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The (im)possibilities of critical urban scholarship in plausibly genocidal times

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1 Introduction

We write this interface contribution as two lecturers in the Urban Studies unit at the University of Basel, Switzerland, a place that gained notoriety in late 2023 as the target of a concerted national media campaign. This campaign and the advancement of many of its storylines by university leadership undermine our critical scholarship and pedagogy. We see this as part of a worrying, global trend where reactionary political and media forces repeatedly target critical scholarship that interrogates and challenges injustice and tries to imagine alternative futures.

While we have already asserted our right of reply in an open letter¹ to the dean of the Philosophical-Historical Faculty and president of the University of Basel, we want to use this space to reflect on some of the broader epistemic and research-practical ramifications of this media onslaught for critical urban research in Switzerland and beyond. As we show below, while our unit might have been singled out for particular reasons - not least because of our long-standing relationships with scholars working in and on Palestine – many of the allegations leveled against us could just as well have been brought against any critical social scientist working in Switzerland. They parallel attacks against other critical theories elsewhere, which are reframed as "divisive concepts", as we illustrate below with the case of critical race theory in the United States. Moreover, higher education institutions in Switzerland, Germany, and elsewhere have launched administrative investigations against individual scholars or academic units that are targets of the press, which signals an

inability if not unwillingness to protect the academic freedom of students and staff against prejudiced and defaming reporting.² At the same time, we believe that this deplorable situation has also bred possibilities for new partnerships and academic solidarities.

As a German national based in South Africa and an American national based in Switzerland, we experienced divergent responses to the ongoing crisis in Gaza, as well as to scholarship that problematizes the Israeli state's actions. Triangulating these experiences has helped us to see the attack on our unit within a larger context of systematically increasing challenges to freedom, academic and otherwise.

Below, we provide a brief summary of the escalation of the attack on our unit before honing in on two particularly perilous arguments perpetuated by both the media and the university leadership: the reductive vilification of postcolonial scholarship and the myopic view on socially engaged and justice-oriented scholarship.

2 Making the news

On 11 November 2023, the *SonntagsZeitung*, a Basel-based weekend paper, featured an article that accused our Urban Studies unit of having "devoted itself entirely to 'postcolonialism' – a dogma that divides the world into oppressors and oppressed, into 'good' and 'evil'". This argument was

¹The letter and list of signatories can be accessed here: https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSd6zVkdDo_qYRKBvJRsJs4NxmR2D8Vuvwg9RBpEhwKiCzwzog/viewform (last access: 28 July 2024).

²This is how we interpret recent actions at the University of Basel, the University of Bern, the Max Planck Institute, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and many others. It is notable that Humboldt University recently filed an official complaint with the German Press Council following defamatory reporting by the national *Bild* newspaper about academics who had penned a letter supporting the local pro-Palestine student encampment.

used to evidence "[h]ow highly politicized some areas of the humanities and social sciences are" (Bandle, 2023a).

This article ushered in several weeks of slanderous national media campaigning against our unit in regional papers as well as in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung (NZZ)* – a Germanlanguage daily of international renown. Evidence for the purported "radical activism" and "fanaticism" within our unit and Swiss universities generally was drawn from a "Statement in Solidarity with the Palestinian People", authored and signed by a group of graduate students of the Department of Social Sciences (Ribi, 2023).³ The media repeatedly alleged the one-sided cooptation of our intellectual project by citing how the statement contextualized current events through histories of settler colonialism and apartheid (Briellmann, 2023). At the same time, the reporting omitted that the statement also noted how these histories, "[foster] continuous violence resulting in victims on all sides".

Within a week of the first article's publication, the University of Basel launched an internal inquiry into the scientific standards of our unit while the media campaign continued unabated. Reporting attested that an "anti-Israel ideology" was supposedly rampant in our Urban Studies unit (Bandle, 2023b; o.A., 2023a) and that our research and pedagogy were politically prescriptive and "dominated by activists" (Bandle, 2023b; o.A., 2023b). These allegations were also reiterated by journalists in an *NZZ* interview with Martin Lengwiler, the University of Basel's dean of the Philosophical-Historical Faculty, who stated that our unit was not, in fact, "a cradle of activists" (Fontana and Ribi, 2023) – a statement for which he was promptly put under pressure (Bandle, 2023c).

On 26 January 2024, the same day that the International Court of Justice (ICJ) concluded that some of the rights claimed by South Africa in its case about protection from acts of genocide perpetrated by Israel were plausible, the results of the internal inquiry were published in a report by the dean's office (Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the Gaza Strip (South Africa v. Israel), 2024). The report attributes the allegedly problematic postcolonial bend of our urban scholarship to our institutional partnership with the University of Cape Town, assuming that, "[w]ith the cooperation with the UCT [University of Cape Town], postcolonial studies established itself as one of several research fields in the Urban Studies unit" (Philosophical-Historical Faculty of the University of Basel, 2024:4). This disregards the fact that postcolonial approaches were used by members of both Urban Studies and the university's broader social science community well before the establishment of this partnership in 2017. In other words, postcolonial scholarship at the University of Basel and elsewhere in the country is hardly a foreign import, and the multiple entanglements between Switzerland and different colonial projects has been well-documented (Purtschert et al., 2013).

The same day that the report was published, another interview with Dean Lengwiler was published in the *Basler Zeitung* (*BaZ*) in which he did not dismiss the option to close our unit and teaching program in its current form. In the renewed wave of media attention, the report's findings were condensed to the argument that the ostensible boundary between science and politics had, at times, been compromised (Briellmann, 2024). In a further effort to explain the report's findings and defend its credibility, the University of Basel's rector Prof. Dr. Dr. hc. Andrea Schenker-Wicki granted an interview to journalist Rico Bandle, who had authored the initial piece in the *SonntagsZeitung*. However, the rector's remarks did not exactly restore faith in the university's protection of academic freedom – quite to the contrary.

During the interview, Rico Bandle presented the rector with the following framing of "postcolonialism":

The cause of the problem that the US elite universities are also struggling with is "post-colonialism", an ideology that divides the world into perpetrators (whites, the West) and victims (people of color, the global South) and does not allow for any shades of grey (Bandle, 2024).

The rector responded affirmatively:

We see it that way too. That's why we take a close look at all subjects that are susceptible to post-colonial theory. But you have to keep things in perspective: this way of thinking can only be found very selectively here; it is nowhere near as widespread as at universities in the USA (Bandle, 2024).

This exchange galvanized both internal pushback from across the Department of Social Sciences and a public response from students of the Philosophical-Historical Faculty, who voiced their great concern over their university's leader "readily agreeing with Rico Bandle's one-sided and erroneous definition" in an open letter.⁴

We applaud these students' engagement with postcolonial theory and their rejection of its portrayal as an ideological "-ism." As social scientists, we know that it is both our duty and our craft to substantiate our claims by means of thorough contextualization, comparison, and analysis. Thus, in the following, we first show how current attempts across the Swiss media landscape to turn postcolonial theory into a divisive concept are mirroring similar right-wing tactics in the United States. Recognizing that the broader Swiss media attack on postcolonial theory was catalyzed by a recognition of our unit's scholarly engagement with Palestine at a time

³The statement was published on 17 October 2023 on the website of the University of Basel's Department of Social Sciences and removed the following day.

⁴The open letter was sent to Prof. Dr. Dr. hc. Andrea Schenker-Wicki by students from the Philosophical-Historical Faculty on 5 February 2024 (Isler, 2024).

when Gaza came under siege, we illustrate the responses and actions of South African universities during the same period. Doing so highlights alternative ways of engaging with calls for freedom by students and scholars. In the second part of our intervention, we discuss how postcolonial frameworks have enriched our field – urban studies – not only through their epistemological contributions but also through inculcating a collaborative and justice-oriented ethos into global urban research practice.

3 Dangerous echoes, southern reverberations

In their remarks cited above, the journalist and rector both use the United States as an example to substantiate their worries about postcolonial theory as an "ideology" that is ostensibly spreading. Whether wittingly or unwittingly, in framing postcolonial theory as a "problem" they are reproducing a rhetoric that has been widely used by conservative American politicians to mischaracterize and justify the increased censoring of critical race theory (CRT) across the United States higher education landscape. The journalist's "perpetrator" and "victim" binary echoes elements of the "divisive concepts" that were prohibited in academic instruction through Executive Order 13950, also known as the "Trump Truth Ban" or "Equity Gag Order". This federal directive was elaborated on from an intentionally inaccurate definition of critical race theory and was revoked on 20 January 2021 (UCLA School of Law, 2024; Biden, 2021). E. O. 13950 defined divisive concepts as any concept inferring that "an individual, by virtue of his or her race or sex, bears responsibility for actions committed in the past by other members of the same race or sex" and that "any individual should feel discomfort, guilt, anguish, or any other form of psychological distress on account of his or her race or sex" (Trump, 2020). The polarizing presumption that postcolonial theory attributes responsibility and guilt to "whites, the West" as all-encompassing perpetrator categories strongly echoes an invented, American-right rhetoric. Exchanging the original category of "sex" (which extends the American right's disinformation campaign on gender justice issues) with geographical divisions effectively turns postcolonial theory into a "divisive concept" in its own right. To perhaps state the obvious, neither critical race theory nor postcolonial theory posits any of these notions.

The exchange between the journalist Bandle and Dean Schenker-Wicki conjures this United States rhetoric. It is predicated on the since-revoked Executive Order as well as subsequent waves of state legislation (Kelly, 2023) introduced to prohibit the teaching of certain concepts that are erroneously associated with critical race theory. Drawing parallels between the American right's treatment of critical race theory and German critics of postcolonial theory, Stefan Ouma writes, "this identity-politics pushback is an expression of the attempt to hold on to one's own privileges and

the authority to interpret history and society with all one's might" (Ouma, 2024).⁵

By comparison, in South Africa we observe a markedly different approach to putting the intellectual propositions of postcolonial theory into action. South Africa has been a key player of the ongoing litigation at the ICJ, and questions of South African and Palestinian liberation have been closely tethered. However, this does not mean that there has automatically been a shared societal consensus on how to respond to the current crisis in Gaza. For example, on the University of Cape Town's campus and in various media spaces, students and staff have openly expressed both pro-Israeli and pro-Palestinian stances, including with physical manifestations such as exhibitions, posters, information stalls, and temporary encampments. While this resulted in heated exchanges and clashes, these have been largely peaceful and were not followed by the kind of police responses we have witnessed on several Euro-American campuses (including the University of Basel). We would argue that this noticeably different response cannot be dismissed as simply following some kind of South African Staatsraison (raison d'état). Instead, we consider the 2015 Rhodes Must Fall and ensuing Fees Must Fall rallies as an important turning point. During these protests, which spread from UCT to other campuses worldwide, students challenged their universities to interrogate and confront their respective colonial legacies and entanglements (Nyamnjoh, 2016; Chantiluke et al., 2018). A thorough analysis of this critical moment and its diverse ramifications would certainly exceed the space of this intervention. Suffice to say, however, that UCT's institutional commitment to "providing thought leadership on social justice within a decolonial framework" (University of Cape Town Council, 2023) has not led to the moral panic about postcolonial theory in unraveling the university as it has in Switzerland.

Instead, it asks an even more important question, one that also undergirds this interface: what is the role of the university in times of crisis? A common response across South African universities has been a staunch commitment to producing "engaged citizens" and fostering "social responsiveness" (see University of Cape Town, 2021; University of the Witwatersrand, 2022). At UCT and several of the country's other leading institutions, it furthermore entails an explicit obligation "to speak out on local and global issues, particularly where there are egregious violations of human rights" (University of Cape Town Council, 2023). This has resulted, for example, in UCT's council calling for an immediate ceasefire on 7 December 2023, condemning both "the disproportionate and deliberate attack by Hamas on Israeli civilians" and "[t]he disproportionate and deliberate Israeli attack on civilians and civilian infrastructure in acts of collective punishment in Gaza" (University of Cape Town Council, 2023). This orientation towards universal justice as a key premise for higher education stands in stark contrast to, for

⁵Translated from German.

example, Harvard University, which recently announced that it would no longer comment on political or social issues that do not relate to the institution's "core function" (Alfonseca, 2024). But is the advancement of social justice not one of the university's core functions?

4 Return to the ivory tower?

Notions of engaged scholarship and social responsiveness are strongly connected with but not limited to postcolonial research and pedagogy frameworks. It is thus unsurprising that the Swiss media also took aim at this critical aspect of our work. From insinuating that we stood in "blind solidarity with the global South" (Ribi, 2023) and practiced "militant anti-racism" in our teaching (Ribi, 2023) to alleging that we funded activist organizations under the guise of academic engagement (Bandle, 2023b), several media outlets seemed deeply unsettled by our collaborative pedagogy and modes of engaged urban scholarship. These allegations are not only evidently unfounded as per the above-mentioned dean's report but also devalue the many mutually beneficial and impactful partnerships that have been forged between universities and civil society over the past few decades.

Relational modes of research and pedagogy help trouble traditional knowledge hierarchies and roles of expertise, thus demanding patience and humility in figuring out new, collaborative modes of producing and sharing knowledge. There is no doubt that this requires academics to step out of their comfort zone (and perhaps journalists too). Either way, if the Swiss university wants to retain its ability to understand and actively shape the rapidly changing societal formations of the 21st century, forging new public alliances, community partnerships, and international collaborations are imperative and need to be nurtured and protected.

For Swiss urban studies, this has three specific implications: firstly, it means that the city must be treated as an integral part of the classroom and vice versa, so that our students latch onto the "skin of the city" (Tomás, 2022) from day one. Secondly, and inherently connected to the first point, it demands that we develop more horizontal and reciprocal ways of knowledge production in partnerships with different urban actors, be they planning officials, concerned civil society organizations, housing justice advocates, migrants, suburban commuters, youth groups, or the unhoused (Oldfield, 2023). Finally, the future of Swiss urban geography is unequivocally global. This does not only refer to the ever-expanding geographical spread of sites where Swiss urban scholars conduct their research. It also encompasses, on the one hand, an internationalizing body of students and faculty who bring diverse place-based and interdisciplinary knowledge to the classroom. This plurality of perspectives helps us to craft comparative arguments that grapple with the complex role of the city in both reproducing and countering interconnected planetary urgencies. Evidently, the benefit of academic pluralism also extends beyond the classroom. The institutional partnership between the University of Basel and the University of Cape Town, upon which our unit is founded, has frequently provided us with unique insights into how universities respond differently to global crises and how they approach and realize their role in creating more just and equitable urban futures in different ways.

Judging by the last two volumes of *GeoAgenda*, these three ambitions are widely shared across the Swiss geographic community (see "*Participatory Methodologies in Switzerland and the Americas*" (no. 3/2023) and "*Field Trips as Pedagogical Devices*" (no. 2/2023)). Despite the media's stigmatization of our partnerships, engaged pedagogies and different modes of "urban theorizing in partnership" (Oldfield, 2023) are becoming increasingly prevalent across Swiss universities. So, the good news is that Swiss critical urban scholarship appears alive and well, at least for the time being. And yet, as we have experienced firsthand, it also faces new threats emanating from both within and beyond our institutions. Ultimately, this begs the following question: what can we do to counter these threats?

5 Silver linings

This intervention has been written from the midst of a multicrisis that includes a plausible genocide in Gaza and a crisis of confidence in academic freedom as university departments and academics have become subjected to slanderous media attacks because they dare to speak out against atrocity. These crises are unfolding alongside protracted humanitarian crises in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sudan, Syria, Yemen, Ukraine, and elsewhere, and in the context of an ever-worsening planetary and climate crisis. Considering this, the moments of individual and collective professional crises experienced in our Urban Studies unit seem trivial.

However, there is no denying that the professional and personal stakes of doing critical and engaged scholarship have evidently been raised since October 2023. The media campaign against our unit, its institutional aftermath, and renewed institutional attention in light of student encampments by the University of Basel Students for Palestine have left an indelible mark. Both students and faculty now learn and teach in an environment that can feel hostile and suspicious of any work that contributes to building more just urban worlds. For us as scholars and people, this has created a deeply unhealthy culture of fear and additional workload. Dialogue with and care for colleagues and students have become ever more critical but also increasingly complex, as well as physically, mentally, and emotionally demanding. Yet, this additional administrative and academic labor remains largely unrecognized by our institutions. We contend that insisting on its recognition, for example in professional forums and faculty assemblies, is important for making the value and impact of our scholarly and pedagogical work visible and creating openings for much-needed dialogue and academic solidarity.

That being said, there is no silver bullet – no singular strategy to ensure that our academic freedom to conduct critical urban scholarship is protected. At best, what we can offer are a few silver linings. We are grateful that we have been able to use this space to challenge the spreading misrepresentation of postcolonial theory. Postcolonial theory is not a problem but a problem space – a field of debate that has been richly sown over decades across a range of disciplines and championed by scholars from but not exclusively confined to the Global South. For us, to think postcolonially means to critically probe universalizing ideologies, including the logics of colonialism that continue to operate long after its formal political end to sustain relationships of inequality across the world (Chakrabarty, 2000).

We also hope that by putting a spotlight on how different university contexts engage with postcolonial theory and how this informs how they view and shape the university's role in society, we have been able to broaden perspectives beyond the Swiss media's myopic view. More than ever, we are convinced that the planetary multi-crisis we are witnessing cannot be tackled in parochial, academic silos and through the reinforcement of national ivory towers. Rather, it demands innovative partnerships across diverse geographies premised on new modes of mutual learning and democratic knowledge creation and dissemination, as well as community care (Harkavy, 2006; Oldfield, 2023).

Finally, it has been heartening to see the numerous expressions of solidarity in response to our open letter and in defense of academic freedom in Switzerland more generally. This has reaffirmed our belief that holding leaders at all institutional levels accountable is part and parcel of expressing solidarity and care in higher education; to remind them and us all that our shared duty is to counter dogma, moral panics, and universal absolutes with well-researched arguments and differentiated dialogue – in other words, with sound scholarship.

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