

<b>Institution: University of Exeter</b>		
<b>Unit of Assessment: UoA 19 Politics and International Studies</b>		
<b>Title of case study:</b> The UN and the Middle East Peace Process: shaping international interventions to advance the peace negotiations		
<b>Period when the underpinning research was undertaken: 2000-2016</b>		
<b>Details of staff conducting the underpinning research from the submitting unit:</b>		
<b>Name(s):</b> Professor Mick Dumper	<b>Role(s) (e.g. job title):</b> Professor in Middle East Studies	<b>Period(s) employed by submitting HEI:</b> 1993- present
<b>Period when the claimed impact occurred: 1<sup>st</sup> August 2013-2020</b>		
<b>Is this case study continued from a case study submitted in 2014? N</b>		
<b>1. Summary of the impact</b>		
<p>Prof Mick Dumper's research has directly impacted on the two most difficult issues preventing a Palestinian-Israeli peace agreement: the future governance of the city of Jerusalem and the future status of Palestinian refugees. Dumper's body of research spans the legal, historical, institutional, religious and political forces in East Jerusalem, as well as the specific experience of Palestinian refugees and the agencies assigned to protect them. Dumper acted as an <b>adviser and consultant to two pivotal UN agencies</b> in the Middle East – the UN Special Coordinator for the Middle East peace process (UNSCO) and the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA). Through these roles, <b>Dumper's research shaped UNRWA and UNSCO's strategic planning and promotion of a peaceful resolution to the conflict.</b> Specific impacts leading from his research include <b>formulating clear objectives for inter-UN agency cooperation in Jerusalem since 2017 and shaping strategy for UNRWA in a rapidly changing political environment.</b></p>		
<b>2. Underpinning research</b>		
<b><i>The Governance structures of East Jerusalem</i></b>		
<p>Dumper's three books, numerous journal articles, commissioned reports and chapter contributions to edited volumes attest to his engagement with political developments in Jerusalem. A significant proportion of his research has been funded by three ESRC grants, the last one being a five-year, multi-institutional and interdisciplinary Large Research Grant, <i>Conflict in Cities and the Contested State (2007-2013)</i>. His other research projects have been supported by: the Department for International Development (DFID); the Foreign &amp; Commonwealth Office (FCO); the Canadian, Swedish, and Spanish governments; the Palestinian Authority; the United Nations (UN); and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). As a result, Dumper has participated in several Track 2 (off-the-record) negotiations on both Jerusalem and the Palestinian refugees between Israelis and Palestinians sponsored by a number of states, think-tanks and NGOs over a 25-year period.</p> <p>His research focuses on three areas:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Un-packing areas of disagreement between Israelis and Palestinians in order to identify possible compromises and underlying shared objectives (<b>3.3, 3.4</b>) which the international community and the UN can support.</li> <li>Delineating the way in which the political and religious history of the city has resulted in what he terms a "many-bordered" city. Dumper has demonstrated how this provides negotiators with a wider range of options for arriving at an agreement, as well as identifying issues where international intervention can mitigate the impact of the conflict (<b>3.2</b>)</li> </ol>		

- c) Analysing the embedded legal, institutional, religious and political forces in the city that effectively constrain the ability of the Israeli state, despite overwhelming military superiority, to impose its sovereignty over the city unilaterally. (3.2, 3.4)

### ***Palestinian refugees***

Dumper has published two books on Palestinian refugees as well as journal articles, internal reports and chapter contributions. His work has been supported by the Leverhulme Trust, the British Academy, the former Department for International Development (DFID), the International Development and Research Centre (Ottawa), the EU Special Envoy on the Middle East Peace Process (Refugee Task Force), the UN and the Swiss government.

His research focuses on four areas:

- a) Comparative studies between the Palestinian refugees and other refugee situations. These have identified policy options based on commonalities underpinned by international law, balanced against the unique features of the Palestinian case that require specific remedies (3.6);
- b) The mechanics and substance of reparations, drilling down not only to putative financial disbursements but also the suitability of different compensation processes to the ME Peace Process (3.5);
- c) The broader role of the international community in providing refugee protection but with a particular focus on UNRWA and the unique challenges it faces (3.1);
- d) Identifying feasible options for managing the Palestinian refugee issue in the context of increasing budgetary constraints, other major population displacements, and alterations in the regional balance of power that render the *status quo* untenable (3.1, 3.5, 3.6).

### **3. References to the research**

- 3.1.** Dumper, M. 2016: Challenges Facing UNRWA in an Uncertain Future. (Report for Department for International Development. *Available on request*)
- 3.2.** Dumper, M 2014: Jerusalem Unbound: Geography, History and the Future of the Holy City. (Columbia University Press) DOI: 10.1080/14725886.2016.1158390
- 3.3.** Dumper, M 2013: 'Policing divided cities: stabilization and law enforcement in Palestinian East Jerusalem', *International Affairs*; 89: 5 (September 2013) pp.1247–1264  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12070>
- 3.4.** Dumper, M 2012: 'The Politics of Heritage and the Limitations of International Agency in Divided Cities: The role of UNESCO in Jerusalem's Old City', *Review of International Studies*, Vol.38, No1, (Jan 2012): 25-52. With Craig Larkin. DOI: 0.1017/S026021051100026X
- 3.5.** Dumper, M 2007: *The Future of Palestinian Refugees: Toward Justice and Equity* (Lynne Rienner) *Available on request*
- 3.6.** Dumper, M 2006: *Palestinian Refugee Repatriation: Global Perspectives* (Routledge) Editor. *Available on request*. DOI: 10.1017/S002074380809017X

### **4. Details of the impact**

Dumper's overall impact has been to translate research data into concrete policies to support UN and other international interventions and governance practices that advance the

Middle East Peace Process (MEPP). His engagement with a range of stakeholders and key actors has resulted in him helping to shape the terms of debate and the negotiations agenda.

#### 4.1 Strategic planning and governance in East Jerusalem (EJ)

In 2016-2017, Dumper was contracted as a consultant to operationalise the UN engagement strategy in East Jerusalem (EJ). His initial task was to revise a strategy document drawn up in consultation with 18 UN agencies operating in the city, in order to frame clear common objectives. Drawing upon his research that unpacks the areas of disagreement between Israelis and Palestinians (3.3, 3.4), Dumper wrote the East Jerusalem Action Plan (EJAP) (5.2a; 5.2c). To quote a UNSCO Deputy Special Coordinator, now UN Assistant Secretary-General for Development Coordination, the EJAP '*provided strategic guidance on how the UN could effectively engage regarding Palestinian communities residing behind the separation barrier in East Jerusalem*' (5.1a). In addition to creating a space where productive dialogue might take place, Dumper's research (3.2, 3.3) – via the EJAP and other activities – has had five particular impacts:

- a) Formulation of a primary overriding aim for UN engagement in EJ: to maintain the viability of EJ as the future capital of a Palestinian state, as laid out in UN Resolutions (5.2c). Prior to this, multiple targets and objectives had caused confusion and a dissipation of resources by the UN agencies.
- b) Operationalisation and analysis of the existing UN strategy and activities in EJ. This enabled the UN to optimise its operations in EJ to support the peace process by targeting specific districts of the city (e.g. Qufur al-Aqab) for concerted attention (5.1a).
- c) Creation of a coherent policy on UN engagement with the multiple Israeli government agencies operating in EJ. A Legal Guidance Paper was drawn up, including a digest of Israeli government agencies with which the UN could engage according to their appropriateness in terms of international law. (See a) above and 5.2c). This paper continues to guide UN-Israeli coordination in EJ.
- d) Strategic planning for UN agencies to advance coordination on the implementation of UN Resolutions. Two workshops (February and May 2017) were convened and chaired by Dumper. This was the first time such high-level discussions had taken place to implement the goal specified in a) above and helped avoid "*disastrous consequences*" (5.2c; 5.1a). Attendees included Directors, Deputy-Directors and programme managers of all the UN agencies in the city, with contributions from planning experts recommended by Dumper. Both workshops led to: improved coordination of the UN agencies' existing programmes (for example, UNDP was identified as the lead for health programmes); the planning of future programmes in line with EJAP; a focus on politically sensitive districts and greater engagement with stakeholders (5.2a).
- e) Ensuring the inclusion of key stakeholders, particularly religious hierarchies, in plans for the future of the city. Dumper has advised the [text removed for publication] on options regarding the management and security of the religious sites of Jerusalem. He was asked to revise its basic negotiating manual and to compile relevant security and legal reports (5.1c; 5.1d, 5.2d). He also engaged with religious leaders and security experts on governance issues as a member of the Jerusalem Old City Initiative (JOCI) (until 2014), funded by the Canadian government and was responsible for the sections on the holy sites in its report. The JOCI report fed directly into the peace negotiations through the US-chaired Annapolis Conference in 2014. This incorporated JOCI's specific proposals for special arrangements for the holy sites, informed by Dumper's work (3.2, 3.3). A spin-off from this research was his commission by the Spanish government-funded Toledo Institute for International Peace to advise on the coordination of religious institutions, which led to reforms in

the decision-making processes of the key actor in this arena, the Council of Religious Institutions in the Holy Land. (5.1f, 5.2e).

#### 4.2 Shaping Strategy of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA)

UNRWA was established in 1950 to provide support for Palestine refugees. Currently it is responsible for 6 million Palestine refugees and is the largest employer in the UN family. Dumper's research has led to regular discussion with the senior management of UNRWA and relevant representatives of the donor community who have drawn upon him to critique and comment on their policies and programmes. Dumper's impact has been on the strategic planning of the role and responsibilities of UNRWA as well as on the broader donor community's interaction with the Agency. In 2016 Dumper was commissioned to undertake a study for DFID (3.1), which identified long-term challenges to UNRWA and the priorities for support. The study has impacted the delineation of options for the future funding of UNRWA both in the UN and in DFID (5.1b) at a time when demands on UNRWA are growing.

The DFID study (3.1) cited a series of workshops instigated by Dumper that have been attended by the highest echelons of the senior management of UNRWA, including five successive Commissioner-Generals of the agency. The workshops took place throughout the time of Dumper's research on Palestinian refugees (3.1, 3.5, 3.6). They provided a confidential forum for strategic planning for UNRWA management, allowing Middle East experts to interrogate critically UNRWA's plans for, and responses to, the various political, financial and programmatic challenges it faces, such as US policies towards the agency and the radicalisation of refugee youth. From 2010 to 2021 Dumper has been responsible for devising the agenda, identifying participants, chairing the sessions, and writing the final reports of each workshop.

For the Commissioner General, UNRWA, *'the workshops remain a stimulating sounding board, helping refresh how we define UNRWA in the context of relentless challenges as it directly assists a population of 5.4 million Palestine refugees. ... Mick's vision, rigour, and hands-on approach have been essential to the productive engagement of the group'* (5.1b). These discussions have fed directly into UNRWA's *Medium-term Strategy (MTS-2016-2021)* (5.1b). The MTS shapes all aspects of UNRWA's work and is submitted for approval to its governing body - the UN Advisory Commission - and to its donors. Issues addressed in the workshops—e.g. the mechanics of refugee engagement with the agency and the impact of the security situation on refugee protection—have been embedded into the “over-arching goal for UNRWA during the 6-year strategic period” (5.1b).

### 5. Sources to corroborate the impact

#### 5. Sources to corroborate the impact (indicative maximum of 10 references)

##### 5.1. Letters of Endorsement:

- a. UN Deputy Special Coordinator of the Middle East Peace Process, Robert Piper, 17.11.2017
- b. Commissioner-General of UNRWA, 06.04.2018
- c. [text removed for publication], 12.05.2016
- d. Director-General of the [text removed for publication], 17.04.2016.
- e. Director, Department of Internal Oversight Services, UNRWA, 11.12.2019.
- f. Director of the Middle East Programme, Toledo International Center for Peace, John Bell, 23.06.2018.

##### 5.2. Confidential Commissioned Reports

- a) UNDP: Individual Consultancy Services: Terms of Reference: *To Advise and Support the UN Resident Coordinator Office in the Operationalisation of the UN Engagement Strategy in East Jerusalem*, 23.01.2017. Confidential, however available on request.

- b) Dumper Comments (3 pages) on: *UN Engagement Strategy in East Jerusalem* (Version September 2016) (UNSCO).
- c) *UN Engagement Strategy in East Jerusalem – Action Plan*, drafted by Dumper  
Confidential: available on request
- d) 2013: *Security and Policing in East Jerusalem* [text removed for publication] and  
2012: *The Jerusalem Open City Security Zone: A Palestinian proposal*, [text removed  
for publication]. Policy document implemented from 2013 onwards [text removed for  
publication]. Confidential, however available on request.
- e) 2012: *Establishing a Council for Religious Institutions in the Holy Land* (Toledo  
Institute for International Peace). Policy document implemented from 2013 onwards  
(implementation resulting in reported impacts). Confidential, however available on  
request