CONTENTS

	Introduction	1
	Why Academics Today Need an Entrepreneurial Approach	5
	What Entrepreneurialism Is and Is Not	9
	Growing Up with an Entrepreneurial Approach	13
	Seeing Scholarship as an Entrepreneurial Activity	16
	Entrepreneurialism and the Life of the Mind	22
	What This Book Is Based on and How It Is	
	Organized	26
1	An Entrepreneurial Mindset	29
	Good Student versus Good Scholar	32
	Celebrating Autonomy	37
	Navigating Self-Doubt with Confidence	43
	Taking Ownership	48
	Why It Matters	53

viii CONTENTS

2	Navigating Uncertainty	56
	The Unpredictability of Academia	60
	Opportunities Arise from Your Actions	66
	Managing Risk by Failing Forward	71
	Embracing Options outside Academia	77
	Why It Matters	82
3	The Idea Business	85
	What's the Problem	88
	Honing the Problem	93
	Caring about the Problem	97
	Personalizing the Problem	101
	Why It Matters	106
4	Leveraging Resources	109
	Scholarship as a Community Sport	112
	Where to Look for Community	117
	Funding and Community	123
	Side Hustles and Community	127
	Why It Matters	131
5	Disseminating Your Ideas	135
	What Ideas Are For	138
	When to Start Sharing	141
	Who to Share With	145
	Avenues for Sharing	151
	Why It Matters	155

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CONTENTS ix

Conclusion159Why Entrepreneurial Scholarship Matters164

Acknowledgments 167 Appendix 171 Notes 177 References 181 Index 191

Introduction

THIS BOOK IS intended to help you think like an entrepreneurial scholar. By entrepreneurial, I'm talking about the skill of crafting something fresh—like knowledge—out of scant resources amid the fog of uncertainty. Thinking like an entrepreneur means asking yourself: *Given who I am, what I know, and who I know, what kind of opportunities could I create for myself*?¹

This isn't your typical guide on the mechanics of earning a doctorate or navigating the academic job market.² Instead, *The Entrepreneurial Scholar* invites you to see scholarship through a new lens. It's a manual for those at the dawn of their scholarly journey, be they doctoral candidates or postdocs, to embrace an entrepreneurial approach in both academia and beyond. It's also a fresh perspective for early to mid-career faculty seeking innovative paths in their professional journey. This book isn't about the "how-tos" of academia; it's about reimagining what it means to be a scholar—a new mindset for academic success.

2 INTRODUCTION

This book grew out of an idea I wrote about during graduate school. In my last semester, I audited a class called "Writing for a Public Audience." It was taught by Sam Wineburg, a professor I greatly admired for his scholarship on historical thinking and digital literacy, but also for his highly accessible and engaging writing style. Like him, I wanted to produce knowledge that reached beyond academic journals, so I was eager to learn about the world of public scholarship.

Unsurprisingly, the primary assignment for the class was to write an op-ed. Most students wrote about their research, but I felt a burning desire to write about my PhD journey. In the months approaching graduation, I constantly thought about how my experience had changed me and tried to make sense of my circuitous route to academia. I felt simultaneously demoralized that I did not have an academic job lined up (despite two attempts on the job market), but also incredibly proud of myself for completing my six-year journey. My friends and family can attest that it was a peculiar and surprising career move, which up to that point had included stints in start-ups, management consulting, teaching, and research/evaluation firms. To tell the truth, academic pursuits had never been my thing: I had not been an exceptionally good high school or college student, and a series of failures in the workplace made me seriously question my intellectual abilities. But in the months leading up to my graduation, I kept returning to the same question: Why did it seem like I enjoyed the PhD journey more than many of my peers?

INTRODUCTION 3

My journey to publishing that op-ed was not smooth. When I first penned the piece in 2019 it faced several rejections, and for the next two years, it lay dormant on my computer while I focused on other pursuits.

In June 2021, with only a few weeks before starting my position at Tulane, I looked at my remaining to-do list. Prominently featured at the top and not yet crossed off was the op-ed. I cringed as I reread the article, thinking about its history of rejection. I knew the piece needed a reframe, so I asked myself: Who am I? What do I know? My nontraditional path to academia gave me the expertise to make an unusual case to graduate students: think more like entrepreneurs.

Now I just needed to find someone to publish it. Thinking about that meant asking another entrepreneurial question: Who do I know? I had already published one op-ed in *Inside Higher Ed*, and since I had a relationship with an editor, I decided to start there. Much to my surprise, the new piece was accepted within hours of submission.

The argument I put forth in my op-ed was that shifting from a consumer to a producer of knowledge fundamentally changed my relationship with education. To be clear, I did not start graduate school thinking of myself as a knowledge producer, but my background and experiences certainly primed me for this shift. Like most graduate students, I expected to consume a lot of information while suffering through several years of reading to write something mysterious called a dissertation. But at my graduate school orientation, Dr. Eamonn Callan, a

4 INTRODUCTION

philosopher of education, gave my incoming class advice that changed my paradigm for learning: "Your job is no longer to consume knowledge. Your job is to produce it."

This shift from consumer to producer allowed me to think of myself as an entrepreneur of ideas. In invoking the language of entrepreneurialism, I am referring to *the ability to generate something new (in this case, knowledge) with limited resources in a highly uncertain environment*. And after six years of training myself to be a knowledge producer, my op-ed argued that this kind of approach to academia was not just valuable—it was essential for both surviving and even flourishing. The op-ed was accepted at *Inside Higher Ed* and published with the title "Why PhD Students Should Think Like Entrepreneurs."³

Throughout the next week, I received several emails from professors (several of whom worked as graduate student directors) and even a therapist who worked with grad students telling me that this was a much-needed perspective their students would benefit from and how excited they were to share it. Like any academic, I love hearing from readers who appreciate my ideas, and knowing that what I wrote was helpful was particularly gratifying.

Then I opened a most unexpected email: it was from Peter Dougherty, an editor at Princeton University Press, asking if I'd be interested in fleshing out the op-ed into a book. Writing it would require gathering quite a lot of data from figures in and out of academia spanning multiple disciplines and industries from a wide range of sources—many of whom I didn't know. It would mean moving beyond graduate students to speak to the concerns of women scholars alongside first generation/low-income (FLI) and Black, Indigenous, and People

INTRODUCTION 5

of Color (BIPOC) scholars and even consider the needs of mid-career scholars. I quickly realized that writing such a book would ironically require an entrepreneurial approach because I would have to leverage who I was, what I knew, and who I knew. But I was game, because at the end of the day I deeply believe that articulating such an approach is needed.

Why Academics Today Need an Entrepreneurial Approach

Some aspects of entrepreneurialism are quite familiar to academics, like operating with finite resources in contexts where success is anything but certain. Academia is unpredictable because the nature of academic employment has become profoundly precarious over the past few decades. Certainly, for graduate students, the traditional apprenticeship model of doctoral education is not working the way it used to,⁴ and it is unlikely that an advanced degree will automatically lead to a secure and prestigious academic career.⁵ Most people who pursue PhDs have a slim chance of becoming professors, especially professors on the tenure track.⁶ Only one in twenty will get a tenure-track job. It has also become very unclear what it takes to get such a job. When I was a graduate student, in sociology of education from 2013 to 2019, a job-market candidate with a solo-authored publication in a top journal would have very good job prospects in my field. But today a candidate with this profile might not even make a shortlist, much less be offered a position.

The pervasive sense of doom regarding one's prospects is abundantly clear in the dozens of essays that make up the

6 INTRODUCTION

"Quit Lit" genre—farewells to academia from grad students through tenured professors.⁷ Take for example Rebecca Schuman's (PhD, literature) well-known 2013 "thesis hatement" published in *Slate*:

During graduate school, you will be broken down and reconfigured in the image of the academy. By the time you finish—if you even do—your academic self will be the culmination of your *entire* self, and thus you will believe, incomprehensibly, that not having a tenure-track job makes you worthless. You will believe this so strongly that when you do not land a job, it will destroy you, and nobody outside of academia will understand why. (Bright side: You will no longer have any friends outside academia.)⁸

The problem is that PhD programs rarely provide their students with a sense of the diverse kinds of career opportunities available to graduates.⁹ This means that while most PhDs will not end up in academia, they also do not know what else to do with themselves.

It doesn't help that for many doctoral students their professional persona is tied to their sense of self, and not getting an academic job is proof that they are simply not deserving of success. This perspective is well-articulated by Melissa Dalgleish (PhD, Canadian literature) in her 2013 "I Quit" Letter:¹⁰

If I finished my PhD and didn't become a professor, as I was pretty certain I would not become, I would be nothing. My identity was so tied up with being an academic that contemplating not being one was something like contemplating my own death . . . My desperate desire to stay in

INTRODUCTION 7

academe turned into fury at the system that had taught me that my self-worth lay in conforming to its standards, that those PhDs who didn't become academics were secondclass citizens, lesser, unworthy.

If most graduate programs do little to inform students of jobs outside of academia, it's no surprise they do even less to prepare graduates for such nonacademic jobs. When I spoke with Teresa Mangum, who is a professor in the Departments of Gender, Women's, and Sexuality Studies and English at the University of Iowa and has held several administrative roles both on her campus and with national organizations, she confirmed that most graduate programs only imagine that what they have to offer is training for the professoriate. When they advertise their departments, they talk about where people got placed in academia and indicate who ended up in other jobs. At the same time, she notes that it's never occurred to PhDs that what they are doing could prepare them for a myriad of career paths. This is why Mangum is currently directing an initiative funded by the Mellon Foundation called Humanities for the Public Good (HPG), which supports faculty in transforming courses and curricula in existing humanities PhD programs to support the values of HPG and offers a certificate program for students who want to focus on preparing for diverse careers.

Graduate education certainly needs to change, but my goal here is not to propose changes to the system of doctoral education and academia more broadly. Others like Leonard Cassuto have done this quite well. As he has persuasively argued, graduate programs need to "revamp their curricula, structures,

8 INTRODUCTION

and standards in a way that prepares today's graduate students for a wider range of employment."¹¹ He is not alone. As Leanne Horinko, James Van Wyck, and Jordan Reed observe in their book *The Reimagined PhD*, "Doctoral education is a tool in the hand of the user, not the creation of a tool to be used in a system. PhDs are not created for a specific purpose, namely the tenure track. PhDs must be equipped for a variety of purposes, which they must have wide leeway to construct for themselves."¹²

This advice resonates with people like Tamara Gilkes Borr, a colleague who was completing her PhD at the same time as I was. Frustrated by many elements of academia, Borr ultimately decided to pursue a job at Boston Consulting Group and then became the public policy correspondent for *The Economist*. As she remarked when speaking about her experience,

We need to think of careers outside academia not so much as the failed path but as another great option for a system that is going to create "extra" people. I wish I had allowed myself the freedom to decide that a job outside academia wasn't a "last resort." It took me a ridiculously sad amount of time to realize how awesome the alternatives to academia are. I wish I'd known that [taking such a job] wasn't failure.

But waiting for academia to undergo slow, self-initiated reform is not what entrepreneurs do. So instead of just adding my voice to those who are already working from the inside to change things, I want to empower scholars with an entrepreneurial approach given the system that we *have*—not bemoan the absence of the system we *wish* we had.

INTRODUCTION 9

What Entrepreneurialism Is and Is Not

Entrepreneurship is a way of thinking, acting, and being that combines the ability to find or create new opportunities with the courage to act on them in a highly uncertain environment.

Some readers might balk at the notion of taking an entrepreneurial approach to scholarship. After all, an entrepreneur is often a term used to describe a for-profit business owner, some of whom have been unethical in their business practices. While Uber and Theranos serve as recent cautionary tales about the perils of start-up culture and vivid examples of how blind worship of start-up founders can go wildly wrong,¹³ there is a sense of purity among some academics who believe they are above anything monetary—that pursuing intellectual endeavors is a selfless endeavor and people who run for-profit businesses are necessarily selfish.

But entrepreneurs are rarely concerned about making millions when they first come up with their ideas. They are more focused on solving some problem, and many have changed the world in amazing ways, largely thanks to insights developed by . . . yes, academics. Consider the field of computer science. The internet, Amazon, GPS, smartphones—it's hard to name a modern information technology innovation and not directly tie it back to academic work that was done in the last twenty to thirty years in universities. When I say that scholars should think like entrepreneurs, I do not mean that they should try to generate a profit or monetize their work. What I am proposing is that their insights should be used for good—to inform policies, practices, and even products where applicable. My advocacy for an entrepreneurial mindset is not about glorifying

10 INTRODUCTION

entrepreneurs, but rather about prompting scholars to adopt a new mindset. Thinking like an entrepreneur can help scholars consider the broader impact of their research and how it can contribute to society.

Nor is it my intention in discussing entrepreneurship to advocate for a neoliberal approach that advocates for the corporatization of academia. In my view, the current prevalence of corporate language within the university—which includes terms like technology transfer, knowledge economy, grant generation, and the all-purpose focus on efficiency—wrongly dominates academic scholarship both within and outside institutions. As Maggie Berg and Barbara Seeber so ably discuss in The Slow Professor, this focus on productivity and accountability has negative consequences for both the quality of scholarship and the working lives of academics.¹⁴ They observe that privileging certain forms of knowledge and emphasizing metrics naturally leads to a faster pace of research that devalues deep understanding and reflection. Furthermore, the pressure to be productive and marketable undermines the collegial culture of academia and contradicts the core values of intellectual advancement and discovery. Berg and Seeber advocate for a slower, more reflective approach to research that values nurturing and revising our grasp of a topic rather than simply accumulating new information.

In arguing that scholars should adopt an entrepreneurial approach, I am also not arguing in support of the idea of applying market models to universities (known as "academic capitalism") or the intensification of pressure to attract external funding and produce knowledge that is immediately applicable to the needs of the private and/or government sectors

INTRODUCTION 11

(known as "research capitalism").¹⁵ Nor do I endorse the idea of scholars operating like business-oriented research firms, where research tasks are restricted to specific periods and are conducted through fee-for-service models. The academic research model provides scholars the time needed to consider multiple perspectives and delve into their data. Augusta Rohrbach articulated this idea clearly in *The Reimagined PhD* when she observed that academics are not constrained by the business calendar and can pursue knowledge for its own sake.¹⁶ This approach encourages innovative thinking and the pursuit of truth, which is a valuable contribution to society.

Maybe it's reassuring to discover that the field of business sees optimizing processes and avoiding failure as *managerial* issues. Focusing on that kind of thinking works best in times of certainty when goals are predetermined, issues are transparent, and information is reliable and accessible. Entrepreneurship is in many respects the opposite of management. Entrepreneurs face considerably more uncertainty and have a lot less information than managers. They are forced to use the resources they have rather than wait for more to show up while navigating unchartered waters.¹⁷ Entrepreneurial thinking is about experimentation combined with embracing and leveraging failure. If management is about learning to act, then entrepreneurship is about acting to learn.

Curiously enough, the incentive structure for US faculty encourages individual professors to be entrepreneurial in their approach, because historically colleges have been fairly autonomous institutions.¹⁸ US higher education emerged in the nineteenth century under unique conditions—when the market was strong, the state was weak, and the church was

12 INTRODUCTION

divided.¹⁹ Colleges were private not-for-profit enterprises that had a state charter but little or no state funding—autonomous enterprises that had found a way to survive without steady support from either church or state. They had to attract and retain students in order to bring in tuition dollars, and they had to make themselves useful both to these students and to elites in the local community, both of whom would then make donations to continue the colleges in operation.²⁰

Although this autonomy was a historical accident and not part of a master plan, by the twentieth century it became a major source of strength. More responsive to consumers and community than to the state, institutions managed to mitigate the kind of top-down governance that might have stifled the system's creativity. As a result, the incentive structure for US faculty encourages individual professors to be entrepreneurial. It's true that they need to publish in order to win honors for themselves (and their school). But at its best, the university is a place that gives maximum freedom for faculty to pursue their interests and passions in the justified hope that they will frequently come up with something interesting and possibly even useful, even if its value is not immediately apparent.²¹

This is why I think there's room within the academy for scholars to still take charge of their career path. They cannot predict the future, but they can help create it. They cannot control whether they will land a tenure-track job or get a promotion, but they have agency in what they create with their research. Adopting an entrepreneurial approach will help them embrace and confront uncertainty and reclaim their autonomy.

INTRODUCTION 13

Growing Up with an Entrepreneurial Approach

Although the realization that academia is well-suited to individuals with an entrepreneurial mindset only occurred to me once I was in graduate school, I had been surrounded by and even forced to embrace such an approach at an early age. I grew up in the former Soviet Union during the 1980s. Under communism, Jews like my family were persecuted, prevented from getting certain jobs, and faced jail time if they were caught practicing their faith. Ironically, the former Soviet Union didn't want the Jews to emigrate because they had high levels of education. My parents tried for almost a decade to find a way out, and in 1988 we finally received permission to emigrate as refugees. When I was seven years old, we packed up four suitcases (the maximum we were allowed to take) and left.

Finding our way in the US with no English skills and very limited financial resources meant that my parents were always thinking entrepreneurially: *Given who we are, what we know, and who we know, what kind of opportunities could we create for ourselves*?²² A relative gave us an old two-door red hatchback car and we moved in with my aunt while we investigated permanent housing options. Eventually, we found a small apartment in Northeast Philadelphia, which we furnished with items that other people had left by the curb or dumpster.

My parents also had to use the means available to them to make ends meet. Like many immigrants, they could not continue to work in their former occupations as engineers in the US. My father found an assembly job at an electrical

14 INTRODUCTION

manufacturing company and my mother started doing janitorial work. Money was tight, so my father would join my mother and put in a second shift after his day job was done. In the evenings, I accompanied my parents to their cleaning jobs in office buildings, where I would dust offices and help empty garbage cans before falling asleep on the lobby couch.

My parents continued to think entrepreneurially. They were extremely handy, so after a few years of scrimping and saving they came up with the idea of buying a cheap fixerupper house, renovating it, and then renting it. They managed to purchase a house and did all the renovations themselves which meant that I now spent my evenings and weekends accompanying them to Home Depot. After they renovated one house and rented it, they bought a second one, and then a third. But just as my family was starting to experience some modicum of stability, my father was killed in a car accident. I was a few months shy of my fifteenth birthday and my mother was on her own. I didn't have a choice—now it was time for me to start acting entrepreneurially.

After my father died, I found ways to leverage who I was, what I knew, and who I knew to create opportunities to earn money. There was a Jewish Community Center (JCC) within walking distance of our house, so in ninth grade I got a job working at the front desk. After tenth grade, I leveraged my social networks to find a summer job as a nanny in NYC, and after eleventh grade, another friend's dad helped me get a summer job doing administrative work for a law firm. In twelfth grade, I got a weekend job distributing samples at Philadelphia festivals (my favorite was passing out Pepcid AC to hungover revelers at the 1999 Mummers Day parade).

INTRODUCTION 15

Having lived a life of uncertainty, I saw college as a means to an end—a way to climb the socioeconomic ladder. My mother made it clear that we were not taking out loans for me to "find myself" or take classes in whatever I found interesting—that was something my affluent peers could afford to do. I didn't think I had the skills or stomach for law or medical school, so I majored in business administration and continued to think creatively about how to make money on the side. I worked as a Hebrew school teacher, tutor, baby-sitter, program planner for the study abroad office, and a photographer for fraternity and sorority events and for corporate parties around Atlanta.

After graduation I experimented with several types of jobs and experiences, always thinking like an entrepreneur about how I could be exposed to new ideas and encounters despite limited resources. I worked at two tech start-ups, and eventually moved to DC to work in international development, where I helped deploy hundreds of subject matter experts to Afghanistan and Iraq to rebuild their education, financial, and political systems.

After a few years of consulting, I started thinking about other career options. I wanted to find a way to combine my passion for education, my enthusiasm for Excel spreadsheets, and my interest in international development. In DC, a master's was necessary for any professional advancement, so I considered returning to school for a degree in international education. But I didn't have a great college GPA and certainly didn't have any college professors whom I could ask for a recommendation. So I came up with a plan: I would enroll in one evening class at the George Washington University and hopefully develop a relationship with a professor who would write

16 INTRODUCTION

me a recommendation. Taking a class would also help me see if I was interested in graduate school in the first place. My plan worked—the professor wrote me a letter of recommendation and I leveraged that to get into a master's program at Teachers College, Columbia University.

I didn't have any plan to continue to a PhD, so I spent the following five years working for a series of research and evaluation firms in DC and the Bay Area. What propelled me back into academia was a series of professional struggles in my late twenties. I didn't feel motivated to work for others on a 9 to 5 schedule but wanted to work for myself so that I had more control over my life. I assumed I would start my own business and I believed that having a PhD would lend credibility to my ventures. So back to school I went. Oh, and did I mention that I started graduate school with an eight-month-old baby?

Seeing Scholarship as an Entrepreneurial Activity

It was during my second year at Stanford that I began to realize how much I enjoyed graduate school. It was completely not what I expected, but everything that I needed. I *was* finally my own boss—something that for many years I had been yearning for. Although my advisor and committee members had control over whether I passed the different requirements, no one told me what to do, when to do it, or how to do it. I noticed that many of my peers found this debilitating, but I found it liberating. Like them, my educational experience up to that point had involved being evaluated on my ability to

INTRODUCTION 17

consume and regurgitate information. But as a doctoral student, I was being asked to produce new information—and that was exhilarating. Producing knowledge meant that everything I read and wrote about had a *purpose* beyond a grade.

What I realized is that thriving in a PhD program isn't about being a good student in the traditional sense. *It is about finding and crafting something original with limited resources, such as time, funding, or materials, while facing an unclear and unpredictable future.* This is what I had been learning and practicing most of my life. It is also the definition of entrepreneurship.

What surprised me is that most doctoral students don't think of themselves as entrepreneurs—they think of themselves as good students. And they are. But they wrongly assume that the same formula that got them through school and college will work in graduate school and later in academia. The first few semesters of grad school are generally smooth sailing as students spend most of their time taking required classes. The routine feels familiar—reminiscent of the script they adhered to for decades. But eventually, that script comes to an end. There are no required classes to attend. No weekly papers to write. No exams to take. As the structure of schooling disappears, students start to feel lost and confused.²³ Emily Roberts, who earned her PhD in bioengineering, described her struggle to understand what the academic enterprise was all about:

I didn't really understand what we're all here to do and what the goals are beyond just passing your classes and doing some experiments. I see now that it all has to come together to be a picture and a story that you push out, but I don't

18 INTRODUCTION

think I understood that soon enough, or well enough . . . If I really understood what the point of all of this was, there could have been less burnout in the middle years of graduate school. The burnout came from feeling like I was spinning my wheels, like I wasn't really making progress in the right direction.

What happened to these previous stellar students? What plagues them is the mistaken belief that being a good scholar means being a good *consumer* of information—someone who is a close reader and able to process large volumes of information. But this isn't the right mindset for becoming a scholar. Dr. Callan was right: a graduate student's job is to *produce* knowledge.

Producing knowledge requires an entirely different kind of skillset than consuming information. It's the skillset of an entrepreneur. For example, being entrepreneurial encourages you to take more charge of your life and create opportunities for yourself despite an unknown future. To navigate the uncertainty of academia, it helps to think like an entrepreneur, asking: *How can I use my intellectual capital (knowledge, expertise, and ideas), human capital (skills, talents, and experiences), and social capital (networks, relationships, and connections) to create something*? In other words, how can I combine my knowledge, skills, and networks to create something valuable?

Saras Sarasvathy, a scholar of entrepreneurship at the University of Virginia's Darden School of Business, calls this "effectual thinking."²⁴ Effectual thinking is means-driven—it starts with what one has (resources, abilities, and aspirations) and focuses on selecting among possible outcomes that can

INTRODUCTION 19

be created with those means. Effectual thinking is adaptive in nature—it assumes that the future is unpredictable and that success comes from being able to leverage contingencies and new opportunities as they arise. Sarasvathy contrasts this with "causal thinking," which is goal oriented—it starts with a predetermined goal and focuses on identifying the optimal means to achieve that goal. Causal thinking is predictive in nature—it assumes that the future is predictable, and that careful planning can control outcomes. Entrepreneurs often succeed not by predicting the future, but by making use of what they have at hand and working (often with others) to shape the future.

To use a cooking analogy, causal thinking is akin to following a recipe: one starts with a clear picture of the desired outcome—say an authentic Louisiana gumbo—and then gathers the specific ingredients and follows precise steps to achieve it. Effectual thinking, however, is more like improvisational cooking: one begins with the ingredients on hand, and without a fixed outcome in mind, creatively combines them into a dish. You might end up with a gumbo, or a stew, or some other flavorful concoction. Graduate students should see themselves like a chef who starts with the ingredients they have, and begins to create based on what's at hand, realizing that they can diverge from the recipe to create something amazing and new. Entrepreneurs use effectual thinking to start new ventures by imagining possibilities that originate from their means but aren't set on one goal (gumbo) but rather the desired outcome (dinner).

Effectual thinkers also invite the surprise factor because they realize that things happen. Instead of spending time thinking about all the possible "what-if" scenarios to deal with

20 INTRODUCTION

worst-case scenarios, they interpret "bad" news and surprises as potential clues to pivot to a more rewarding outcome. When predicting the future, effectual thinkers start by focusing on what they can control. If their actions don't yield the desired outcomes, they remain resourceful, flexible, and adapt—much like the classic "breakfast for dinner" scenario. An effectual entrepreneur realizes that because we can adapt to the future, we don't need to predict it. This is because they believe that the future is not set, and therefore is created rather than predicted.

Most scholars don't realize they already are flirting with an entrepreneurial mindset. While they're not out to make a profit, scholars spend years ideating, honing, marketing, and disseminating their product: ideas. Generating these ideas often happens with limited resources while navigating a highly uncertain environment. As Scott Cowen, former president of Tulane University, told me, "I don't care if you're a sociologist, or if you're in finance, your role is not just to churn out papers and research. Being a professor is thinking about being entrepreneurial—[to] come up with new ideas that will make the world a better place." Lots of academics have good ideas, but getting those ideas out into the world requires a mindset that is more common among entrepreneurs than among people who are good at school.

Consider the case of John List,²⁵ who was pursuing a PhD in economics at the University of Wyoming. During graduate school, List attended baseball card conventions to work as a dealer, and he started experimenting with different ways to make money. He would try to negotiate in different ways, bargain in different ways, sell goods in different ways, and buy,

INTRODUCTION 21

sell, and trade differently at different moments in the convention. His deep knowledge and experience of the baseball card market also made him question some of the ideas he was learning in his classes about how economists were making inferences based on lab experiments. List thought there was more value in conducting field experiments, and started to think about how his experiences could be leveraged in his research.

There was just one problem—his professors were not on board. They had very specific ideas and models of what economics research should look like, and field experiments were not in the mix. That forced List to think creatively about how to conduct field experiments without financial resources or the backing of his advisors. He wanted to understand how background characteristics such as age, gender, and race influenced markets, and realized that the very experience that triggered his ideas in the first place—baseball card conventions—gave him the perfect opportunity to randomize people into treatment and control groups. At these conventions, close to a thousand different sellers stand behind six-foot seller tables, selling, trading, and buying cards from customers. List would recruit customers as they walked through the front door and take them to a separate room he had reserved. If customers agreed to participate in the experiment, he would send them to negotiate with various dealers throughout the marketplace. Afterward, they would return to report on what they bought or sold and describe how the negotiations unfolded with different dealers. Unlike in lab experiments, where people know their choices are being scrutinized and can modify their own behavior in socially desirable

22 INTRODUCTION

ways, the sellers at the conventions had no idea they were "in" an experiment. This made it possible for List to examine whether the same seller would, for example, treat a male customer differently than a female customer. Beginning with this early research on a shoestring budget, List launched a revolution in field experiments and helped fuel their explosion over the last twenty-five years.

Entrepreneurialism and the Life of the Mind

My goal in this book is to encourage scholars to become more entrepreneurial in their scholarly endeavors—regardless of where they end up occupationally. Throughout this book, I do not define success as getting an academic job. Very few people will end up in these roles. I argue that scholars who bring an entrepreneurial mindset will feel motivated to write and contribute their ideas to society regardless of where they ultimately land.

Some people begin their graduate studies with the intention to move into nonacademic jobs (I certainly did), while others pursue nonacademic jobs when they realize that academia will not work for them. But academia is not the only place that offers a career rooted in the "life of the mind."²⁶ As the editors of *The Reimagined PhD* argue, society needs the insights of PhDs, and in turn, PhD programs must adopt a more global perspective. The skills of interpretation, research, discovery, and knowledge are essential across all sectors. We need to reimagine the PhD so that we can broaden the impact of academic learning across society. Any examination of social issues that overlooks the contributions of history, the arts, religion, philosophy, anthropology,

INTRODUCTION 23

and similar fields, as well as the natural sciences, is likely to be superficial and prone to flawed conclusions. In STEM, the concept of technology transfer involves applying academic discoveries to real-world applications. This principle should be extended to the humanities, arts, and social sciences. In their words, "While we might worry that thinking more about applicability sacrifices the traditional intellectual virtue of standing apart from the mainstream society in order to critique it, why should we settle for *critiquing* when we might play a far greater role in *constructing* the public world?"²⁷

Instead of a how-to guide to help scholars land an academic job or finish their dissertation, this book spells out an approach that can help them change their perception of what getting and having a PhD entails. It argues that success goes beyond mastering a subject area; it's about using your expertise to generate influential ideas amidst resource limitations and uncertainty.

Developing the habits to be productive and motivated entrepreneurial scholars requires academics to fundamentally rethink their relationship with academia. It's no mystery that academia is rife with uncertainty: expectations are unclear, many advisors are inattentive, no one knows what the academic job market will look like when they graduate, and rarely do scholars feel like they have adequate resources. But these conditions also offer an opportunity to think strategically about the resources and skills available to create a new idea to be an entrepreneur.

Life outside academia adds another layer of uncertainty during this period, as individuals navigate the complexities of dating, marriage, and childrearing. I had planned to have a

24 INTRODUCTION

second baby between my second and third year of graduate school, strategically timing the arrival to avoid the tumult of a very difficult sequence of econometrics classes. However, life, with its inherent unpredictability, had other plans. It took me a year to get pregnant, and as a result, I had my baby just as that demanding sequence of classes was set to begin. This unexpected turn of events was a stark reminder that we can plan and strategize, but ultimately, we must be prepared to adapt and find creative solutions amidst the fog of uncertainty that life presents.

I see this entrepreneurial approach as offering an added benefit for many scholars who are oftentimes marginalized within the academy.²⁸ I am advocating for this mindset and writing this book to get a variety of scholars—graduate students, early career scholars, women, FLI and BIPOC scholars, and even mid-career scholars who feel stalled—to see themselves as active agents in their education and careers. Too often, these individuals feel disempowered.²⁹ The existing structures in the academy, including the power dynamics between advisors and advisees, admittedly limit the ability of doctoral students to apply some of what I am suggesting. But while an individual scholar cannot easily change the structure of the academic profession, they can shift their approach to take agency in areas where they do have control.

For example, I hope this approach is useful for those who are first-generation students or who grew up with limited resources. It's well-known that many people who enter academia also come from economic privilege³⁰ and have lived lives marked by a sense of stability, security, and confidence. A recent study found that 50 percent of people who earned a

INTRODUCTION 25

PhD between 2010 and 2018 had at least one parent with a graduate degree.³¹ At the other end of the spectrum, only 26 percent of PhD recipients across fields were first-generation college graduates. They have fewer resources at their disposal and might not have parents who can help support them financially during graduate school, unlike their wealthier classmates.³²

FLI scholars also likely do not know the "rules of the game" when it comes to graduate school. When people grow up with academic family members, they are more familiar with the hidden curriculum of graduate school and have been socialized into the academic world at a young age.³³ Shantel Martinez, a first-generation woman of color, recalls being in her graduate program in communication and media studies at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign with peers who were children of professors. "They were reading Foucault at age eighteen, and I was like—what? How is that even possible?"³⁴ But taking an entrepreneurial mindset turns not knowing the graduate school script into an asset. When I spoke with Constantina Katsari, a tech entrepreneur who received her PhD in history, she put it like this:

If you come from a working-class background like I did, you don't have any information at all, and you have to get the information from scratch . . . there's a whole load of things that you have no clue about. You need to figure it out for yourself, and this is what entrepreneurs do. Entrepreneurs do not read books and then go out there and implement what they learn from the books. They have to understand the conditions on the ground, they have to understand how

26 INTRODUCTION

people are thinking, and then they have to understand what needs to be done.

In other words, if you aren't wedded to the norms and expectations, you have a greater sense that you can chart your own path. If you grew up with or have experienced economic insecurity, you already know how to navigate risk and uncertainty and work with limited resources. Most importantly, you already understand how to start small with what you have rather than waiting for what you need. This is all part of entrepreneurial thinking, and in this respect low-income and/or first-generation college students start out *ahead* in the game. The same is true in different ways for women and BIPOC scholars—their experiences give them added advantages when it comes to adopting an entrepreneurial approach toward scholarship.

What This Book Is Based on and How It Is Organized

While the ideas in this book are based partly on my own experience in academia, I wanted to reach as broad a spectrum of scholars as I could, so I conducted extensive (1+ hour) interviews in-person or over Zoom between May 2022 and May 2023 with forty-three individuals across a range of disciplines, departments, ranks, and institutions. This was by no means a random or representative sample, and readers will notice that perspectives from the social sciences and humanities are overrepresented, while those from STEM fields are

INTRODUCTION 27

underrepresented. To get perspectives beyond my own social network, I asked people on different professional LISTSERVs to nominate scholars who they considered to be entrepreneurial. I also recruited some people by listening to podcasts about them and asking them for an interview. All but four interviewees have a PhD, but tellingly not all work in academia.

As a sociologist who studies inequality, it was especially important for me that readers who are women, FLI, or BIPOC see themselves in the examples shared in this book. About half of my sample identify as women, one-quarter BIPOC, and one-third FLI. All the people interviewed for this book gave me permission to use their real name when quoting them (see Table 1 at the end of the book) Please note that the titles and institutional affiliations mentioned reflect their status as of spring 2023 and may have changed since then.

In addition to interviews, I also draw on ideas from academic career guides,³⁵ entrepreneurship literature, and hundreds of hours of podcasts with academics (such as Steve Levitt's podcast, *People I Mostly Admire*), or podcasts targeted toward PhD students (e.g., *Hello PhD* targeted toward scientists). Finally, for the past four years, I have been running a fellowship program for students pursuing doctorates in education across universities in the United States, Canada and Israel. I have mentored sixteen students, most of whom wrote their dissertations while working part- or full-time.

This book unfolds in two parts. In the first part, I map out what I call an entrepreneurial mindset. Chapter 1 argues for the value of taking charge of your scholarship by adopting an entrepreneurial mindset. This entails rethinking your approach to your good student tendencies, believing in your ability to

28 INTRODUCTION

succeed, and taking ownership of your education and career. Chapter 2 describes the flip side of the entrepreneurial mindset that recognizes there are things you can't control. It examines how then to embrace unpredictability and still recognize you have options. Once the entrepreneurial mindset is in place, I then pivot to look at how to apply it in practice. Chapter 3 describes how to think of yourself as a knowledge producer in the idea business—to think about your work in terms of problems rather than topics and why it is important to solve problems that matter to you and the world. Chapter 4 argues that academics need to embrace relationship building and view academia as a team sport. It also outlines ideas for working with limited resources and financing your research through side jobs, grants, and fellowships. Chapter 5 talks about how to get your ideas "out there" both in and beyond the academy and provides ideas for what that could look like. I conclude with a final story about one early career scholar whose entrepreneurial mindset helped him become one of the most prolific scholars in his field, disseminating his ideas far beyond academia.

By the end of this book, I hope you feel more empowered to take charge of your educational and professional journey. By embracing the constraints of limited resources amid uncertain circumstances, I hope you come to see yourself as an entrepreneurial scholar—someone with the power to shape how people think, by producing knowledge and putting your ideas out into the world.

INDEX

academia: autonomy of, 11-12, 37-43, 55; contacts and networks in, 111–17, 133-34; corporate models of, 10-11; entrepreneurial mindset in, 13, 20, 39; hierarchical nature of, 41, 45–46; life outside, 50-51, 54, 58, 77-84; risk aversion in, 72–73; self-doubt and impostor syndrome in, 43-48, 55; traditional scholarship in, 10, 32-37, 50, 54-55, 94-95, 139-40; uncertainty in, 5, 12, 18, 23-24, 43, 60-66, 77-78, 83. See also entrepreneurial scholarship; graduate school; humanities, arts, and social sciences; ideas; knowledge production academic capitalism, 10 admissions, to graduate school, 33 advisors: advisees' relationship with, 24, 39; negative impact of, 21, 23, 40, 101, 129; power of, 16, 24; role of, 16, 36, 38, 40, 42 AIDS. 82 Airbnb, 86 American Anthropological Association, 82

American Journal of Sociology, 76 American Sociological Association, 59 American Sociological Review (journal), 76, 120 Archives Month Philly, 136 Arriaga, Rosa, 76 arts. See humanities, arts, and social sciences Association for the Sociology of Religion, 59 Athey, Susan, 64-65 The Atlantic (magazine), 71 Ato, Gladys, 77, 86, 88, 131-32, 140-41 autonomy: academic, 11-12, 37-43, 55; as feature of entrepreneurial mindset, 37-38, 50-51, 55 Ayn Rand Institute, 57

Bain, Ken, 93, 95–96, 99 Ballmer, Steve, 64 BCG. *See* Boston Consulting Group Benor, Sarah, 92, 153–54 Berg, Maggie, 10 Bergman, Brian, 66–67 Bing, 65

192 INDEX

Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) scholars: academic concerns of, 4-5; academic resources for, 124–25, 130; contribution to the public good as goal of, 140; entrepreneurial mindset for, 24; obstacles faced by, 47, 104-5; self-advocacy important for, 39; self-doubt of, 43–44; strengths/ advantages of, 26, 49-50, 91; as subjects of research, 27. See also marginalized scholars Blakely, Sara, 29-31 Bloomberg News, 57 Borr, Tamara Gilkes, 8, 46, 53-54, 70-71, 139 Boston Consulting Group (BCG), 8, 46-47, 53-54 Bruce, Tricia, 58-59, 119-22, 154 Burns, Jennifer, 56-57

Callan, Eamonn, 3–4, 18 Capella University, 123-24 Cassuto, Leonard, 7-8, 40, 81 causal thinking, 19 Center for Graduate Career Success, 79 CGLife, 102 Chambers, Paula, 70 Chesky, Brian, 86 Clark, Nate, 85-86 CODA (film), 103 Cole, Eddie R., 91, 126–27, 140 collaboration. See contacts and networks The College Board, 46 community. See contacts and networks comparative/competitive advantage, 102-6

confidence, 45-47, 55, 59, 142, 145 Conley, Dalton, 60, 69-70, 105, 151 Conley, Joseph, 32 contacts and networks: in academia, 111-17, 133-34; benefits of, 113-14; complementary relationships in, 115; entrepreneurial scholarship and, 112-23, 133; entrepreneurial use of, 3, 41, 112; funding and, 123–27, 134; in graduate school, 41; identification/development of, 117–23, 134; leveraging of, 42, 59, 110–11; negative reputation of using, 113; public scholarship and, 152; serendipitous, 120-21; side hustles and, 128-31, 134; taking ownership and, 49. See also advisors; mentors COVID-19 pandemic, 110-11 Cowen, Scott, 20 creativity: adaptability and, 21, 24; effectual thinking and, 19; as feature of entrepreneurialism, 31, 52, 143; obstacles to, 12, 33, 72, 143; openness as feature of, 64, 96; problem-solving and, 88, 94-95

Dalgleish, Melissa, 6–7, 98–99 Deci, Edward, 38 Dennie, Nneka, 118–19, 120, 129–30 Descartes, Rene, 113 Digital Paxton, 135–37 Donaldson, Sophia, 72, 125 doubt. *See* self-doubt Dougherty, Peter, 4 Dropbox, 86 Dubner, Stephen J. *See* Levitt, Steve

INDEX 193

Duke University, 128 Dweck, Carol, 73

early career scholars: collaboration of, 117, 120; contacts and networks of, 113; entrepreneurial mindset for, 24, 141, 156; job opportunities for, 80; mentors of, 118; reputation of, 144; research interests of, 94; struggles of, 87 Ecklund, Elaine, 74, 97, 104 The Economist (newspaper), 8, 46, 54, 71 Edison, Thomas, 71-72 effectual thinking, 18-20, 61, 63 emeritus professors, 111, 122 entrepreneurialism: author's youth as introduction to, 13–16, 61–62; case example of, 160-64; contacts' and networks' role in, 3, 41, 112–13; definition/essence of, 1, 4, 9–13, 17; future orientation of, 19; managerialism contrasted with, 11; motivations in, 9; problem-solving as feature of, 9, 52, 80, 112; public good as focus of, 9–10; skepticism about, 30. See also entrepreneurial mindset; entrepreneurial scholarship entrepreneurial mindset: autonomy/ freedom as feature of, 37-38, 50-51; cultivation of, 51-52, 73-74; definition/essence of, 31, 61; features of the academia conducive to/ compatible with, 13, 20; flexibility of, 78, 96; in graduate school, 19–20, 35, 67–71; as growth mindset, 73-74; misleading models of, 52, 112; opportunity creation as feature

of, 1, 9, 13, 18, 31, 55, 61–62, 66–71, 83–84; self as starting point for, 1, 25, 37–38, 50, 68, 70, 88–89, 92, 97–106; self-efficacy as feature of, 45, 55; side hustles and, 128–31; taking ownership as feature of, 48–53, 55; value of, 9–10, 22, 24. *See also* entrepreneurialism; entrepreneurial scholarship

- entrepreneurial scholarship: audiences for, 145-50, 154, 157-58; autonomy of academia conducive to, 11-12, 39, 55; avenues for, 151-55, 158; contacts and networks undergirding, 112-23, 133; definition/essence of, 17, 25-26, 28, 164-65; failure's role in, 75-76; in graduate school, 17-20, 23-24, 163; and knowledge production, 137; marginalized scholars' opportunities for, 24–26; opportunities for, 1, 4–8, 23, 39, 67-71; problem-solving and, 86, 88-97; public good as focus of, 20, 22, 100-101, 106-8, 137, 139-41, 148–58; self as starting point for, 97–106; side hustles and, 128–31; skepticism about, 9; traditional academic behavior vs., 10, 32-37, 54-55, 86, 94-95, 139-40; value of, 164; and voice, 147, 150. See also entrepreneurialism; entrepreneurial mindset; public scholarship
- failure: avoidance of, 11; dwelling on, 75; embracing and leveraging, 11, 42, 60, 71–77, 84, 127; entrepreneurial scholarship and, 75–76; feelings of, in academia, 8, 43. See also risk-taking

194 INDEX

fellowships, 125-27 Fenton, Will, 87, 135-37 field experiments, 21–22 first generation/low-income (FLI) scholars: academic concerns of, 4; entrepreneurial mindset for, 24; limited resources of, 24-25; as mentors, 133; self-advocacy important for, 39; self-doubt of, 43; strengths/advantages of, 25–26, 104-5; as subjects of research, 27; traditional academic expectations as obstacle for, 25, 32-33. See also marginalized scholars fixed mindset, 73 Fletcher, Angus, 64 FLI. See first generation/low-income (FLI) scholars Ford Foundation, 125 Frederick, Heather, 81 funding, networks and, 123-27, 134 Furstenberg, Frank, 33-34 future: adaptation to, 20; entrepreneurs' creation of, 19–20; scholars' creation of, 12; uncertainty of, 17-19 Gannon, Maureen, 44

Gardner, Howard, 40–43, 53, 102–3, 144, 147 Gates, Bill, 52, 112 Gebbia, Joe, 86 Goodman, Nelson, 42–43 Google, 93, 99 graduate school: admissions criteria for, 33; author's experience of, 2, 16–17; autonomy in, 37–43; critiques of, 6–8, 23–24, 40–41, 43, 46–47, 51, 87; difficulties encountered in, 17–18,

32, 105–6; enthusiasm and joy for, 87; entrepreneurial mindset in, 19–20, 35, 67-71, 89-90, 162-63; expansion of interests during, 70-71, 94–97; hidden curriculum of, 25, 34; individuality rewarded in, 105; job prospects following, 5–8, 22, 53-54, 78-81; knowledge consumption and production in, 3-4, 16-18, 36, 86; life changes accompanying, 60-61; marginalized scholars in, 24; measures of excellence in, 32-37; rates of completion of, 60; skills necessary for, 34, 39, 78–79, 157; uncertainty in, 5, 60-61, 65-66. See also academia; advisors graduate students. See early career scholars; graduate school Gramm, Kimberly, 89-90 Granovetter, Mark, 76 grants, 125–27 growth mindset, 73-74, 84. See also entrepreneurial mindset

Harden, Paige, 37–39, 91, 113 Harris, Kamala, 70 Heterodox Academy, 142 hidden curriculum, 25, 34 Historical Society of Philadelphia, 135–36 Horinko, Leanne, 8 Houston, Drew, 86 Hudson, Sally, 148–49 humanities, arts, and social sciences: skills developed in, 22; societal contributions of, 7, 22–23 Humanities for the Public Good, 7

INDEX 195

ideas: audiences for, 145-50, 154, 157-58; avenues for, 151-55, 158; cultivation of, 141-45, 157; entrepreneurial scholarship and, 88-97; generation of, 95-96 (see also obstacles to generation of); novelty of, 93-94; obstacles to generation of, 87-88, 99; as product, 20, 86; value and uses of, 138-41, 157. See also knowledge production; problem-solving impostor syndrome, 43–45, 48 improvisation, 19, 63, 68 Indigenous scholars. See Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) scholars innovation districts, 89-90 Inside Higher Ed (magazine), 3-4, 142 interdisciplinarity, 4–5, 26, 68–69, 84, 114, 119, 123, 134 iPod, 146, 150

Jewish English Lexicon, 153–54 Jewish Language Project, 92 job market: academic skills useful for, 39; outside academia, 5–8, 22, 53–54, 56–59, 77–84; uncertainty in, 5 Jobs, Steve, 52, 112, 146 Johnson, Vicki, 126

Kahneman, Daniel, 116 Kalman, David Zvi, 50–51, 98, 115, 151–52 Katsari, Constantina, 25–26, 73 Key, Narketta Sparkman-, 47–50, 101, 106, 123–24, 131 Kickstarter, 86 knowledge production: in academia, 86–87; academia's corporate model of, 10–11; entrepreneurial scholarship and, 137; in graduate school, 3–4, 17–18, 36; problem-solving as means to, 28, 86–93, 97. See also ideas Kurtzer, Yehuda, 96

Labaree, David, 35, 93, 94-95, 103, 105, 114-15, 142-44, 146, 147 Ladon, Josh, 89, 91 Lalka, Rob, 52, 112, 145-50 leveraging: in effectual thinking, 19; of failure, 11; of personal resources, 5, 14, 16; of relationships, 42, 59, 110-11; of resources, 109-34 Levinas, Emmanuel, 98 Levitt, Steve, 27, 34-35; Freakonomics (with Stephen J. Dubner), 99, 101 Library Company of Philadelphia, 135-36 limited resources: community as component of, 112-31; as feature of entrepreneurialism, 1, 4, 5; of FLI students, 24–25; leveraging of, 109-34; side hustles and, 128-31 List, John, 20-22, 107 Looking Lab, 68, 156 Lunch Club, 121, 149 Lyft, 107

Mainemelis, Charalampos, 143 Mangum, Teresa, 7, 78–79, 104, 123, 149, 152–53 marginalized scholars: obstacles faced by, 104–5; opportunities for entrepreneurial scholarship, 24–26;

196 INDEX

marginalized scholars (*continued*) self-advocacy important for, 39; strengths/advantages of, 25-26, 104-5; tenure process and, 49. See also Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) scholars; first generation/low-income (FLI) scholars; queer scholars; women scholars Marquardt, Kelli, 118 Martinez, Shantel, 25, 32, 43 McAdams, Dan, 81–82 McLurkin, James, 93 McNair Scholars Program, 125 Mellon Foundation, 7 mentors: making use of, 41-42, 55, 66, 80, 118, 131-32, 134; as providers of guidance, 49, 80, 122, 123–24, 129, 131-34 Microsoft, 64-65 mid-career scholars, 5, 24 Miller, Alison, 44, 88 minimum viable product (MVP), 141-46, 157 motivation, 9, 97-101 Mullaney, Thomas, 86, 88-89 MVP. See minimum viable product National Center for Children in Poverty, 69 National Study of Youth and Religion, 122 Neiman Marcus, 31 neoliberalism. 10 networks. See contacts and networks New York Times (newspaper), 133

op-eds, 2–4, 125, 133, 139, 141–42, 151–52, 155, 158, 164 Oppenheimer, Mark, 152 opportunities: creation of, as feature of entrepreneurialism, 1, 9, 13, 18, 31, 55, 61–62, 66–71, 83–84; for entrepreneurial scholarship, 1, 4–8, 23, 39, 67–71; for marginalized scholars, 24–26; in public scholarship, 2 ownership, 48–53, 55

Partman, Lucy, 67-68, 119, 155-57 Paxton boys, 135–37 People of Color scholars. See Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) scholars Pew Center for Arts & Heritage, 136 Pew Research Center, 94, 96 PhD journey. See graduate school Posselt, Julie, 33 Princeton University Press, 4 problem-solving: contacts and networks related to, 119; creativity and, 88, 94-95; entrepreneurial scholarship and, 86, 88–92; as feature of entrepreneurialism, 9, 52, 80, 112; identification of problem, 88-92, 108; joy and importance of, 80, 87, 97-101; and knowledge production, 28, 86-93, 97; personal investment in, 97–106, 108; process of, 93–97, 108; products arising from, 86 ProFellow, 126 Project Zero, 42 public scholarship: Archives Month Philly as venue for, 136-37; audiences for, 145–50, 154, 157–58;

INDEX 197

avenues for, 151-55, 158; Gardner and, 103; opportunities in, 2. See also entrepreneurial scholarship: public good as focus of queer scholars, 82 Quit Lit, 6-7, 79 race, and traffic enforcement, 106-8 Rand, Ayn, 56-57 Rea, Christopher, 86, 88-89 Reed, Jordan, 8 Reinhold, Sue, 82-83 rejections, 3, 75-77, 111, 126-27, 143, 165 relationship building. See contacts and networks research capitalism, 10-11 resources. See limited resources Riera, José, 109–11, 125, 127, 129 Ries, Eric, 74 risk-taking: in academia, 33; autonomy and, 38; aversion to, 72-73; calculated, 75; embracing, 48, 57-58, 63-66, 84, 100, 102, 151; and problem-solving, 95. See also failure Roberts, Emily, 17-18 Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, 69 Rohrbach, Augusta, 11 Ryan, Richard, 38 Sabzali, Murad, 101-2

Saozan, Murad, 101–2 Sarasvathy, Saras, 18–19, 61 Schnabel, Landon, 117, 160–64 scholarship. *See* entrepreneurial scholarship; public scholarship Schuman, Rebecca, 6 Scientific American (magazine), 164 Seeber, Barbara, 10 self: problem-solving grounded in interests/values of, 97-106, 108; profession identified with, 6-7, 77, 130–31; as starting point of entrepreneurial mindset, 1, 25, 37-38, 50, 68, 70, 88-89, 92, 97-106. See also ownership self-advocacy, 39, 54 self-doubt, 30, 43-48, 55, 142 self-efficacy, 45, 55 Shor, Eran, 97, 120 Shulman, Lee, 122 Shultz, Howard, 146 side hustles, 128–31, 134 Sidlauskas, Susan, 91-92, 132 Slate (magazine), 6 Smith, Christian, 69, 94, 97, 114, 122, 145 social sciences. See humanities, arts, and social sciences SpaceX, 71 Spanx, 29-31 Sparkman-Key, Narketta. See Key, Narketta Sparkman-Stanford University, 16, 116 Starbucks, 146, 150 STEM fields, 23, 26, 156 Stephens-Davidowitz, Seth, 99-100 surprises and the unexpected: adapting to, 24, 81-82; contacts and networks resulting from, 120–21; openness to, 19-20, 61, 63, 69, 83, 96; opportunities presented by, 64, 154; public scholarship as source of, 151, 154

198 INDEX

Tablet (magazine), 152 Taylor, Erika Moore, 128 Taylor, Taura, 78, 104–5, 140 Teachers College, Columbia University, 16 TEDx talks, 164 Tennessee Department of Education, 129 thought leaders, 139–40 Torres, Stacy, 132–33 Tversky, Amos, 116

Uber, 107

uncertainty, 56–84; in academia, 5, 12, 18, 23–24, 43, 60–66, 77–78, 83; aversion to, 72; as feature of entrepreneurialism, 1, 4, 5, 9; of the future, 17–19; in job market, 5. *See also* risk-taking; surprises and the unexpected unexpected. *See* surprises and the unexpected University of Kentucky, 125 Urban Leaders Fellowship, 129

Van Wyck, James, 8 voice, 147, 150 von Stumm, Sophie, 87–88 Wanzer, Darrel, 32 Washington Post (newspaper), 164 Washington State Employees' Credit Union. 126 Washington State University, 109-11 Weisbach, Michael, 39, 88, 94 Welsh, Matt, 36-37, 100-101, 139-40 Wikimedia, 154 Wineburg, Sam, 2 Winfrey, Oprah, 31 women scholars: in academia, 23-24; academic concerns of, 4; bias and discrimination experienced by, 47; entrepreneurial mindset for, 24; obstacles faced by, 104–5; strengths/ advantages of, 26, 104-5; as subjects of research, 27. See also marginalized scholars Wood, L. Maren, 79–80 writing: accessibility of, 147-48; audiences for, 145-50; entrepreneurial approach to, 141–45; motivation for, 144-45; and voice, 147, 150 WSU Emeritus Society, 111

Zhou, Steven, 36, 121, 126, 149 Zounlome, Nelson, 124–25, 129 Zuckerburg, Mark, 52, 112