freedom of speech. No campus—although the university should offer a space where this freedom is exercised up to (and even a little beyond) these legally imposed and socially mandated limits—can agree that "anything goes." On the other hand, although sensitivities and vulnerabilities should be respected, there are clearly limits of the extent to which they can be indulged if free and vigorous intellectual enquiry is in danger of being seriously inhibited. We have just to be pragmatic and try to strike the right balance, which will be different in different places and in different times.

The second is that universities are, or should be, exceptionally well placed to strike these shifting balances. Free expression, in the shape of critical enquiry, is a core value in the academy. A university education designed to produce not simply technical experts but also critical citizens depends upon it. So too do a progressive science and enlightened scholarship. But moderation in language, and mutual respect within an academic community, are also core components of a college and university experience—although they should not be invoked too often to protect the thin-skinned or accidentally promote those bent on censorship.

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# Postsecondary Systems, Massification, and the Research University

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The expansion of both student numbers and increasingly diverse functions of postsecondary education worldwide in the past seventy years has been unprecedented, representing a true revolution in postsecondary education. Just in the past decade or so, global enrollments have doubled. In few countries, however, has there been any comprehensive effort to create clearly defined and differentiated academic systems to serve new academic functions, to ensure that quality is maintained, or that the wide range of needs of an increasingly diverse student population are met.

As economies have become more sophisticated and globally intertwined, ever-higher levels of skills are needed to sustain them, and postsecondary education has been called on to prepare a qualified labor force. A postsecondary

qualification has become a prerequisite for social mobility and entry into the skilled job market almost everywhere. The growing diversity of postsecondary institutions has responded to popular demand for access, but while the landscape has diversified, it has not been coherently differentiated.

## The research university, as the apex academic institution, is central to the global knowledge economy.

At the same time, the traditional research universities around the world have come under increased pressure to educate academic staff for the expanding higher education sector, undertake research, and engage in the global knowledge networks, while also preparing professionals for leadership positions in society. Before massification, these traditional universities dominated the postsecondary sector. Now, they are typically a small minority in most countries. Yet, they are of central importance as the leading academic institutions but are under unprecedented budgetary pressures, increased demands for accountability, and global competition to be "world class." The rest of the postsecondary sector looks to these prestigious universities for leadership, but for the most part the research universities have kept to their traditional roles. They have by and large not recognized that they are an integral part of a broader postsecondary ecosystem and that they have a responsibility to provide some leadership to the broader academic community.

There is a clear need to coordinate the confused array of postsecondary institutions that have emerged everywhere. In many countries, a considerable number of new institutions are in the private sector and a growing proportion of these are for-profit. Ensuring that private postsecondary institutions work in the broader public interest and at an acceptable level of quality is of great importance.

The generally unhindered diversification that has emerged in response to market demand needs to be replaced by a deliberate effort to develop differentiated academic systems to serve the complex set of social purposes that have emerged in the past half-century. Such a system should recognize the specific roles and responsibilities of different types of institutions and ensure effective coordination and recognition of the importance of each type of school.

While research universities sit at the top of any academic system, they must recognize that they are an integral part

of a multifaceted system. Research universities are only a small segment of large and complex systems—it is important that these singular institutions do not overexpand and that the rest of the system does not seek to emulate the research universities.

These challenges were recently discussed in Hamburg, Germany, by the Körber Foundation, the University of Hamburg, and the German Rector's Conference (HRK), during their biannual Hamburg Transnational University Leaders Conference on the theme of diversified and differentiated academic systems. Fifty university leaders from around the world discussed this topic, and issued the following statement reflecting their perspectives.

#### THE HAMBURG DECLARATION: ORGANIZING HIGHER EDUCA-TION FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

The role of the research university

- The research university, as the apex academic institution, is central to the global knowledge economy.
  It educates leaders, scientists, and scholars who serve society, academe, industry, and the broader economy.
  It conducts research, and is the window to international science.
- Research universities are central to the success of higher education, and contribute to the common good.
- The research university functions in an increasingly complex and diverse academic ecosystem, consisting of large numbers of institutions serving varied populations and needs. To be effective in contemporary society, research universities must maintain their essential roles of teaching, research, personality development, and service to society, but must also constructively engage with, and by example provide leadership to, the other institutions in the postsecondary sector.

#### Requirements for effective differentiation

For differentiation processes of the global higher education landscape to take place in a scientifically designed and value-oriented way, the following steps are necessary:

- Clear-cut differentiation: The mission of each type of postsecondary institution should be clearly defined and protected. Controls should seek to maintain appropriate academic differentiation. We note that global academic rankings often distort differentiation by promoting homogeneity.
- Autonomy: Postsecondary institutions should be given the authority to manage resources necessary to their mission.

- *Funding*: Predictable funding streams, adequate to the mission of each type of postsecondary institution, must be established.
- Quality: Quality assurance systems, designed and executed by academic professionals, must be an essential feature of all postsecondary institutions.
- Permeability: There should be articulation mechanisms that permit students equitable access to postsecondary education, allowing them to easily move between different types of institutions without loss of academic standing.
- Coherence: Private higher education, the fastest growing part of postsecondary education globally, requires careful integration into an effective postsecondary education system.

The *Hamburg Declaration* reflects the concerns of the fifty rectors participating as well as the sponsoring organizations. Massification has meant not only dramatically increased numbers of students and academic institutions, but also greatly increased complexity and diversity. A central challenge, so far unmet in most of the world, is to ensure rationality in postsecondary education. Further, an increasingly diverse student population and the complex globalized economy need to be adequately served as well.

Note: The report that informed the deliberations in Hamburg is available from the Körber Foundation without cost. http://www.bc.edu/content/dam/files/research\_sites/cihe/pdf/Korber%20bk%20PDF.pdf. The report is also published as a book. Philip G. Altbach, Liz Reisberg, and Hans deWit, eds., Responding to Massification: Differentiation in Postsecondary Education Worldwide (Rotterdam, Netherland: Sense Publishers, 2017).

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### Armenia: Cross-Border Higher Education

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After Armenia regained its independence in 1991 following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the higher education sector started to reshape itself autonomously. A