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# 1 Legitimacy *across* the university: yet another entrepreneurial challenge

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## **Introduction**

It is hard enough to build a strong entrepreneurship program within a school of business. For a quarter of a century those who pursued such programs have faced questions about legitimacy. Is the field of entrepreneurship a unique domain of teaching and research (Shane and Venkataraman, 2000; Busenitz et al., 2003)? Are the rigor, methods and cumulative nature of entrepreneurship research consistent with those observed in other academic disciplines (Aldrich and Baker, 1997; Low, 2001)? Has entrepreneurship research and teaching had real impact (Bygrave, 1994)? Is there consistent pedagogy for teaching the subject matter and is there consistent and rigorous training available to produce quality instructors (Brush et al., 2003)? Often perceived as lacking both sociopolitical legitimacy and cognitive legitimacy (Aldrich AND Fiol, 1993), many entrepreneurship academics have been thought of as ‘fools rushing in’ – by others who question their wisdom in devoting time and energy to a field that does not enjoy status as a ‘discipline’ (Ogbor, 2000), as well as sometimes even by themselves.

Yet during this period entrepreneurship programs in business schools first blossomed, then experienced explosive growth. Entrepreneurship courses are now taught in more than 2000 universities in the US (Cone, 2008) and over 225 business schools offer majors or concentrations in the field (Katz, 2005). There are now a number of PhD programs conferring terminal degrees in entrepreneurship and many more in which entrepreneurship is a central facet of doctoral studies (Katz, 2007). The Entrepreneurship division of the Academy of Management was the fastest-growing division during the 1990s. Entrepreneurship journals have risen in impact factor ratings among peer-reviewed management journals (ISI Web of Knowledge, 2008), and the flow of manuscripts to these journals is significant.

Whether we entrepreneurship academics are simply gluttons for punishment, relish the role of the underdog, possess some masochistic need for more academic abuse, or simply – like entrepreneurs themselves – see new opportunities and want to pursue them, now there is a fledgling effort across various academic institutions to broaden entrepreneurial education beyond the walls of the business school. A number of colleges and universities in the US and other countries are currently seeking to embed entrepreneurship education in the arts, performing arts, sciences, social sciences, humanities, medicine, and in the more generalized liberal arts environment. These efforts raise whole new dimensions of the legitimacy question.

## **Problems and underlying issues**

To understand the challenges that confront educators who seek to broaden entrepreneurship across the university, perspective is needed on the problems and issues that give rise to new legitimacy questions. The first issue anyone would encounter would be the obvious

question: why would anyone even think about trying to create an entrepreneurship curriculum for students outside the business school environment? If we can suggest some reasons as to why this would make sense to begin with, then one subsequently encounters issues of context that are close to the surface and on the minds of non-business educators on a regular basis. But these issues of context are tips of an iceberg. Beneath the surface are issues of substance that are at the heart of gaining legitimacy. We briefly explore each of these dimensions below, as an introduction to this Handbook, in which more refined perspectives and fuller treatment of the problems and solutions will be found.

### **Moving beyond the business school**

The most practical argument for broadening entrepreneurship curriculum beyond the business school environment is that entrepreneurial thinking and skills are broadly used in the world outside academia. In the United States, over 99 percent of all business organizations are small businesses, and they employ about half the workforce. Research from the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) studies finds that between 11 and 15 percent of US adults are actively working on some new business development idea at any given time, and that 40 percent of US adults will engage in such activity at some point during their working lives (Zacharakis et al., 1999). Some other GEM countries exhibit an even higher percentage of individuals actively working to start a business, for example, over 40 percent of individuals in Peru are nascent entrepreneurs. Although the percentage of nascents varies from GEM country to country (for example, Belgium has only 3 percent of adults actively working to start a business), in general it is estimated that almost 9 percent of the world adult population is actively attempting to launch a new venture at any given time (Bosma and Harding, 2006).

We also know that entrepreneurial activity within the corporate environment is critical for generating growth through innovation and new products, and therefore for superior economic performance. Furthermore, any number of pressures (for example, globalization, environmental rate of change, technological discontinuities) will require organizations of the future to be even more entrepreneurial in their ability to detect emerging opportunities and move with facility to take advantage of them (West and Meyer, 1997). The next wave of globalization, while not bypassing existing corporations, will be driven by individuals through entrepreneurial action as technology provides newfound power for individuals to collaborate and compete globally (Friedman, 2005). In fact as John Naisbitt argued, 'The more the economies of the world integrate, the less important are the economies of countries and the more important are the economic contributions of individuals and individual companies' (1994: 298). Thus the macro business environment, into which college students enter upon graduation, calls for those who have an interest in, knowledge of, and practice in entrepreneurial thinking and skills.

Who will move into these jobs and career paths? It is not just business school students who enter this world. Beyond going into flavors of graduate education (for example, law, medicine, business) and education, students who major in non-business fields during college do *something* when they graduate. They go to work in the same business environment as do business students. But whereas business graduates may find themselves better prepared technically and with better credentials for narrow functional roles such as investment banking analysis or marketing management, non-business graduates may

excel in roles where more holistic and integrative thinking and acting is valued. In fact, evidence abounds that entrepreneurs are not educated in business schools – 77 percent in one survey of small business owners (Schweitzer, 2007), and more than 80 percent of college-educated Inc. 500 company founders in another (Bhide, 2004).

There may be a reason for this preponderance of non-business students being more active in entrepreneurship and small business. As suggested by our opening comments on legitimacy of entrepreneurship within business schools, in that environment the corporate model reigns, where ‘the operative paradigm . . . relates to larger and ongoing corporations [they] are designed to produce middle level bureaucrats [and] there is a tendency to assume that [small business] is a dwarfed version of big business’ (Ray, 1990: 81). Critics note that with its functional-silo orientation, the typical business school program produces graduates who are able to manage but have little idea what to manage. No wonder that many successful entrepreneurs acknowledge their own limitations, and then hire others (probably business graduates) with superior skills in specific functional areas (for example, Brush et al., 2001) – a marvelous illustration of Stevenson and Gumpert’s (1985) description of entrepreneurship as the assembly of resources beyond one’s control.

Finally, we should add that there simply exists increasing demand for entrepreneurship education by students who are not majoring in business. Reflecting the marketplace dynamic, many non-business students have interesting and creative ideas for how to create value through enterprise, yet feel frustrated because they understand so little about the enterprise creation process itself. In one of our own institutions – a traditional private liberal arts university that has grown up in the shadows of tobacco, textiles, and furniture manufacturing (all in significant decline) – non-business students signed up in droves for a new entrepreneurial studies minor shortly after it was introduced. Less than two academic years into this new program, over 6 percent of the undergraduate student body registered for the minor. We understand that our experience is not unique on campuses where entrepreneurship curriculum has found its way out of the fortress of the almighty business school.

The truth is that some liberal arts professors and administrators view entrepreneurial programs as a way of enhancing a liberal arts education. They recognize the need for and value of courses that are focused purely on the phenomena of the world and the nature of our lives. However, they also believe that there is a place in the curriculum for investigating how that knowledge can be applied.

### **Immediate context**

Having briefly made the case that there is a practical need and rationale for extending entrepreneurship to the rest of campus, one confronts certain realities in the typical university environment. Despite an expressed interest in and need for interdisciplinary teaching and research (Klein, 1990; Kleinberg, 2008), the academy – including arts, sciences, social sciences and so on – is organized by disciplines. The assumptions of scholars in a field include the philosophy, aim, central focus, methods of research and instruction, and relevant literature streams (Summer et al., 1990; Ogbor, 2000). ‘These assumptions are necessary to give focus and discipline for those in the field and to draw boundaries around the field so it can be distinguished from other fields of study’ (Summer et al., 1990: 370). This means that disciplines outside business, just like disciplines within

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business, tend to be taught in silos, seldom if ever embracing novel content that is not discipline based or in some way very tightly oriented toward the accomplishment of the learning objectives in the discipline. Introducing new content and process of entrepreneurship into such bounded fields is problematic.

To this natural disciplinary bias we also note that knowledge in virtually every field is expanding. As more and more scholars with terminal degrees graduate, join university departments, and begin doing their own Kuhnian type of research (Kuhn, 1970), the sheer volume of published and presented work has expanded. If one of the goals of modern university education is to produce graduates who are on the cutting edge of new knowledge, this makes the intra-disciplinary challenge even greater. Not only must departmental faculty educate students in the disciplinary foundations and traditions, they must also continue to revise and update curricula to include ever greater content, as it becomes available. There is no room, no time, no staff, no budget to add non-essential extra-disciplinary content to the narrow window of 120 credits over four years.

Imagine the intense distress that would be created (has been created!) on many campuses where suggestions are made to offer business school courses to non-business students. With many of today's students (and their parents) interested in 'getting a job' after graduation, faculty across campus fear the colonial efforts of business schools to plant their flags elsewhere. Business schools are often regarded with skepticism by faculty outside the business school environment, for two reasons. First, faculty perceive that university education is a zero-sum game at the student level: if students take courses over there in business, then they will take fewer courses over here in our department. Fewer numbers of students in their classes raises issues of legitimacy for the courses and/or department, which could affect staffing and future budgets. Second, the educational objectives are perceived as being very different between business schools and other parts of a university. This is especially true in academic environments where the liberal arts are central to the academic mission. Business schools are viewed as engaging in technical or vocational training and skills training ('how to'), whereas the focus of other disciplines is on developing critical thinking, inquiry, discovery and appreciation.

Finally we come to entrepreneurship, which has its own perception issues. Entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship are known largely, or only, through what is said about them in the news media. Although occasionally the media extol the virtues of innovation, seldom is this discussion divorced from the economics of new business development – the money required, the money to be made, wealthy individuals who have cashed out, soaring stock prices following initial public offerings, devastating financial failures from ill-conceived ventures resulting in loss of jobs and loss of investments, or illegal activities by unproductive entrepreneurs (Baumol, 1990) in the pursuit of wealth. Entrepreneurship is universally considered as a business-money thing. A guest column by one English professor in a university newspaper reflects the kind of visceral reaction that efforts to develop entrepreneurship programs across campus may engender (Hans, 2007: 7):

[It] reflects the fundamentally self-centered, economic imperatives that are the focus of our lives today . . . forces them into the narrow grid of economic profit or loss . . . chained to the economic procedures through which money is made . . . we must change the circumstances through which they make sense of the material conditions of their lives. What better way to do that than to reduce all human endeavors to strategic thinking whose goal is the creation of economic value in a world that has long since lost sight of any larger imperatives?

### Underlying institutional issues

The previous discussion presents practical concerns and challenges that cross-campus entrepreneurship efforts are likely to encounter. However, these are but symptoms of underlying institutional issues that any such efforts must address, if they are to be successful. At the core, there exists a fundamental question of what entrepreneurship really is. Entrepreneurship academics raise a similar question. Within the field it can take the form of a question about levels of analysis (for example, Gartner, 1988; Gartner et al., 1994; Davidsson and Wiklund, 2001), type of innovative work (for example, Baumol, 1993; Aldrich and Martinez, 2003), or its boundary conditions (e.g. Busenitz et al., 2003). But outside the field of entrepreneurship, the question is more fundamentally centered on whether entrepreneurship is only about making money and creating economic value. This raises the issue of broader versus narrower definition, that is, whether there is room to consider the creation of social, intellectual, and cultural value in addition to economic value. Answering affirmatively might make entrepreneurship more attractive to non-business faculty. But just as importantly, is entrepreneurship education simply about building skills so that students understand 'how to' go about creating value? Or is there something deeper about entrepreneurship education that can relate it more substantively to the educational goals of departments across the campus?

The reason why it is difficult to build a case for a broader, more-encompassing perspective on entrepreneurship that might encourage more widespread activity across campuses is that there is, as yet, no theoretical foundation for why entrepreneurship can or should be relevant and useful. Academia will resist ideas and programs if there is no cause-and-effect connection with fundamental educational goals and outcomes. In business schools we teach entrepreneurship because it is prevalent in the business world and our teaching practices are designed to make students more effective in practice. But this logic does not pass muster for non-business faculty in other departments. To encourage non-business faculty to embrace entrepreneurship education, there must be a deeper logic that connects this type of education with what they are seeking to accomplish, *and* do this in a way that is more compelling than other methods and tools they are currently using. A philosophy of education is needed that elevates entrepreneurship as a particularly and uniquely effective way of accomplishing broader learning outcomes.

Coupled to widespread poor understanding of the nature of entrepreneurship is resistance to change. Whether entrepreneurship or most other educational innovations, faculty resist change for a variety of reasons. Like an organization and its culture, a discipline influences acceptable norms, behaviors and practices for its members. Such biases relate to scholarly appreciation and recognition of contributions within the discipline, and ultimately are a major component for how its members fare in the development of their personal legitimacy within their fields, and thus on tenure and promotion. Few untenured assistant professors – faced with the pressures of too much to do and too little time in which to do it – will choose to develop new innovative courses instead of putting the time into their research. For this reason, innovation is usually discouraged; it is too risky from a professional point of view. Finally, threats to the status quo that new initiatives present usually meet stiff resistance because such initiatives can fundamentally change the flows of resources within a department or from the university administration. Change upsets the balance. People are uncomfortable with what is new because it asks

them to behave differently and because flows of resources may be diverted from what they are accustomed to.

Finally, the case that can currently be made for cross-campus entrepreneurship suffers from the problem of small numbers. Although at some universities non-business faculty with an early-adopter mentality are convinced that a broader conception of entrepreneurship is warranted, and that attempting something new within their disciplines is justified because of higher-order learning goals that such efforts might accomplish, what of their more conservative colleagues? The typical response might be 'OK, but where is the evidence that this works?'. The number of universities adopting cross-campus programs is growing, but there is no published research demonstrating that this innovative approach has educational value. What evidence exists can be criticized as contextually dependent. Thus cross-campus initiatives can be attacked for failing the test of data as well as failing the test of academic philosophy.

### **Building legitimacy**

What we have described is an institutional context in which innovative new ventures have a terribly difficult time taking hold. As Aldrich and Fiol predict, 'when entrepreneurs have few precedents for the kinds of activities they want to found . . . they are navigating, at best, in an institutional vacuum of indifferent munificence and, at worst, in a hostile environment' (1993: 645). Succeeding with innovative educational programs in higher education cannot be a matter of effectuation (Sarasvathy, 2001). Merely pursuing an aspiration, visualizing a set of actions, and engaging in some sort of learn-as-you-go approach does not and cannot overcome the types of institutional resistance we have mentioned above.

Confronted by such strong institutional forces, innovative new programs must develop legitimacy (Aldrich and Fiol, 1993; Sundin and Tillmar, 2008), and there two types of legitimacy that are critical. The first is cognitive legitimacy, which occurs when an activity is understood and has become so well known that it is taken for granted as an acceptable type. In the case of cross-campus entrepreneurship, new initiatives might be framed in a way that they are perceived as relevant to non-business faculty. Often this occurs through the use of a higher level of abstraction from actual practice, such that a more universal view of the phenomenon can be understood in a variety of ways by a variety of potential participants. For example, whereas entrepreneurship is most often perceived as the pursuit of economic or material wealth, framing the effort at a higher level of abstraction – that this is but one of many possible outcomes in a process of value creation – creates a degree of ambiguity allowing others to consider different kinds of value that can be created through educational efforts. Symbolic behaviors can also work to develop cognitive legitimacy. On one of our campuses the effort to develop a cross-campus entrepreneurship program was set up as a separate department, outside of the business school and physically located away from the business school. The message sent to the rest of campus was that this was not an effort by business types to further colonize campus. Cognitive legitimacy is also built when it can be shown that there is a consistency of approach observed in the examples of such efforts on other campuses. Where a 'dominant design' (Aldrich and Fiol, 1993) for cross-campus efforts is in evidence, then trust and confidence in the efficacy of new initiatives is built.

The second type of legitimacy is socio-political, the extent to which new efforts



conform to accepted principles, rules and standards. This is a sort of catch-22. In order to conform and win broad approval of organizational stakeholders, or at least their acquiescence, innovators must use methods that are viewed as acceptable and conforming. Arguing rationally that innovative approaches are valuable is one method that would be embraced by the academy, and this is where the need for a cogent educational philosophy could be especially fruitful. When innovative new work is embraced by individuals who are also departmental or university opinion leaders, the new effort can benefit from their personal credibility and trust. And then a contagion effect (Rogers, 1983) may be experienced, as others come to believe that there must actually be something worthwhile to the new effort after all.

As we have been involved in starting up new cross-campus entrepreneurship education efforts on our campuses, we have witnessed the institutional challenges and recognized the need for the forms of legitimacy briefly described above. This Handbook is in partial response to these challenges and needs. We started our efforts with few roadmaps, sometimes stumbling as we started down the path of educational reform and sometimes winding up in the right place. A roadmap is needed, we concluded, so that others can avoid the stumblings we have experience and have a clearer path to follow. In 2007 we issued a call to bring together in one volume a collection of essays that might describe the philosophy, planning and implementation, and examples of best practices of entrepreneurship education initiatives across the university environment. A conference was organized in late 2007 at Wake Forest University, and the chapters in this Handbook represent the best papers presented at that conference.

### **The contents of this Handbook**

This Handbook brings together in one volume a collection of essays that explore the current state of the art of university-wide entrepreneurship education programs. Twenty-nine authors from different disciplines in universities in five countries discuss the opportunities and universal challenges in extending entrepreneurship education outside the business school into the sciences, performing arts, social sciences, humanities, and liberal arts environments. The three parts of the Handbook are devoted to (1) philosophy and theory that provide a legitimate intellectual foundation for the fusion or integration of entrepreneurship education with other traditional approaches across the university, (2) the politics and process of implementing entrepreneurship initiatives outside business schools, and (3) examples of fine-grained approaches to implementing entrepreneurship education in major divisions of universities outside business schools. The chapters collectively provide a path for educators to deal with the socio-political and cognitive legitimacy issues, which are central when 'few precedents exist for the kinds of activities [entrepreneurs] want to found' (Aldrich and Fiol, 1993: 645). This Handbook is therefore designed to assist educators in developing new programs and pedagogical approaches based on the previous experiences of others who have forged this exciting new path.

Part I contains chapters whose authors offer philosophical justification for entrepreneurship education as becoming part of a broader cross-campus effort. Theory on educational pedagogy further supports the role that entrepreneurship can play on a larger stage than when just considered as skills building within the business school environment. Chapter 2, by Green, is a passionate and compelling advocacy of entrepreneurship's central role in higher education. Lofty in language and ideals, its central argument is that

entrepreneurship is freedom, and that its holistic nature reflects what we are seeking to do in higher education – both in terms of educational outcomes as well as understanding of the self in the world. In Chapter 3, Beckman and Cherwitz provide another view showing how entrepreneurship and the broader academy are fundamentally linked. These authors discuss how content and the traditional substance of a discipline creates meaning or value in the world outside the discipline, and how ‘intellectual entrepreneurship’ as an educational philosophy can embrace both the traditions and their relevance in the world into which graduates march. To answer the question, raised earlier, about how and why entrepreneurship education can provide a unique and improved approach to achieving educational outcomes in other disciplines, in Chapter 4 Krueger offers a primer of how a constructivist paradigm of education, which is at the heart of entrepreneurial learning, is broadly applicable. Finally, in Chapter 5, Gustafson muses on his years of experience in seeking greater legitimacy for entrepreneurship at Beloit College in a wry, occasionally humorous, and always pointed essay on entrepreneurship as a liberal art. Some will nod and some will cringe in reading this chapter, since Gustafson puts the microscope on the reader.

Part II is concerned with the planning and implementation process for developing entrepreneurship initiatives outside business schools. As pointed out earlier in this introduction, there are widespread misunderstandings about the nature of entrepreneurship and perceptions that entrepreneurship education does not fit established norms, behaviors, and practices of university members. Chapter 6 by Mendes and Kehoe addresses how the appropriate planning process can help to define entrepreneurship in an acceptable way for a university community, to surface challenges and suggested strategies for dealing with those challenges from stakeholders – essentially to use the planning process to achieve legitimacy from concerned stakeholders. Chapter 7, by Hynes, O’Dwyer and Birdthistle, addresses gaining legitimacy for cross-campus entrepreneurship education by designing programs that prepare graduates to work effectively in today’s environments and addressing national needs for workplace skill development. The authors propose a process framework for entrepreneurship education that guides program design, development, analysis and modification.

In Chapter 8, Weaver, D’Intino, Miller and Schoen describe a case study of a university interested in gaining recognition as an ‘entrepreneurial university’. The case study illustrates the role of principal influencers and champions for establishing legitimacy for the successful implementation of the desired program. The case study also details the use of project-based learning as a key component for developing students’ entrepreneurial skills.

Finally, in Chapter 9 authors Macosko, Johnson and Yocum provide the basis of the appeal of entrepreneurship education to non-business faculty. We earlier argued that to encourage non-business faculty to embrace entrepreneurship education requires that this education approach must provide faculty a better method and tools for accomplishing their classroom goals and broader educational outcomes. This chapter describes the pedagogical underpinnings of active learning, details five teaching strategies that promote active learning and provides case studies of team- and project-based classes that used science-rich problems to assist students in the development of entrepreneurial skills. Essentially this chapter argues that legitimacy for cross-campus entrepreneurship programs can be gained because it produces better educational outcomes.



Part III is arranged in an order that roughly parallels the educational experience. First, Chapter 10 by Shaver outlines some of the philosophical objections and practical impediments to the entrepreneurship/liberal arts connection, but concludes on a positive note about what may be gained by each area. Next, Chapter 11 by Janssen, Eeckhout, Gailly and Bacq provides a conceptual discussion of what is meant by interdisciplinarity, especially as applied to entrepreneurship. Then at a very practical level, Claire (Chapter 12) shows how techniques more closely associated with the arts can add significant value to the students' learning about entrepreneurship. Continuing in the pedagogical vein, in Chapter 13 Lendner and Huebscher describe a short-term business simulation exercise that can be used to give students the 'feel' of an entrepreneurial venture. Then Chapter 14, by Mars and Hoskinson, shows the educational benefits that law students can offer entrepreneurship students, and vice versa. In an educational environment increasingly interested in accountability, there is always the question of how a new program should be evaluated, and that is the topic of Chapter 15 by Fayolle and Gailly. Finally, Part II concludes in Chapter 16 with Hines, who generalizes the entrepreneurial metaphor as a description of the entire liberal arts and sciences university.

Within the academy, the roots of intellectual discourse are often traced back to the ancient Greeks, whereas the intellectual underpinnings of entrepreneurship are to be found in modern times. But there is more than length of history to the tension often seen between liberal arts education and entrepreneurship education. As Shaver's chapter points out, there can be a fundamental disagreement between those who eschew mercantilism in any guise and those who would study and teach principles of business creation. In addition to a need for entrepreneurship education to confront this philosophical difference, there is a need for any new interdisciplinary endeavor to navigate its way through the bureaucracy that is the modern university.

Throughout this volume there are discussions of the interdisciplinary nature of entrepreneurship education. But what, exactly, is meant by 'interdisciplinary'? How can a truly interdisciplinary approach be distinguished, for example, from a *multidisciplinary* one? The chapter by Janssen, Eeckhout, Gailly and Bacq employs a level-of-learning conceptual model to answer this and other questions about ways in which entrepreneurship education can be delivered.

One way the entrepreneurial experience can be delivered, in a liberal arts environment, is to bring the liberal arts *to* entrepreneurship. That is the topic of the chapter by Claire, which describes a course in which students create an Entrepreneur Film Festival. After learning the rudiments of filmmaking, students shadow and interview entrepreneurs to develop story lines for their productions. The course culminates in a public film festival organized and staffed by the students.

What happens when it is not possible to offer an entire course to non-business students? The chapter by Lendner and Huebscher describes a simulation game that, in a matter of days rather than weeks, enables students to discover entrepreneurial principles and the fundamentals of business.

The chapter by Mars and Hoskinson takes the notion of interdisciplinary experiential learning a step further. Their report describes a carefully arranged set of interactions between entrepreneurship students and law students. The former have intellectual property and other business organization issues to solve, the latter have a need for clinical experience. The result is a better understanding by each, of the other. This sort of

interchange will become even more important as more and more entrepreneurial companies join the 'knowledge economy.'

The chapter by Fayolle and Gailly addresses the problem of outcome assessment. In work based on the theory of planned behavior, these authors examined the effects on entrepreneurial intentions created by participation in one or another sort of entrepreneurship education program. Three studies are reported, each conducted in an engineering school. Together these studies identify methods that can assess change without having to wait until the program graduates actually create companies.

Finally, the chapter by Hines uses entrepreneurship as a metaphor for the institutional changes that must occur if the liberal arts and sciences university is to thrive in the modern era and beyond. Creativity, innovation, and clarity of vision are not merely critical for entrepreneurs. These same attributes are now required of academic officers at every level if public colleges and universities are to adapt and flourish in an environment of ever-declining governmental support.

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