

# ITHI Working Paper Series

## #20 Rethinking University Finance: From Endless Federal Support to Entrepreneurial Independence

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### Introduction

For decades, the assumption that federal funds would flow endlessly to support scientific research has shaped the modern American research university (Bush, 1945). Yet this assumption—rooted in the postwar optimism of The Endless Frontier—has proven not only fragile but potentially destructive (Perez, 2012). We now face an era of tightening research budgets and political volatility. In this context, universities must reconsider the wisdom of relying too heavily on any single funding source, no matter how reliable it once seemed.

Deep budget cuts—though often feared—should not be viewed solely as calamities; they can also be opportunities to reorganize, refocus, and renew. History offers precedents. In the 1990s, during the first Cuomo administration in New York, severe state budget cuts forced institutions such as SUNY Purchase to rethink their missions. Out of this austerity emerged innovation: a new interdisciplinary program in social sciences and visual arts (later expanded across the arts) that redefined the college's liberal arts identity and strengthened its role as an arts-based university, alongside its renowned professional programs in the performing and visual arts (Etzkowitz and Fashing, 1976).

Strategic reductions can create space to place new bets—investments in promising areas that might otherwise be overlooked. Today, universities must seek alternative funding sources, especially from their own intellectual resources. This requires rethinking how innovation, startup creation, and intellectual property can contribute meaningfully to university finances—without compromising academic values (Etzkowitz and Zhou, 2011).

The idea of universities engaging with industry is hardly new. Following German precedents in mining, pharmaceuticals, and chemicals, professors at MIT and Harvard were already spinning off companies in scientific instruments in the late 19th century, and later in radio technologies in the 1920s. Similar developments took place in the Midwest—such as the University of Wisconsin's Research Foundation (WARF) (Apple, 1989)—and in the West, where Berkeley's Cottrell precipitator invention generated proceeds that seeded academic research and encouraged commercialization of other campus inventions. On the East Coast, MIT and Harvard jointly established American Research and Development in 1946, a

pioneering organization created to find and finance university inventions with startup potential—effectively laying the foundations of the modern venture capital industry (Etzkowitz, 2002).

It was not until the passage of the Bayh-Dole Act in 1980, however, that this type of activity was formally institutionalized. The law allowed universities to retain ownership of inventions developed with federal funding, establishing the legal basis for what we now call university technology transfer (Etzkowitz and Stevens, 1992). Research universities soon established Offices of Technology Licensing (OTLs), which spread across the academic world (Saad and Zawdie, 2012). What began as a compliance mechanism to maintain access to federal grants increasingly became, in many cases, a source of flexible income—exemplified by the Cohen-Boyer biotech patents shepherded by Stanford’s founding OTL director. The most successful universities discovered they could generate enough from patents and licenses not only to seed-fund research but to launch entirely new academic initiatives.

### **A novel departure with macroscopic implications**

One significant evolution was the acceptance of equity in startups as a substitute for upfront license fees. In the 1990s, Stanford’s Board of Trustees revised its intellectual property and conflict-of-interest policies to allow the university to take up to a 2% equity stake in companies formed to commercialize university inventions. This policy yielded a landmark result: Stanford’s equity in Google, based on the PageRank algorithm developed on campus. The university sold its stake at the time of Google’s IPO in 2004 for approximately \$336 million, partly to avoid potential conflicts of interest. While this was a substantial gain, had Stanford held those shares, the stake would today be worth well over \$13 billion.

This episode highlights the potential of innovation-derived income—but also raises a larger question: what if universities were systematically structured to retain such value?

Looking ahead, universities should consider adopting a deliberate strategy of funding and holding equity in startups born from their research ecosystems. Oxford University Innovation, for example, holds equity stakes in hundreds of spinouts on behalf of the university. Similarly, Harvard’s Allston initiative—a new science and engineering campus developed alongside commercial partnerships—reflects a growing commitment to integrate entrepreneurial finance into long-term academic planning. The broader goal is to enable universities to guarantee their intellectual and financial independence by generating their own resources, rather than relying solely on state appropriations or federal grants. In doing so, they may finally realize a vision articulated centuries ago by Lord Chancellor Francis Bacon: of a university that not only preserves knowledge but also produces it—harnessing invention as a public good.

### **The Funding Squeeze and Autonomy at Risk**

Across the globe, research universities are grappling with tighter budgets and an increasing dependence on government funding. In the United States and Europe, inflation and shifting policy priorities have eroded real funding levels, pushing many institutions into financial distress. In the United Kingdom, for example, more than a hundred universities are projected to run deficits as stagnant public support forces them to rely on capped tuition and operate “as if universities were for-profit businesses.” In the U.S., recent political developments have laid bare the vulnerabilities of depending heavily on state and federal funds. A 2025 Science editorial

warns that “cuts to federal research funding, assaults on academic freedom, and bans on admitting international students” threaten research universities nationwide. A dramatic illustration came when the White House froze \$2.2 billion in federal funds for Harvard University and even threatened its ability to enroll foreign students—an attempt to dictate how the university should govern, hire, and teach. Such incidents underscore that when universities rely overwhelmingly on government largesse, their institutional autonomy—even the freedom to set curricula or campus policies—can become subject to political leverage.

Academic entrepreneurship offers one potential escape valve. By generating their own income streams through innovation and commercialization, universities can reduce financial dependence on governments or other external patrons. The premise is that entrepreneurial finance—revenues from technology transfer, equity in spin-off companies, industry partnerships, and related ventures—can enable institutions to self-fund a larger share of their research and educational missions. In theory, this could bolster academic freedom by giving universities more “skin in the game” and a buffer against external pressures.

However, embracing entrepreneurship is not a simple panacea. Studies of academic entrepreneurs show that researchers-turned-entrepreneurs face significant challenges, from role conflicts to funding constraints. In less mature innovation ecosystems, such as those in many developing regions, academic innovators must navigate weak institutional support and scarce seed funding. Critics have also long cautioned that the pursuit of market revenues can compromise core academic values. Former Harvard President Derek Bok argued in *Universities in the Marketplace* (2003) that commercial ventures often tempt universities into “compromises with basic academic values,” and that only by upholding academic integrity—“even at the cost of a few lucrative ventures”—can institutions retain public trust and remain true to their mission.

This policy article explores how universities might strike that balance: leveraging entrepreneurial finance to strengthen autonomy without selling their academic soul. We anchor the discussion in two case studies on opposite sides of the world—Stanford University’s experience with Google and Zhejiang University’s transformation in China. Stanford’s early sale of its equity stake in Google reveals the opportunity cost of not building what might be called an “innovation endowment.” In contrast, Zhejiang University’s rise in Hangzhou illustrates how local entrepreneurial ecosystems and bottom-up initiatives can fuel university innovation without total reliance on central government funding. Together, these cases point to new financial models for research universities in an era of constrained public budgets. We then turn to policy recommendations for universities and their funders to develop sustainable, mission-aligned financing strategies.

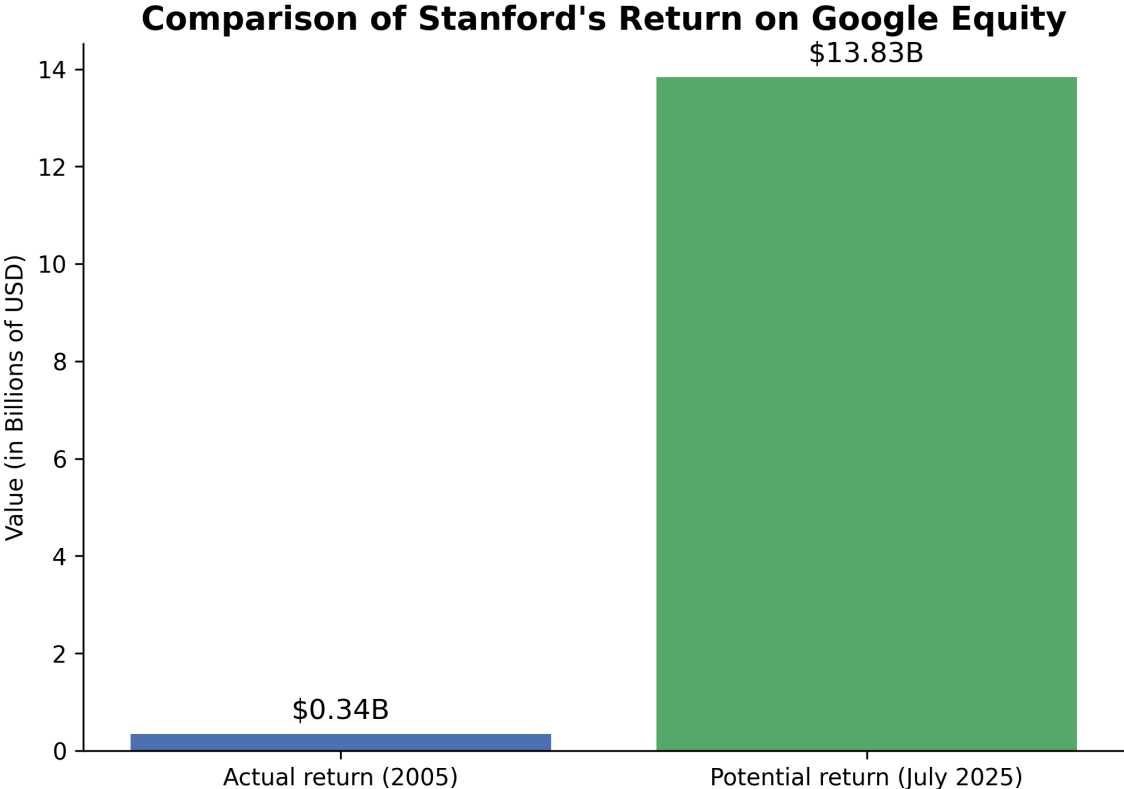
### **Stanford’s Google Windfall: Missed Chance for an Innovation Endowment**

Aerial view of Stanford University’s campus. Stanford sits at the heart of Silicon Valley’s innovation engine, yet one of the most striking lessons in university finance comes from its handling of a stake in Google. In the late 1990s, Stanford licensed its patented PageRank search algorithm—developed by graduate students Larry Page and Sergey Brin—to the fledgling Google. In return, the university received 1.8 million shares of Google stock.

Following Google’s 2004 IPO, Stanford moved quickly to monetize this equity. By the end of 2005, the university had quietly sold its entire stake, netting approximately \$336 million for the endowment. At the time, this “big hit” was unprecedented—Stanford’s Office of Technology Licensing had never realized a nine-figure return from a single invention. University officials considered cashing out the prudent choice, both to lock in a substantial gain and to avoid potential conflicts of interest from holding a significant stake in a private company closely tied to its faculty.

In hindsight, however, the decision carried enormous opportunity costs. Google’s stock price more than quadrupled in the year after Stanford’s final sale and has multiplied many times over in the two decades since. Had Stanford simply held those 1.8 million shares, the position would have grown through two stock splits—a 2-for-1 split in 2014 and a 20-for-1 split in 2022—to roughly 72 million shares today, worth on the order of \$10–12 billion at recent market prices. In other words, Stanford traded a \$336 million one-time gain for a stake that might have been valued at about one-third of its entire \$36.5 billion endowment in 2025. As one Stanford observer dryly put it, this was the university’s “\$13.83 billion ‘what-if’” scenario. Even a modest delay in selling would have made a major difference—by late 2005, Google’s share price had reached roughly \$405, meaning Stanford’s stake could have been worth more than \$700 million. The foregone gains today are exponentially larger.

**Figure 1: Comparison of Stanford's Return on Google Equity**



## Beyond Google – Other Significant Cases

Several other Stanford-founded ventures from Table 1, while nowhere near Google’s scale, could have yielded nine-figure returns for Stanford had the equity been retained:

- **Anacor Pharmaceuticals** – Co-founded in 2002 by Stanford professor Lucy Shapiro, Anacor licensed her lab’s boron-based antimicrobial chemistry. Stanford likely took a small equity stake (a few percent). Anacor went public in 2010 and was acquired by Pfizer in 2016 for \$5.2 billion. A 2–5% stake at exit would have been worth roughly \$100–260 million—a substantial hypothetical gain. In reality, Stanford’s position was likely sold earlier or diluted, but the case illustrates the scale of value creation.
- **iRhythm Technologies** – This medtech startup emerged from the Stanford Biodesign program in 2006 to commercialize a wearable heart monitor (the Zio Patch) developed at Stanford. Following its 2016 IPO, iRhythm achieved significant commercial success; by 2025 its market capitalization was approximately \$4.3 billion. A 5% stake would be worth over \$200 million today, underscoring how Stanford’s focus on biomedical innovation—through programs like Biodesign—has produced valuable companies in digital health.
- **Rambus, Inc.** – Founded in 1990 by Stanford engineering professor Mark Horowitz and colleagues, Rambus commercialized Stanford-developed high-speed memory interface technology. Stanford’s license likely included a small equity component. Rambus went public in 1997 and, despite market volatility, now has a valuation of around \$7 billion. A 5% stake would be worth about \$350 million today. Rambus demonstrates the long-term potential of semiconductor IP—and perhaps a missed opportunity for Stanford, as it is unclear whether the university retained a significant equity stake or relied mainly on royalties. (Notably, Stanford was still refining its equity policy in the early 1990s; today, it routinely takes equity in such spin-offs.)
- **Others** – Personalis, Inc., a 2011 Stanford genomics spin-out, and Amprius Technologies, a battery breakthrough company rooted in Stanford research, currently have market caps in the \$0.5–1 billion range; a modest stake in either could be worth tens of millions. Rigel Pharmaceuticals, founded in 1996 and linked to Stanford drug discovery, remains publicly traded but with a market cap under \$400 million—highlighting the inherent volatility of biotech. StemCells, Inc., another 1990s deal, went public but ultimately failed, rendering Stanford’s equity worthless. Such cases are a reminder that not all bets pay off.

**Table 1 – Public Companies with ≥2% Stanford Equity via Licensing (1990–2025)**

Company (Ticker)	Tech Licensed (Stanford Origin)	License/Equity Year	Stanford Initial Stake	IPO Year	Current Price	Market Cap (Jul 2025)	Stanford Stake Value (Jul 2025)
<b>Google (Alphabet) (GOOGL)</b>	<i>PageRank</i> search algorithm patent	1998 ( <i>license</i> )	~2% (1.8 M shares)	2004	~\$190	~\$2.33 T	~\$13.7 B (if 1.8 M shares held → ~72 M shares today)

Company (Ticker)	Tech Licensed (Stanford Origin)	License/Equity Year	Stanford Initial Stake	IPO Year	Current Price	Market Cap (Jul 2025)	Stanford Stake Value (Jul 2025)
<b>Anacor Pharma</b> (acquired)	Boron-based antibiotic/antifungal tech (Prof. Lucy Shapiro)	2002 ( <i>founding</i> )	~5% (est.)	2010	<i>n/a</i> (acquired)	<i>n/a</i> (acquired 2016)	~\$260 M (acquired for \$5.2 B in 2016)
<b>Rambus</b> (RMBS)	High-speed memory interface patents (Prof. Mark Horowitz's lab)	~1990 ( <i>founding</i> )	~5% (est.)	1997	~\$66	~\$7.1 B	~\$355 M (if 5% held)
<b>iRhythm Tech</b> (IRTC)	Zio cardiac monitor (Stanford Biodesign innovation)	2006 ( <i>founding</i> )	~5% (est.)	2016	~\$134	~\$4.3 B	~\$215 M (if 5% held)
<b>Rigel Pharma</b> (RIGL)	Signal pathway drug targets (Stanford immunology research)	1996 ( <i>founding</i> )	~5% (est.)	2000	~\$21	~\$0.37 B	~\$18 M (if 5% held)
<b>Personalis</b> (PSNL)	Whole-genome sequencing analytics (Stanford genomics spin-out)	2011 ( <i>founding</i> )	~5% (est.)	2019	~\$6.00	~\$0.55 B	~\$27 M (if 5% held)
<b>Amprius Tech</b> (AMPX)	Silicon–nanowire battery anodes (Prof. Yi Cui's lab)	2008 ( <i>founding</i> )	~5% (est.)	2022	~\$8.70	~\$0.97 B	~\$48 M (if 5% held)
<b>Kosan Bio</b> (acquired)	Polyketide drug synthesis platform (Prof. C. Khosla's lab)	1995 ( <i>founding</i> )	~5% (est.)	2000	<i>n/a</i> (acquired)	<i>n/a</i> (acquired 2008)	~\$9 M (acquired for ~\$190 M in 2008)
<b>StemCells, Inc.</b> (defunct)	Neural stem cell isolation tech (Prof. I. Weissman's lab)	1998 ( <i>founding</i> )	~5% (est.)	2002	\$0 (liquidated)	<i>n/a</i> (liquidated 2016)	\$0 (company dissolved; no value)

## Patterns and Observations

Stanford's equity licensing "wins" are relatively few—its Office of Technology Licensing (OTL) acknowledges that truly big hits are rare. Beyond Google's "home run," the university points to only a couple of other major tech-transfer successes in its history: the recombinant DNA patent licensing of the 1970s and an antibody patent licensing deal in the 1990s, both of which produced substantial royalty streams rather than equity gains. Equity-based returns tend to follow an all-or-nothing pattern: a few standout startups like Google, Anacor, and iRhythm account for most of the value, while the majority generate little or no return. This distribution mirrors the dynamics of venture capital, where a small number of breakout successes cover the cost of many failures.

Why does this matter? Because the untapped billions from such successes represent the potential foundation of an "innovation endowment"—a permanent fund built from equity in high-value

innovations, designed to support Stanford's academic mission for decades to come. Consider a thought experiment that has circulated in Stanford circles: what if the university had retained its Google shares as a separate endowment segment? At current values, that \$12 billion stake could yield roughly \$600–\$700 million in annual income, assuming a 5% payout rate.

The implications are transformative. For perspective, Stanford's total research spending is about \$1.6 billion annually; an additional \$600+ million could fund hundreds of graduate fellowships and cover a significant portion of the university's research administration and facilities costs. In essence, a core portion of Stanford's scientific enterprise could be self-financed by the fruits of past innovation, reducing reliance on the fluctuating priorities of federal grant agencies or philanthropic donors. University leaders could undertake long-term projects with greater assurance of stable funding, freeing them from the need to constantly chase the shifting agendas of external sponsors.

Beyond the financial boost, an innovation endowment of that scale would also enhance strategic autonomy. With a multi-billion-dollar cushion from entrepreneurial earnings, Stanford would have more leverage in dealings with government and regulators. The university might push back on burdensome regulations or political directives, confident that its baseline research operations were not entirely dependent on federal appropriations. It could “comply or litigate” contentious policies on its own terms—potentially defending academic freedom more forcefully—rather than “bending the knee” out of fear of losing crucial funding. Likewise, it could invest in high-risk, high-reward research areas—such as quantum encryption or synthetic biology—through internally funded centers, without having to shape every budget line to fit the eligibility criteria of government grants. In short, entrepreneurial windfalls can shift the university–government relationship from one of dependency to something closer to an equal partnership.

It is important to note, however, that Stanford's leadership in 2004–2005 had valid reasons for selling the Google stock. As *The San Jose Mercury News* reported, administrators worried that holding the shares could create conflicts of interest—for example, if university researchers felt pressured to avoid work that might compete with Google's business. “\$336 million is a lot of money—but it is not worth compromising your principles,” one university dean argued at the time. Indeed, Stanford invested the proceeds for the long term and eventually earmarked them for purposes such as graduate fellowships. And as Derek Bok (2003) has warned, not every commercial venture will hit the jackpot; universities must place academic integrity above financial opportunity.

Even so, Stanford's experience with Google illustrates the immense scale of resources that can arise from successful academic entrepreneurship—and the potential impact if such windfalls are captured and reinvested strategically. The core concept of an innovation endowment is to lock in those “once-in-a-generation” returns and channel them into fortifying the university's mission for generations to come. Stanford missed the chance with Google, but its story offers a powerful lesson for the next wave of entrepreneurial universities.

## **Zhejiang University in Hangzhou: Grassroots Innovation without Central Reliance**

Half a world away, Zhejiang University (ZJU) offers a complementary case study—one centered not on a single windfall, but on building an entrepreneurial ecosystem at both the institutional and local levels. ZJU is a prestigious public research university in Hangzhou, a city often dubbed “Silicon Valley in Paradise” for its vibrant tech scene. Over the past two decades, it has undergone a deliberate transformation from a traditional elite university into a leading “entrepreneurial university,” deeply engaged with industry and local government. This was not a simple imitation of Stanford or MIT, but rather a grassroots, context-specific evolution within China’s hybrid state–market system.

Several milestones mark ZJU’s entrepreneurial turn. In 1988, the university’s president famously updated the school motto to include the word “Innovation” (求是创新), sending a clear signal that entrepreneurship and practical impact were becoming part of ZJU’s core identity. Through the 1990s and 2000s, ZJU aligned itself with China’s national push for technological development and the booming economy of Zhejiang province. In 1998, it merged with three other local colleges to form a comprehensive mega-university—a move orchestrated by the government to strengthen research capacity outside Beijing and Shanghai. Soon after, national policies encouraged universities to establish university-owned enterprises (UREs) and incubators. ZJU embraced this fully: by the early 2000s, it and its alumni were founding major tech companies in Hangzhou, positioning the university as “the engine of a regional innovation ecosystem.” Iconic Chinese tech firms such as Alibaba grew in the same city, benefitting from a steady pipeline of ZJU-trained talent and a culture of local entrepreneurship.

Crucially, Hangzhou’s local government and community played an active grassroots role in this transformation. Municipal authorities cultivated a hospitable environment for startups and university spinoffs through targeted policies. Government-backed innovation parks such as “Dream Town” provided infrastructure and startup grants. Officials explicitly practiced a “hands-off, but ready-to-help” approach: streamlining bureaucratic approvals and stepping in with support when needed—for example, providing subsidies within minutes of an online application. In one district, high-tech firms can receive up to ¥600,000 (≈\$85,000) in subsidies, while fresh graduates who start companies get three years of free office space and grants up to ¥500,000. This grassroots experimentation—municipal authorities acting like venture supporters—has nurtured a thriving innovation cluster around ZJU. According to China Daily, six homegrown startups known as the “Six Little Dragons” are making waves globally, and half of them (including AI firm DeepSeek and robotics maker Deep Robotics) originated directly from ZJU. The university’s campus now hosts dozens of incubators, entrepreneurship clubs, and tech competitions, ensuring that students and faculty have clear pathways to turn ideas into market-ready products.

The result is that Zhejiang University today is far less dependent on central government funding than might be expected for a Chinese public university. While it still benefits from national programs, ZJU has developed diverse income streams: significant technology transfer revenues, equity stakes in spinoff ventures, and partnerships with Zhejiang’s robust manufacturing and tech industries. By the 2010s, it led all Chinese universities in patent licensing and tech-transfer earnings, reflecting the success of its entrepreneurial model. Even when national policy later

required universities to divest direct ownership of companies (to avoid conflicts of interest), ZJU adapted by holding equity through asset management firms or guiding spinoffs via close alumni networks. Its long-term strategy explicitly envisions “leveraging intellectual property and spin-off equity as a core financial strategy” for a “financially self-sustaining university.” In other words, ZJU aims to fund its teaching and research from the innovations it generates—completing a virtuous cycle that reinvests entrepreneurial gains into academic growth. This approach has supported new initiatives in emerging fields such as digital agriculture and AI that might have languished if ZJU had waited for Beijing’s approval or funding.

It is worth noting that ZJU achieved this within China’s state-guided system, which contrasts sharply with Stanford’s private, market-driven context. Yet both cases underscore the same core principle: when universities build robust entrepreneurial finance channels, they gain resilience and autonomy. ZJU did not abandon government support—it aligned with national innovation goals and secured its share of grants—but it diversified its funding sources so that no single patron, not even the Ministry of Education, could dictate its fate. Its story also highlights the importance of cultural and institutional change: the shift to an entrepreneurial mindset was intentional and gradual, involving reforms in governance, faculty incentives, and even the university’s mission statement. The lesson is clear: financial strategy and academic culture must evolve together.

### **Balancing Entrepreneurship with Academic Mission**

The Stanford and ZJU cases demonstrate the promise of entrepreneurial finance for universities, but also underscore the balancing act it requires. On one hand, greater financial independence can strengthen academic freedom and support a long-term vision. A university with a sizable “innovation endowment” or a diversified revenue base is less likely to bow to political pressures or chase every short-term funding trend. Both Stanford and ZJU show that having “skin in the game”—whether through equity holdings or deep local industry ties—can empower institutions to invest in bold ideas, from blue-sky research to novel programs, that traditional funders might deem too risky or unconventional. In an era when federal priorities can shift abruptly, such self-reliance serves as a bulwark for the continuity of research programs and the protection of scholars’ intellectual autonomy.

On the other hand, entrepreneurial pursuits bring new risks to the academy. Derek Bok’s (2003) cautionary perspective remains highly relevant: universities that become too eager for profit may find their values tested. Conflicts of interest must be carefully managed—as Stanford recognized when it chose to sell its Google stock to preserve impartiality as a research institution. Faculty who double as entrepreneurs may face tension between the open communication ethos of academia and the confidentiality of startups, or the time trade-offs between teaching and company-building. Without thoughtful governance, aggressive commercialization can skew a university’s priorities, favoring applied work with quick payoffs over fundamental inquiry. There is also the equity concern: universities must ensure that the fruits of innovation serve the public interest—through accessible technologies, reinvestment in education, and community benefit—not merely the institution’s bottom line.

Policy design is therefore critical to harness entrepreneurial finance in a mission-aligned way. The goal is to capture the flexibility and autonomy that entrepreneurial income can provide, while steadfastly safeguarding academic integrity and public trust. The next section outlines practical recommendations toward achieving that balance.

## **Policy Recommendations: Sustainable, Mission-Aligned Finance**

Universities and their stakeholders—including government funders and philanthropies—can take concrete steps to develop sustainable financial strategies that strengthen autonomy without compromising mission. Based on the cases and evidence discussed, we propose the following:

### 1. Build “Innovation Endowments” from Equity Windfalls

Universities should consider retaining equity stakes from successful spinoffs and licensing deals as long-term endowment investments. Instead of automatically liquidating all startup equity for short-term revenue, a portion could be set aside as a strategic fund dedicated to research and education. Such an innovation endowment would generate steady annual income to support core academic activities, providing a buffer against fluctuations in government grants or donor funding. To avoid conflicts of interest, governance rules should firewall these holdings from academic decision-making (e.g., faculty involved in related startups recuse themselves from investment decisions). Funders and policymakers can facilitate this by granting universities flexibility in managing IP revenue—for example, modifying regulations that currently encourage immediate monetization of intellectual property. Over time, even a handful of major “hits” (such as Stanford’s Google stake) could provide the financial stability needed to pursue a mission without constant fiscal pressure.

### 2. Leverage Local Partnerships and Regional Innovation Ecosystems

Universities should actively engage local and state governments, as well as industry clusters, to diversify their funding base. Zhejiang University’s experience demonstrates the power of tapping regional support—from municipal startup grants to collaborations with local technology firms. By partnering with city or provincial authorities on initiatives such as research parks, incubators, and joint grant programs, universities can access funding streams that are less vulnerable to national political shifts. In return, universities drive local economic growth, creating a mutually beneficial cycle. National governments can support this by devolving certain research funds to regional authorities or matching local investments. Universities, for their part, can establish advisory boards with local industry leaders to identify shared R&D goals, attracting sponsored research that aligns with academic priorities. A diverse portfolio—combining state, city, industry, and philanthropic funds—ensures that no single source dominates the agenda.

### 3. Institute Strong Academic Freedom and Conflict-of-Interest Safeguards

To keep entrepreneurial finance mission-aligned, robust safeguards are essential. Universities should adopt clear conflict-of-interest policies for faculty startups (as Stanford has) and transparency rules for research funded by university-held companies. Faculty entrepreneurs need institutional support for balancing commercialization with academic duties—such as adjusted

teaching loads or targeted mentorship. Importantly, commercial gains should be ring-fenced and reinvested into academic pursuits—for example, endowing chairs, funding scholarships, or supporting basic research—rather than non-educational projects. By visibly reinvesting innovation income into scholarly activities, universities can demonstrate that entrepreneurial finance serves the public good. Government research agencies and foundations should enforce academic freedom clauses in grant agreements and require that universities receiving public funds meet minimum conflict-of-interest policy standards. These measures help ensure that entrepreneurial universities remain anchored in their core mission of knowledge creation and dissemination.

#### 4. Align Incentives with Long-Term, Impactful Research

Both universities and funding bodies should recalibrate incentives to favor long-term societal impact over short-term revenue. For universities, this means tenure and promotion criteria can recognize entrepreneurship and patents as contributions to knowledge and society, but with an emphasis on quality and public benefit rather than sheer financial return. Institutions might establish awards or internal grants for faculty pursuing high-risk, high-reward research with the potential to become tomorrow’s breakthrough ventures—signaling that intellectual risk-taking is valued as much as securing immediate grants. For government and philanthropic funders, a key step is to create programs that support the early stages of university startups (through proof-of-concept grants, seed funds, etc.) without exerting undue control over the research agenda. For instance, a government-backed “University Innovation Fund” could co-invest in university spinoffs on the condition that returns are used exclusively for research and education. Such policies nurture academic entrepreneurship while reinforcing that the ultimate aim is advancing knowledge and societal welfare—not simply generating profit.

By implementing these strategies, universities can move toward financial models that both **sustain their scholarly missions and preserve their autonomy**. Entrepreneurial finance need not mean abandoning the ivory tower ideals; if managed prudently, it can provide the solid ground on which the ivory tower stands, allowing universities to engage with government and industry on more equal terms.

### **Conclusion: University Declaration of Independence?**

The global trend of tightening public research budgets is unlikely to reverse in the near term. Demographic shifts, competing fiscal priorities, and political currents will continue to challenge universities that rely on a single dominant patron—whether that is the state, federal agencies, or one category of student tuition. To thrive in this environment, research universities must proactively rethink their financial strategies. Stanford’s brush with a massive missed opportunity and Zhejiang University’s bottom-up innovations both show that new models are not only possible, but already taking shape. Universities that succeed in building “innovation capital”—whether intellectual, financial, or social—can convert it into enduring academic strength and freedom. Entrepreneurial finance, when pursued thoughtfully, enables a university to engage with society on its own terms: partnering rather than pleading, innovating not out of necessity but out of curiosity and a commitment to progress.

None of this diminishes the essential role of government funding and academic philanthropy. Public investment in university research remains vital and should be vigorously championed for its outsized returns to society. The goal of entrepreneurial finance is not to replace the public trust, but to reinforce it—ensuring that universities have the independent means to uphold their end of the social contract: pursuing truth and educating the next generation, even when political or economic conditions shift. As one analysis observed, a university with substantial self-generated resources “engages government by choice, not by necessity,” maintaining fidelity to its mission while serving the public interest.

In the years ahead, the most successful research universities may well be those that become both more enterprising and more free. By learning from cases like Stanford and Zhejiang University—seizing entrepreneurial opportunities and embedding them in mission-centric policies—universities around the world can secure the financial resilience to chart their own course. Academic freedom flourishes best, after all, when supported by a measure of financial freedom. The charge to university leaders and policymakers is clear: build new funding models that will sustain not only the universities themselves, but the knowledge and innovation engines on which our global future depends. In doing so, they may finally realize Lord Chancellor Bacon’s prescient vision of the Instauration—a university that not only preserves knowledge, but continually advances it for the benefit of humankind.

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