China, released 30,000 phones that use graphene in their touchscreens, cases and batteries (see 'Batteries and phones rule'). But Kozarsky says that some nanoplatelet producers are selling their product at below cost to offload their surplus. And although graphenefilm factories have quoted impressive-sounding figures on capacity, these are sometimes used as a "marketing tool", says Guocai Dong, vicedean of the JiangNan Graphene Research Institute, which is in the Changzhou graphene park. "Most of the capacity is not used," he says.

One reason for the mismatch is that graphene films still do not beat ITO on price. The films are grown on hot copper foil from a feed-stock of methane gas mixed with hydrogen, in a process called chemical vapour deposition (CVD). Dong says that heating the foil, maintaining clean rooms and separating graphene from the foil tend to push the final cost above 400 yuan (US\$64) per square metre, about twice what it needs to be to compete with ITO. And although graphene's flexibility could add value to wearable devices, the wonder material will have to beat off other pretenders to ITO's throne, including silver-nanowire meshes, which have been in development for longer.

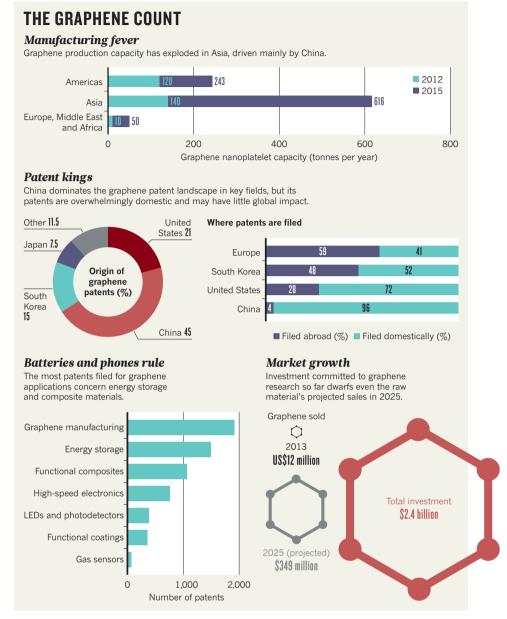
A new approach to manufacturing is needed to depress costs further, says Xuesong Li, who helped to develop the copper-foil CVD method (X. Li et al. Science, 324, 1312–1314; 2009). Last year, Li founded LasLumin, a company in New York City that aims to slash graphene manufacturing costs by using feedstocks that are easier to handle than the potentially explosive mixture of methane and hydrogen. Graphene films may find more-profitable applications in innovative chemical sensors, rather than in taking on an established material such as ITO, he adds.

FROM LAB TO MARKET

China also dominates the graphene patent landscape (see 'Patent kings'). SIO Grafen, an innovation programme in Gothenburg, Sweden, that supports industrial graphene development, reported in March that Chinese entities hold 45% of all graphene patents granted in the seven categories that it surveyed. That is more than twice the share of China's nearest rival, the United States. However, most of the Chinese patents are registered nationally rather than globally, and they tend to be cited less often than the US ones, suggesting that they may not have much impact on graphene's long-term commercial development.

Enter the Graphene Flagship, which plans to focus on quality and innovation. With that in mind, Theander has run seven Graphene Connect workshops to introduce small and medium-sized companies to graphene researchers, and will host another during Graphene Week. But she says it is too soon for concrete results: "Growing trust and new relationships takes time, so I imagine it will take a couple of years until we have true success stories."

A similar approach has proved successful



at the University of Manchester's National Graphene Institute (NGI), says its business director, James Baker. The NGI has almost 40 industrial partners who have funded work at the university; the biggest, BGT Materials in Manchester, has a subsidiary called Graphene Lighting that unveiled a 'graphene light bulb' in March. The bulb is actually a conventional light-emitting diode (LED) coated with a transparent film of graphene that draws off heat more effectively than conventional metal components, improving the efficiency and longevity of the LED. The company hopes that the bulb will go on sale in the next few months.

Meanwhile, Baker notes, multinational sports-equipment company Head has unveiled a range of tennis rackets that are strengthened by a dash of graphene in their frames.

Such niche applications are a start, but if graphene is to fulfil the commercial potential anticipated by projects such as the Graphene

Flagship, it will need to find a role in which it dramatically and reliably outperforms existing technologies at a reasonable cost.

Baker believes that the answer lies in creating devices that rely on a combination of graphene's properties — flexible electronics, for example — or that could have a transformative global impact, such as in membranes that desalinate water. But it is early days, he says: "There are so many potential applications that it's difficult to see what will be the killer app."

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CORRECTION

The News story 'Start-ups fight for a place in Boston's biotech hub' (*Nature* **522**, 138–139; 2015) misstated prices for lab and office space in Kendall Square; the figures reflect annual rather than monthly rents.