflict areas and [can] prove to local audiences that reconciliation is possible (LS3, 2015).

It can be understood that local stakeholders from the two communities differentiated between foreign experts who were short-term visitors (VPs) and long-term stationed representatives of international agencies. This was clearly highlighted by local professionals engaged with the UNDP-ACT programme:

If more foreign experts came in we would have had a bigger impact. The whole idea and philosophy behind our intercommunal civil society organisation was the outcome of a research made by an Irish practitioner. That research was adopted by UNDP and implemented as understood (LS9, 2016).

For our organisation, VPs did help us figure out our concept, our philosophy and strategy, although the timing and conditions were such that we didn't take full advantage of them (LS10, 2016).

Collaborating with foreign professionals gives legitimacy to a great extent and has been catalytic for the two civil society organisations I have been involved with on intercommunal projects (LS5, 2015).

[Visiting] conflict professionals have definitely had an impact in Cyprus' reconciliation process. They have raised awareness, provided feedback, and contributed to a change of narrative. They acknowledge the peace work done, and there have been opportunities for joint projects with a positive impact (LS2, 2015).

The positions recorded in the surveys indicatively suggest locals welcoming the input of VPs but at times finding that their influence had been restricted due to unfavourable conditions. These conditions are further examined in relation to Allport's (1954) optimal conditions for intergroup contact as outlined in the Contact Hypothesis, which is employed in the analysis and discussion below.

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DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Peacebuilder Audiences and Interaction

Despite the limitations, local peacebuilding professionals in Cyprus indicatively admit that VPs have overall had a positive contribution to the local peacebuilding scene, especially in their ability to share best practices and reconciliation models, and add legitimacy to local initiatives. Nevertheless, it is important to examine the conditions under which this peacebuilder audience was involved in the Cyprus peacebuilding discourse, specifically in reference to their interaction with other peacebuilding professionals.

Allport's (1954) Contact Hypothesis states four conditions for optimal intergroup contact that can induce positive interactions and reduce prejudice. Allport's Hypothesis has often been employed in peacebuilding research to assess the relationships between rival communities, yet it has not been thoroughly applied to address the intergroup dynamics within the community of peacebuilding professionals. These four conditions for optimal intergroup contact are: (1) the equal status of participating parties, (2) their support by an institutional or social authority figure, (3) their intergroup cooperation, and (4) a common goal. This study employs these conditions to assess the interaction between International Organisation Representatives, Visiting Peacebuilders, and Local Peacebuilders within the Cyprus peacebuilding discourse, in an effort to identify the potential for their optimal collaboration.

Equal status: The early years of international peacebuilding in Cyprus had clear hierarchical structures with both international agency representatives and invited international experts assuming hegemonic roles over local partners. Their local counterparts were perceived as beneficiaries with little expertise and were only incorporated into peacebuilding projects as research participants, primarily to assist international professionals in assessing local dynamics and testing intergroup interaction. This discrepancy narrowed down throughout the years that followed, mainly as Visiting Peacebuilders assumed more neutral consultative roles. Equal status between local and visiting peacebuilders was effectively achieved through the organic interactions that were enabled between the two groups of professionals after the establishment of the Home, and through the increased international conference opportunities that emerged. Nevertheless, equality was up until the completion of the UNDP-ACT projects in 2015 never optimally achieved between international agency representatives and local peacebuilders, as the former continued to identify local counterparts as beneficiaries to grant-giving projects, despite endorsing their input more than the earlier years.

The discourse of international peacebuilding in Cyprus reflects the evolution of international peacebuilding from first generation basic peacekeeping to UNDP-ACT's third generation peacebuilding, which achieved partial local empowerment and capacity-building. Interestingly, the equal status of local-international counterparts and the emancipatory intent of fourth-generation peacebuilding were not achieved through the activities implemented under the grant-giving projects, but through the physical and institutional structures these projects helped to establish. Notably, the Home acted as a peacebuilding hub for Nicosia and the rest of the island, enabling ad-hoc organic interactions for a diversity of peace contributors, and dissolving hierarchical structures of peacebuilding agency.

Authority Support: the partitioned communities in Cyprus were highly securitised and suspicious in the years before 2003. Political leaders were therefore reluctant to support any peacebuilding efforts, which mainly remained marginalised. The opening of the checkpoints and the possibility of intercommunal interaction enabled a gradual turn to peace-oriented narratives, which were formally expressed

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by 2015, by then Greek Cypriot President Nicos Anastasiades and Turkish Cypriot community leader Mustafa Akinci.

Despite the change in political leadership attitudes, the peacebuilding community's credibility mainly came from the support they received by international organisations and experts, which local peacebuilders saw as neutral and credible voices in support of peace. As a result, the international agencies involved in the Cyprus peacebuilding scene, primarily UNDP and USAID, acted as the institutional authority under which local peacebuilding efforts were financially and politically sheltered, making it even harder for the agencies to achieve an equal status with their local collaborators.

Intergroup Cooperation: The testimonies of local peacebuilders reveal to a large extent that there was evident willingness from local stakeholders to create synergies with international visiting experts. Such synergies were in frequent occasions jeopardised by the rigid structure of grant-giving projects, however, they were often achieved in an organic and meaningful manner after the establishment of the Home. Intergroup collaboration was continuous for international agency representatives working with both the audience of local stakeholders, as well as visiting international experts.

As seen from the findings, intergroup cooperation was often achieved by engaging in activities of mutual interest, such as the theatre workshops LS5 mentioned. These activities covered a wide spectrum of themes, including other artistic and athletic initiatives, but also youth empowerment workshops, academic and practitioner conferences, film and documentary screenings. Local peacebuilders, as well as locally-stationed international agencies, acted primarily as hosts to Visiting Peacebuilders, whether the latter were seeking to feature their work publicly or simply to engage with the local peacebuilding momentum.

Common Goal: Similarly to the factor of intergroup cooperation, the common goal for the reunification of Cyprus, the reconciliation of its partitioned communities, and the establishment of viable peace was evidently and thoroughly shared by all three groups of peacebuilding professionals involved in the Cyprus-based initiatives. Nevertheless, as shown from peacebuilder testimonies, the approaches adopted by each group to achieve this goal varied significantly, leading to a lack of efficiency and a deficit of sustainability in the partnerships and practices implemented.

While the overarching common goal that brought the peacebuilding community together was undoubted, it was often overshadowed by diverging interim goals that each peacebuilder audience had, such as timely project completion, addressing budget limitations, and dealing with pending tasks for the grant-giving projects. The urgency of these interim goals influenced the decision-making for peacebuilders, particularly for local stakeholders, and often prevented the longevity and sustainability of partnerships with Visiting Peacebuilders. As a result, the common goal, although evident, was often lost between International Organisation Representatives and Local Stakeholders. At the same time, the hybridity and short-term involvement of Visiting Peacebuilders restricted many encounters with Local Stakeholders from going beyond superficial interactions, in the absence of effective structures that could assist the exchange between local expertise and international best practices – and potentially contribute to the continuance of these encounters.

Peacebuilder Interaction and the Peacebuilder Paradigm

The application of the Contact Hypothesis to assess the intergroup dynamics between the audiences of professionals involved in the Cyprus peacebuilding discourse reveal a set of interesting observations regarding peacebuilding effectiveness for the ethnically-partitioned island. First, the establishment

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of hierarchical relations across peacebuilder groups and the lack of emancipatory, fourth-generation peacebuilding structures hindered the optimal and organic interaction between the peacebuilder audiences involved. This led to superficial encounters between visiting and local peacebuilders that lacked sustainability, failing to achieve noteworthy peacebuilding impact. Moreover, the status of international agencies as the institutional authorities overseeing the projects implemented did not allow for their representatives to collaborate with local peacebuilders as equal partners. This observation suggests that the hybrid audience of Visiting Peacebuilders is more likely to achieve equal and organic partnerships with local peacebuilders than representatives of donor agencies.

The Contact Hypothesis suggests that peacebuilder dynamics across the examined audiences would optimise if the four conditions above are applied to a larger extent than they have been applied until now. For the case of the Cyprus peacebuilding scene, this can be achieved by establishing equal local-international partnerships, while maintaining some form of institutional authority support. Differentiating between international experts that are locally-stationed as international agency representatives and short-term visiting international experts allows for the reconceptualisation of peacebuilder encounters in a more optimal way.

As suggested by the findings, international agency representatives can maintain an authority position and refrain from direct implementation in peacebuilding projects, while supporting Visiting and Local Peacebuilders to create organic partnerships. These partnerships will foster equal and reciprocal encounters, and intergroup cooperation towards the common goal of sustainable, positive peace, satisfying Allport's optimal conditions for intergroup contact. This triangular structure for intergroup peacebuilder interaction, or what can be referred to as the *Peacebuilder Paradigm*, allows both local and international experts to contribute towards international peacebuilding initiatives in a balanced manner, while enabling international agencies to maintain their institutional authority as facilitative agents. The *Peacebuilder Paradigm* and the structures for optimal peacebuilder contact it entails are further demonstrated in the model below:

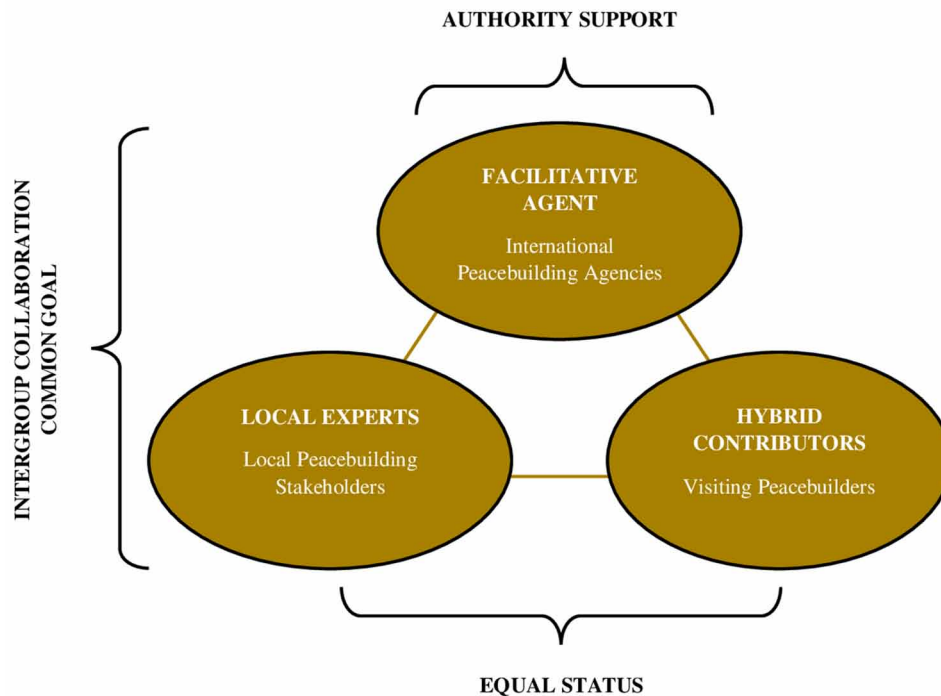
FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Conflict Resolution research has put forth two main observations regarding the nature and effective implementation of international peacebuilding initiatives. The first is the hybridity of peacebuilding professionals (Mac Ginty, 2015; Richmond, 2009), and the second is the overlooked agency of local peacebuilding stakeholders (Jabri, 2013; Sending, 2009). The *Peacebuilder Paradigm* incorporates both observations by introducing Visiting Peacebuilders as a hybrid audience of contributors to peacebuilding projects, and at the same time providing a structure of peacebuilder interaction that acknowledges the centrality of local professionals.

The hybridity of the Visiting Peacebuilder audience entails a wide diversity of members, each offering a unique perspective and contribution to a project's objectives. Looking at Visiting Peacebuilders from a Tourism perspective, one can refer to this audience as a subcategory of peace tourists that are characterised by their direct and professional involvement in international peacebuilding projects. International peacebuilding settings can therefore be conceived as prospective destinations for a niche audience of professional peace tourists.

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Figure 1. The Peacebuilder Paradigm



In addition to revisiting the categorisation of peacebuilding professionals, the *Peacebuilder Paradigm* adjusts the central role international peacebuilding agencies held within first, second, and third-generation peacebuilding structures to a less partial, facilitative role. This allows international organisations to support the interactions across Visiting and Local Peacebuilders and to act as the mediator in the possibility of a dispute. Mediation has been widely used in peacebuilding to act as a bottom-up approach to reconciling rival communities. Zehr (2008) discusses Victim-Offender Mediation (VOM) as a popular form of restorative justice in processes of reconciliation, while Sending (2009: 22) argues that mediation has the ability to overcome the ‘arrogance of peacebuilding’ by empowering locals and other direct stakeholders to take ownership of the reconciliation process. From an analogous approach, De Coning (2018) agrees that peacebuilders should only assume a facilitative role in order to assist the process of reconciliation by simply enabling self-organisation. These approaches are in line with fourth-generation peacebuilding (Richmond *et al.*, 2011), or what Abu-Nimer (2001) defines as *elicitive peacebuilding*, which emphasises local agency in peacebuilding processes and the vitality of local ownership in reconciliation initiatives. Nevertheless, it is important to apply emancipatory peacebuilding practices not only to the communities involved in conflict, but most importantly to the peacebuilders themselves.

The *Peacebuilder Paradigm* comes to suggest a novel structure for intergroup interaction across peacebuilder audiences, which enables their emancipation and balanced professional contribution by applying the optimal conditions for intergroup contact put forth by the Contact Hypothesis. This structure suggests the direct interaction between local peacebuilders and visiting experts, with locally-stationed international agencies assuming a facilitative role across the two groups of peacebuilding experts. The *Peacebuilder Paradigm* puts local peacebuilding professionals at the forefront of peacebuilding initiatives,

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while incorporating the international expertise of visiting contributors, and acknowledging the authority of international funding agencies. The latter can act to ensure reciprocal and emancipated interactions across local and international experts without taking control of the process, and acting as a mediator when local and international perspectives clash.

Mediation can, in the context of the *Peacebuilder Paradigm*, act as a facilitative tool for improving and encouraging positive relations across peacebuilding professionals, while encouraging the active participation of travelling peacebuilding professionals to engage in locally-stationed, internationally supported peacebuilding initiatives. Identifying visiting peacebuilders as a distinct stakeholder in international peacebuilding allows for the reconceptualisation of peacebuilding structures in a way that more effectively embraces fourth-generation peacebuilding and enables optimal intergroup contact.

Findings from Cyprus are not exclusive to the ethnically partitioned Mediterranean island. Cyprus and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict share the common characteristics of identity-based intractable conflict, for which conflict transformation efforts on the ground have been ineffective. It is additionally a conflict setting that attracts a diverse range of peace tourists and VPs on a continuous basis. As the peacebuilding course in Cyprus shows, socio-political developments such as the Annan Peace Plan failure can have a drastic effect on processes of conflict transformation and severely delay their progress. Nevertheless, applying the appropriate tools and establishing more solid structures for peacebuilding can gradually and more effectively lead to viable, positive peace.

The *Peacebuilder Paradigm* can be an appropriate tool for a diversity of conflict settings, as it does not dictate the approach through which peacebuilding activities will be implemented, but instead provides the guidelines for bringing the appropriate stakeholders together and enabling them to set their own dynamics. It is imperative, however, to assess the practical applicability of this structure and devote future research to reaffirming or disproving its validity and viability. Future research projects can focus on structuring designated international peacebuilding settings on the basis of the *Peacebuilder Paradigm* (see Figure 1), and as such assess its applicability and ability to establish optimal peacebuilder collaborations.

CONCLUSION

International and local peacebuilders are catalytic to the success of international peacebuilding projects. Yet acknowledging their contributions as the outcome of a dyadic collaboration is restrictive and inaccurate. By examining International Peacebuilding from a Tourism perspective, this study revisited the categorisation of peacebuilding professionals and identified an underexplored audience of hybrid, short-term contributors to peacebuilding projects – the Visiting Peacebuilders. Acknowledging this category of overlooked contributors can more accurately inform international peacebuilding projects on the diversity of stakeholders involved in their implementation, and on the significance of their contributions. In addition, identifying Visiting Peacebuilders as a distinct audience in international peacebuilding endorses the practical application of fourth-generation peacebuilding through the *Peacebuilder Paradigm*, a structure of peacebuilder interaction that revisits power imbalances in peacebuilding settings and embraces the emancipation of local stakeholders.

Findings from Cyprus present three key audiences of peacebuilding professionals: International Organisation Representatives, Local Stakeholders and Visiting Peacebuilders. The Cyprus peacebuilding discourse indicates that interactions between the three audiences evolved from a period of ‘expert-native’ relationships to a peace-oriented civil society that granted agency to both local and international peace-

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builders. Early activities used locals as participants to the research studies of foreign experts, whereas more recent initiatives such as interregional conferences featured the work and input of both local and international experts. Local stakeholders reported power imbalances in their relations with international agencies despite this shift, indicating that their presence and work could have been more emancipatory to local audiences.

Relations between the three identified peacebuilder audiences can be further optimised based on the insights provided by the case study of Cyprus. Effective communication, reciprocal interaction, and positive encounters among peacebuilders can be achieved if Visiting Peacebuilders more actively assume the role of the international counterpart in international peacebuilding projects. This suggests establishing appropriate structures that put Visiting Peacebuilders at the forefront of international peacebuilding initiatives, such as interregional conferences and workshops. At the same time, locally-stationed representatives of international peacebuilding agencies should assume a less involved, mediating role that allows them to establish their institutional authority in the projects without creating power imbalances and unequal interactions among peacebuilder professionals. This would include less rigid structures to the projects, allowing local feedback to be considered throughout the design, implementation and evaluation of the projects. This structure of intergroup interaction between peacebuilding professionals, introduced here as the *Peacebuilder Paradigm*, allows for a more balanced and reciprocal interaction between local and global peacebuilding agents, providing international peacebuilding settings with optimal conditions for intergroup contact and as a result, increasing their effectiveness.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Contact Hypothesis: The proposition developed by Gordon Allport in 1954 arguing that positive intergroup contact can reduce prejudice across members of different identity-based groups, and this can occur under four optimal conditions: equal status, support by a social/institutional authority, intergroup cooperation, and a common goal.

Intergroup Contact: Contact between people that affiliate with different social, ethnic or religious identities and classify themselves as members of different identity-based groups.

Mediation: In its non-legal application, mediation refers to a facilitated process—with the mediator being the facilitative agent—that can enhance the interaction and cooperation between two parties, in the attempt to prevent or resolve intergroup conflict.

Peace Tourism: Travel that is specifically motivated by and associated with conflict resolution practices and war prevention.

Peacebuilder Hybridity: The notion that geographical, institutional and other affiliations of professionals involved in international peacebuilding efforts is not static, but rather multifaceted and complex to pinpoint into the binary categorisation of local versus international peacebuilders.

Peacebuilder Paradigm: A structure of optimal interaction between the three main audiences of peacebuilding professionals—International Organisation Representatives, Local Stakeholders, and Visiting

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Peacebuilders—under which International Organisation Representatives act as the institutional authority in international peacebuilding, and assume a facilitative role for enhancing the equal and reciprocal collaboration between Local Stakeholders and Visiting Peacebuilders.

Peacebuilding: The set of mechanisms, tools and processes implemented by conflict resolution experts, activists and volunteers in a society transitioning from conflict in order to prevent future conflict from escalating and to promote positive and trusted relations across former rivals.

Visiting Peacebuilders: Professionals, who are involved in the design, delivery or evaluation of international peacebuilding projects on an external, visiting, or ad-hoc basis; their involvement enables them to provide their expertise and consultancy to the project without joining it throughout its duration and without representing the agency funding the project. They can be identified as a niche audience of professional peace tourists.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ United Nations Development Programme.
- ² United States Agency for International Development.
- ³ In 1984, Harvard University professor Herbert Kelman organized the Interactive Problem-solving Workshop and in 1985, Yale University's Leonard Doob organized the Operation Locksmith Workshop. From 1988 to 1993, Ron Fisher (Canadian Institute for Peace and Security) organized four workshops on problem solving and conflict resolution. Analogous workshops were also carried out in 1992 and 1994 with Louise Diamond (Institute of Multi-Track Diplomacy) and Diana Chigas (Conflict Management Group), with the support of USAID and the Cyprus Fulbright Commission. Over the following three years, 32 foreign and 57 local trainers were involved in 47 workshops and 19 dialogue groups. During the same period, Fulbright scholar Benjamin Broome introduced the Interactive Management peace-building technique, while his initiative resulted in 15 new local projects involving both communities. Additional mediation trainings including role-play and dialogue were offered by Marco Turk and John Ungerlider, also Fulbright scholars (Mahallae, 2015; Ladini, 2009).
- ⁴ The Annan Plan was a comprehensive peace settlement for the reunification of Cyprus, drafted by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan and put forth to be accepted by both of the island's communities in separately-held referenda. In 2004, the Turkish Cypriot community accepted the plan by 65%, while the Greek Cypriot community yielded a staggering 76% against the Plan (Jarraud *et al.*, 2013).