Portland State University
PDXScholar

History Faculty Publications and Presentations | History

2011

The Sicuro File: A Personal Perspective on the Struggle over Portland State University's Most Controversial President

David Horowitz
Portland State University, horowid@pdx.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/hist_fac

 Part of the History Commons
Let us know how access to this document benefits you.

Citation Details
Horowitz, D. A. (2011). The Sicuro File: A Personal Perspective on the Struggle over Portland State University's Most Controversial President. Oregon Historical Quarterly, 112(2), 194-217.

This Article is brought to you for free and open access. It has been accepted for inclusion in History Faculty Publications and Presentations by an authorized administrator of PDXScholar. Please contact us if we can make this document more accessible: pdxscholar@pdx.edu.

The Sicuro File

A Personal Perspective on the Struggle over Portland State University's Most Controversial President

by David A. Horowitz

DURING THANKSGIVING weekend of 1987, Portland State University (PSU) President Natale Sicuro appeared on camera during halftime as the university hosted the opening round of the nationally televised Division II National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) football playoffs. Viewers may not have heard of Portland State, Sicuro announced with a flourish, but they soon would. A former college football athlete and Ohio high school coach with a Ph.D. in educational psychology, PSU's fifth president had administered Kent State University's Continuing Education Program and served as President of Southern Oregon State College before arriving in Portland the previous year. PSU's new leader announced his intention to overcome faculty "inferiority complexes" regarding rival state institutions while vowing to gain national exposure with a "Plan for the '90s" and an upgraded intercollegiate athletics program.[1]

This essay offers a personal recounting of Sicuro's tumultuous tenure and "the great governance issue of Portland State's history," as institutional historian Gordon B. Dodds has described it.[2] By tracing a curious path from allegations of minor improprieties among favored student government leaders to widespread contention over the management style and behavior of a controversial academic leader, it traces my tangential but deeply engaged role in the dramatic power struggle erupting at Oregon's largest urban university in the late 1980s. In doing so, it highlights significant issues affecting modern university life, from race relations, the role of competitive sports, student rights, faculty autonomy, and business influence to corporate trends in the academy itself.

© 2011 *Oregon Historical Society*

Portland State University Library, University Archives

Pictured here at fall commencement exercises at Portland State University in December 1986, Pres. Natale Sicuro promised to bring national exposure to an institution with a history of adversity.

PORTLAND STATE insiders privately claimed that Oregon higher education Chancellor William E. Davis had pushed Sicuro's candidacy upon a reluctant search committee. Faculty mistrust of state officials stemmed from a legacy in which the institution often seemed relegated to the role of "poor stepchild" of the University of Oregon and Oregon State University

in a governance structure affording ultimate power to the appointees of the State Board of Higher Education. "Throughout its history," noted Dodds, Portland State "always had been assailed by adversity from one quarter or another."[3]

The school's problematic status dated to 1946, when the state authorized its predecessor, the Vanport Extension Center, to serve World War II veterans on the site of an abandoned shipyard workers' housing project. Wiped out in the devastating Columbia River flood of 1948, the facility ultimately relocated to the former Lincoln High School building on Portland's downtown Park Blocks. It was not until 1955, however, that state officials overlooked opposition from private and public higher education rivals, renamed the center Portland State College, and authorized its expansion to a four-year program.[4]

Designated as a "downtown city" institution, the school mainly served commuters with families and jobs. Nevertheless, as enrollment continued to grow in a thriving metropolitan environment, the legislature sanctioned creation of professional and graduate programs in education, social work, engineering, business, and urban affairs. In 1969, the college received university status, permitting the creation of additional graduate programs. Just as Portland State appeared to achieve legitimacy, however, faculty and student protests over the Vietnam War alienated key local business and political supporters. To complicate matters, a sputtering regional economy and consequent public animosity toward state spending generated a period of financial constraints, leading to "retrenchment" between 1971 and 1974 and again in 1981.[5]

Throughout Portland State's history, faculty have played a key role in institutional affairs. During the 1950s, professors took the lead in devising the expanded liberal arts curriculum, ratified an academic constitution, and created a senate and advisory council elected by the entire faculty. In 1959, the faculty voted to oppose Cold War–era loyalty oaths. Three years later, President Branford P. Millar publicly defended academic rights of free speech and supported student discretion in choosing visiting speakers. The emphasis on open discourse resurfaced in October 1969, when the faculty senate endorsed a peace moratorium to protest the Vietnam War; 135 professors joined a student strike the following spring. When the administration pushed for a Pacific Rim Study Center in 1972, a faculty senate committee questioned whether the program's focus was on academics or business interests. Three years later, the senate enacted a constitutional amendment that called for "appropriately shared responsibility and cooperative action among the components of the academic institution." When the faculty voted to appoint the campus American Association of University Professors (AAUP) as its collective bargaining agent in 1978, shared governance took on additional importance.[6]

Although I had fashioned myself as a radical opponent of the Vietnam War and an admirer of the theatrical poli-

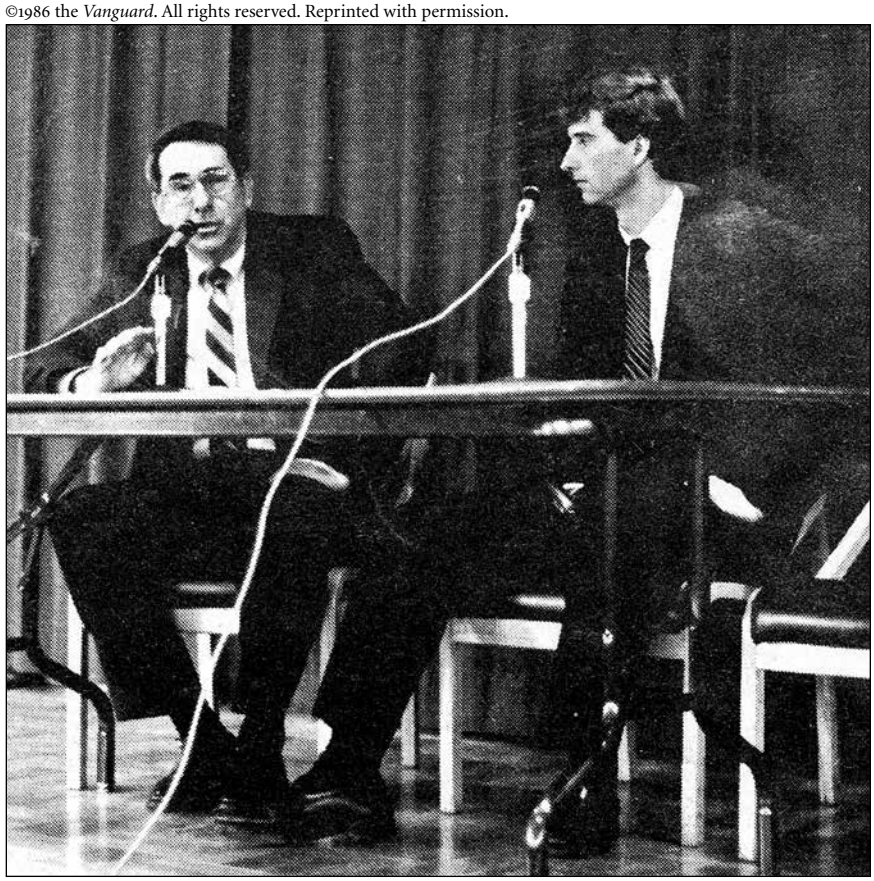
tics of activists such as Abbie Hoffman when I joined the History Department in 1968, I shared many assumptions of more moderate liberal arts academicians. Those included the view that public universities such as Portland State provided a degree of opportunity for working-class and middle-class students and offered a relatively uncorrupted arena for reasoned dialogue about the human condition, the nature of the world, and society's challenges and possibilities. Accordingly, I felt particularly disturbed in February 1987, when Michael Brewin, my graduate teaching assistant, relayed a story about apparent cronyism and abuse of power that appeared to reflect on Sicuro's leadership.

As coordinator for Student Government's Popular Music Board the previous fall, Brewin told me, he had recommended several racially mixed funk bands for Portland State's first Homecoming dance in twenty years. He claimed that, as Student Body Vice President Dan Swift replied the dance was for *white* students, Student Body President Mike Erickson appeared to nod in agreement. Brewin alleged that, in a conversation broadcast on an office speakerphone, several witnesses later overheard Swift ask him to remain quiet about the incident. He also contended that several administrators summarily dismissed his account and refused his pleas for a responsible investigation.[7]

Because football place kicker Erickson enjoyed a special relationship with Sicuro, Brewin predicted, nothing would come of his allegations. Another history graduate student, Paquita Garatea, who served as a coordinator for the Board for Hispanic Affairs, agreed that the university would never jeopardize the protection football athletes normally enjoyed by pursuing the matter. Convinced that allegations of even casual racism by campus leaders warranted an inquiry and an apology if proved correct, I wanted to show Brewin and Garatea that the institution to which I had dedicated eighteen-plus years held everyone to the same standards. As the author of an opinion column that appeared regularly between 1972 and 1975 in the *Vanguard*, PSU's student newspaper, and a long-time critic of intercollegiate sports, I agreed to compose a piece for the newspaper, laying out my teaching assistant's charges.

Portland State had a long history of addressing diversity concerns. As early as 1947, Vanport had appointed Edwin C. Berry, the African-American executive secretary of Portland's National Urban League, to the sociology faculty. Two of the school's first student newspaper editors, William A. Hilliard and Dick Bogle, were black. Since the Vanport days, the college had prohibited fraternities and sororities from practicing racial discrimination. Starting in 1968, moreover, Portland State created special admissions programs for minority and economically disadvantaged students and laid the groundwork for a Black Studies curriculum. A year later, Andrew Haynes became the first African-American student body president. During the 1970s, groups such as the Black Students Union, the Black Cultural Affairs Committee, the American Indian

©1986 the *Vanguard*. All rights reserved. Reprinted with permission.



President Sicuro (left) forged close ties with Student Body President and former football place kicker Michael Erickson. The two are shown together at a university public forum in 1986.

Action Group, the Board for Hispanic Affairs, the Women's Union, the Gay People's Alliance, and several international student organizations assumed key roles in campus life.[8]

Brewin had accused the Sicuro administration of complicity in dismissing a case of racially inappropriate behavior by favored student protégés. Carefully laying out the story in my opinion piece without confirming its authenticity, I gently urged the administration to look into the charges for the sake of the university's public image. Yet, suspicions of a top-down cover-up seemed plausible when Erickson called me into his office as I completed my article. "President Sicuro," he told me, was "completely aware" of the allegations and totally supported him. On the day my piece appeared, the *Vanguard* reported that the president had recommended Erickson for a seat on the State Board of Higher Education,

calling him "an outstanding student leader" who should be "propelled into public service as fast as possible." When a group of thirty minority and international student activists protested the endorsement as the board convened on campus that month, Sicuro requested a meeting with them. Participants told the *Vanguard* that the president saw insufficient evidence to pursue an investigation and complained that the demonstration had embarrassed him before his peers.[9]

Erickson's nomination to the state board never materialized. Yet, when Vice President for Student Affairs Orcillia Forbes belatedly initiated an inquiry into Brewin's accusations, word circulated that Sicuro had chastised her that the investigation was a "personal embarrassment" to him and told her that she needed to do more to contain minority students. Student Affairs staffers also revealed that when *Vanguard* coverage of irregularities in Erickson's re-election campaign led to his disqualification, the candidate told Sicuro the newspaper was "out of control." Insiders therefore were not surprised in July, when the university president demoted Forbes to Vice Provost and ordered her to conduct a review of the Publications Board guidelines and its advisor, Professor Jerry Penk, who had been chair of the PSU Journalism Department before its elimination in 1982.[10]

Portland State's student newspaper dated to the first days of Vanport. Following several disputes between the paper's staff and university officials in 1967, and under faculty pressure, the administration had granted the University Publications Board complete independence in appointing key personnel, establishing fiscal and editorial guidelines, and maintaining "a free and responsible student press." Sensing that Sicuro sought greater control over the *Vanguard*, I asked to testify before the Forbes panel and submitted my statement to the newspaper for publication. Why review publications guidelines that ensured campus freedom of expression, I asked? The only reason, I speculated, would be to convert the newspaper into a house organ to push big-time athletics and positive coverage of student and university administrators. I insisted that higher education depended on "an open forum of ideas." A democratic society treated those in authority "with no greater deference than anyone else," I stated. Portland State would never submit to "servile dependence on personal dictatorship," I warned.[11]

THE PUBLICATIONS Board audit suggested that Sicuro was in danger of undercutting faculty governance and student autonomy. Still, nothing came of the inquiry until the first week of classes in September 1987. Without warning, Vice President for Finance and Administration Roger Edgington released a memo requiring all *Vanguard* information requests to come through his office in writing. During the summer, the student newspaper had used public records to document $92,000 of renovations to the presidential mansion in the exclusive Dunthorpe neighborhood of Southwest Portland, twice the administration's original estimate. *The*

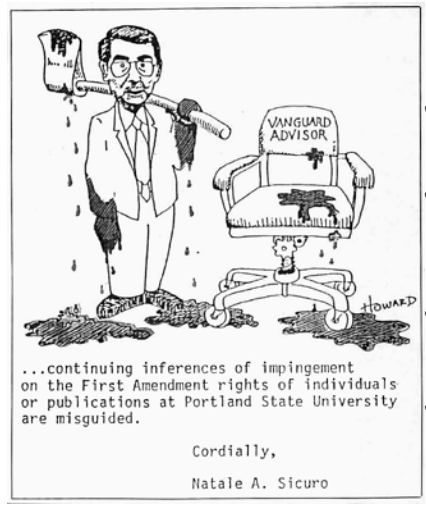
Chronicle of Higher Education trade newspaper later revealed that Sicuro had been the sole source of the "gag order." "Restricting access to information is now official policy at this university," *Vanguard* editor Bennett Hall complained. At the November faculty senate meeting, philosophy professor Donald Moor questioned Forbes about the timing of the Publications Board review, but she was evasive. Four days later, Sicuro used a special edition of *PSU Currently,* the administration newsletter, to announce Penk's termination. "Freedom of expression is not a license for misrepresentation," Sicuro declared.[12]

As the *Vanguard* reported in August 1988, a Publications Board review ultimately concluded that Penk had performed "in an exemplary fashion" while the newspaper received the "highest ratings" from the nation's largest college-press evaluation service during his final year as advisor. The article featured Publication Board chair James Kimball's estimation that the administration simply had been "unhappy with the content of the paper." It seems likely that the president's displeasure also stemmed from *Vanguard* coverage of Athletics Department budget deficits totaling nearly $600,000. Published during the summer of 1987, the disclosures forced Sicuro to acknowledge that previous administrations had regularly used surplus student "incidental fees" to offset sports program imbalances. With estimates of the following year's deficit reaching $1 million, the president announced the appointment of marketing consultant Fred Delkin to head a panel of local business figures, sports boosters, and others to chart the future of university athletics.[13]

INTERCOLLEGIATE football had an up-and-down history at Portland State. Initiated at Vanport in 1947, the program participated in the Oregon Collegiate Conference between 1949 and 1964 but experienced severe financial constraints because of the college's lack of a large alumni base or resident student population. A report in 1963 by Harry A. Scott, Columbia University Emeritus Professor of Physical Education, called for the maintenance of "an educationally oriented program for student-athletes based on the principles and practices of amateurism." Nevertheless, Dean of Faculty John M. Swarthout warned that Portland State might have to emphasize athletics beyond academic considerations if it wished to obtain public support for its sports programs. One year after the Big Sky Conference rejected the college's application for membership in 1965, Student Body President Joe Uris led a three-week strike to protest the administration's veto power over allocation of student incidental fees to intercollegiate athletics. As a result, Portland State student government won a constitution, and the administration created a student-faculty arbitration board to provide partial control over incidental fees.[14]

Operating outside any conference as an NCAA Division II competitor, Portland State turned to the local business community for financial support in 1969. President Gregory B. Wolfe, however, implied that student

interest in the project was only "pigskin deep." By the time PSU reapplied to the Big Sky Conference in 1973, the athletics budget had a $250,000 deficit, the student senate had voted to oppose conference membership, and 57 percent of the small portion of the student body who participated in a poll on the matter wanted to reduce or eliminate incidental-fee funding for football. Once the Big Sky Conference tabled the proposal, the administration gave the program a trial period to meet specific financial goals but allowed it to continue even when the requisite support failed to materialize. In response, the faculty senate created a University Athletics Board to oversee intercollegiate sports. Nevertheless, faculty athletics representative Robert Lockwood endorsed a transition to Division I competition in 1985 by noting that the move could "help promote a community sense of pride" in the institution.[15]



©1987 the *Vanguard*. All rights reserved. Reprinted with permission.

An administrative "gag order" on the Vanguard *student newspaper during the fall of 1987, and the termination of publications advisor Jerry Penk, led to pointed criticism in the campus press (as shown here) and elsewhere.*

By the 1980s, intercollegiate sports had become a national controversy. A *New York Times* piece estimated a graduation rate of merely 30 percent for student athletes in revenue sports and a figure below one-fourth for African-American competitors, three-fourths of whom matriculated in physical education or special degree programs. Faculty contributions to *Academe*, the AAUP journal, described how athletic programs "with little apparent connection to academic life" had become the basis of public relations marketing at many institutions, infecting campuses with "hypocrisy and cant." Murray Sperber's *College Sports Inc.: The Athletic Department vs. the University* (1990) would picture intercollegiate athletics as "a huge commercial entertainment conglomerate, with operating methods and objectives totally separate from . . . the educational aim of the schools that house its franchises." Sperber noted that the "vast majority" of college sports programs actually lost money, draining funds from other sources, including student fees. A foundation report released in 1991 would conclude that as big-time college athletic programs took on a life of their own at the expense of educational values, their "deep-rooted and long-standing" problems had reached "systemic" proportions.[16]

After composing a *Vanguard* column on the infusion of business-

oriented practices and competitive values in intercollegiate sports in 1974, I had received acknowledgment from President Joseph Blumel, an avid football supporter, that my criticism reflected the views of many colleagues. With student autonomy, faculty governance, and the future direction of the university at stake in the fall of 1987, Brewin and I concluded that the best way to counter Sicuro's grandiose ambitions was to confront his effort to make Portland State a major power on the gridiron. Accordingly, I worked with Hugo Maynard, a psychology professor and cohort from Vietnam War protest days, to compose and win unanimous approval of a faculty senate resolution that labeled the move to Division I a "misapplication of University priorities" and opposed the use of student fees to pay off the athletics debt.[17]

Building on the senate's action, I stated the case against the upgrade to Division I a week later in a *Vanguard* opinion piece entitled "Big-Time Sports Stifles Academics." The column cited an estimate by the president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching that college athletics ranked as "one of the most corrupting and destructive influences on higher education." "Originally designed to teach teamwork and sportsmanship," I asserted, university sports departments had "deteriorated into athletic factories obsessed with churning out victories and lucrative media contracts." Fair play and shared experience, I suggested, had long ago fallen victim to winning at any cost in a billion-dollar industry that exploited athletes and mocked academic standards. Addressing Sicuro personally, I insisted that Portland State was "not for sale. Division I football is not our game."[18]

Three days after my article appeared, the *Vanguard* reported that the Delkin Committee had voted 10-to-2 to support Division I football in spite of the fact that the panel's survey of faculty opinion revealed that 55 percent wanted to *de*-emphasize intercollegiate sports. Of the 11 percent of eligible voters who participated in a student referendum, moreover, a 2-to-1 majority opposed upgrading the football program. I received an opportunity to summarize my views when student government prepared a special *Vanguard* supplement on the controversy in November. Space considerations excluded my piece, so I submitted it as a paid advertisement for the next edition; it also ran in brief form as a letter to Portland's *Oregonian* daily newspaper. A recent series of articles on the commercialization of college athletics in *Academe* had suggested that high-profile programs increased alumni donations but that the money usually wound up in sports budgets, not academic channels. "Revenue-producing football at PSU is an unrealistic fantasy," I asserted, "that in no case would serve the university."[19]

JUST AS THE Delkin Committee prepared to issue its report, I sought to turn up the heat by exposing Portland State to national scrutiny. I proposed an opinion piece to the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, which instead offered a news feature. In an effort

to frame the debate, I provided the reporter with a detailed outline of the controversy and contact information for parties to the dispute. By the time the piece appeared in mid December, Sicuro's advisory board of community leaders had bypassed the faculty senate by endorsing the Delkin panel's Division I recommendation. The *Chronicle* noted that Portland State was in the midst of "a bitter dispute over big-time sports" and that the proposal to upgrade the football program had elicited "vehement disagreement" from many faculty and students. Following a line of reasoning I long had emphasized, the story explained that the PSU athletic debate was "not the cause but merely a symptom of a deeper rift." "This is not about sports," it quoted me as saying. "This is a civil war over the soul of this institution."[20]

The *Chronicle* allowed Sicuro, athletic director David Coffey, faculty athletics representative Robert Lockwood, and Delkin to state their case. Echoing the presumed interests of the local banking, retail, hotel, media, and public relations figures on his committee, Delkin pictured Division I as "a rallying point for the community around the school." At the same time, the *Chronicle* opened its pages to critics. Anticipating the Delkin group's endorsement of Division I, I accused Sicuro of stacking the panel with sympathetic business figures and sports boosters "to give him the answer he wanted." The *Chronicle* also cited a personal letter to the president from PSU Advisory Committee member Mayor Bud Clark that I had received permission to quote and made available to the reporter. Athletics were "ancillary to the institution's mission as an urban university," Clark had written. The mayor urged Portland State to pursue educational quality and move toward becoming a major research center. The university's location "in a diverse city, not a college town," *Vanguard* editor Bennett Hall told the *Chronicle*, made it an unlikely candidate for a high-powered athletic program. Student Incidental Fee Chair Lee Shissler added concerns over the question of academic priorities.[21]

One day after the *Chronicle* published its report, I was one of many witnesses who addressed the Division I proposal at a meeting of the State Board of Higher Education held on the PSU campus. Leaving aside philosophic objections, I focused on dollars-and-cents concerns. Continued athletic budget deficits and the need for more student fees had plagued Portland State administrators and student leaders throughout the 1980s, I suggested. The football program had amassed a total deficit of $1.34 million over the previous five years, a figure actually below the Delkin Report estimate that Division I-AA teams lost between $300,000 and $700,000 annually. The state board announced the move to Division I the next day.[22]

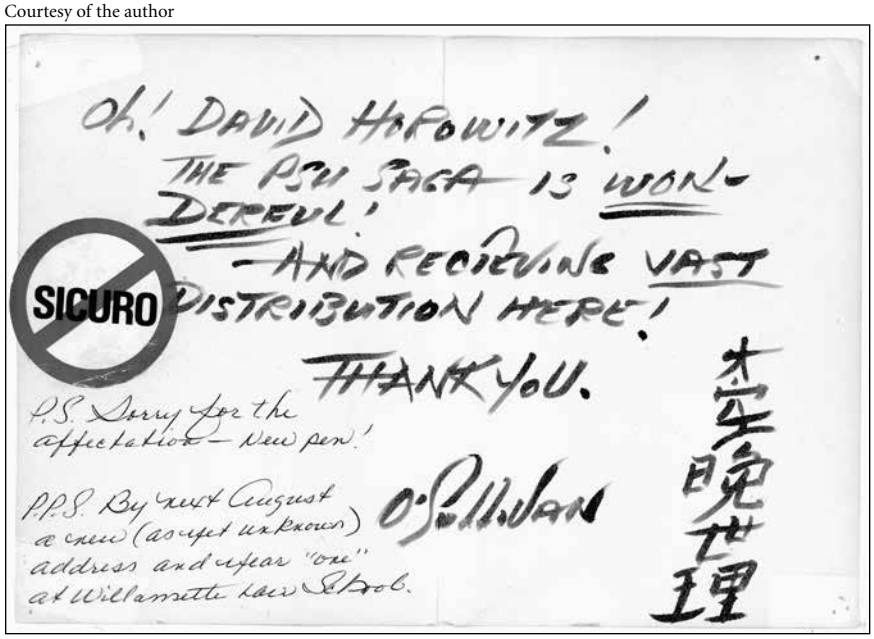
My initial response was to tell the *Oregonian* that the decision amounted to "a great victory for mediocrity in the Oregon tradition of not facing up to real issues," but the board had attached several qualifications to its endorsement. PSU athletics would have to adhere to its own financial guidelines, submit to audits of its income and

expenditures, refrain from soliciting further student funding, and maintain academic excellence as its main priority. Sicuro subsequently sought to circumvent some of those restrictions by announcing his intention to transfer $100,000 of surplus student fees to help offset the athletic deficit. When the faculty senate unanimously called for the president to abandon the diversion, Sicuro told a public forum that he was "saving the students time" by making the decision himself. "You may not like the way I'm doing it," he declared, "but I'm sorry — that's the way it's going to be." This proved too much for the state board. Citing flawed budget projections and Oregon administrative rules, the panel prohibited the PSU administration from using any incidental fees for sports until it received full student input and the board completed a review of the program's finances.[23]

As anti-Sicuro stickers began appearing across campus in late February 1988, *Oregonian* reporter Jim Hill produced an extended feature entitled "A Man with a Mission." "Always on the move," proclaimed Hill, Sicuro was "a self-described man of action intent on propelling a re-energized PSU toward world-class urban university status." Proud of the university's academic standing, Sicuro pointed to "centers of excellence" in international trade and business programs, the School of Engineering and Applied Science, and the Center for Urban Research in Education. Meanwhile, Oregon Chancellor for Academic Affairs Larry Pierce noted that PSU had expanded its graduate curriculum in electrical and computer engineering. In a period of fiscal conservatism and declining public revenues, a hands-on executive's desire to tap private fundraising sources and forge positive relations with business and professional leaders no doubt pleased several constituencies. Hill's article included Sicuro endorsements from Governor Neil Goldschmidt, State Board President James (Jim) C. Petersen, and Lee Koehn, owner of an executive search and consulting firm who served as Vice President of the Board of Directors of the Portland State Foundation, the university's nonprofit fundraising arm.[24]

Despite such effusive praise, the *Oregonian* story gave voice to critics whose concerns about the use of business models in the university mirrored a growing academic literature of the late 1980s. As one contributor to *Academe* noted, institutions of higher learning increasingly were the victims of "complex bureaucracies governed from the top down by administrative elites." Summarizing several articles in a special issue devoted to the "corporate university," the magazine's editor asserted that a "top-down" managerial ethic incompatible with the assumptions of shared governance and consensus had gained ground on American campuses. Ironically, as two experts in business affairs observed in the same volume, these ossified management techniques were throwbacks to the centralized, hierarchical, authoritarian, and intrusive styles that most corporate administrators had long abandoned. Academic freedom experts such as historian and AAUP

Courtesy of the author



Former critics of Sicuro's presidency at Southern Oregon State College kept tabs on the PSU situation. During commencement in 1988, several protesting seniors placed anti-Sicuro stickers on their caps.

official Joan Wallach Scott were convinced that profit-oriented managerial mindsets devalued faculty as members of university communities and compromised the democratic aspirations of higher education.[25]

Hill's *Oregonian* story illustrated how Portland State had become a case study of such conflict. Asked about student discontent over athletic priorities and the use of incidental fees to fund sports deficits, Sicuro responded: "They're going to get used to me. They're going to enjoy it." Such an attitude prompted Paul Murnighan, president of the Oregon Public Employees Union chapter, to complain of an "arrogant" brand of leadership in the presidential office. "It's a management style," I explained in a quote in the same piece, "that's offensive to academic people because it puts so much emphasis on smooth relations with the corporate community and on imagery."[26]

THE QUALIFIED state board endorsement of PSU's quest for Division I football status and Sicuro's relatively favorable coverage in the local press suggested that the administration's opponents had taken things as far as they could go. Like many others, however, I had seriously underestimated the sustainability of the Sicuro saga. Four days before the *Oregonian* story appeared, a local TV channel revealed a near-$100,000 deficit in the presi-

dential account at the Portland State Foundation. After Sicuro had used up his $44,000 annual expense stipend, the station reported, the foundation had replenished the deficit with money borrowed from funds designated for student scholarships, research, and other purposes. Internal documents revealed that the president's fundraising expenses included a trip to Italy in the company of his wife, four season tickets to the symphony, and membership in a number of private clubs. He also had slashed the library budget by a fourth to help meet a state board requirement that a $500,000 authorization to renovate his office come from other university funds.[27]

Sicuro's broad definition of fundraising expenses seemed out of place within the informal culture of the Pacific Northwest and Portland State history. He compounded his difficulties by barring access to foundation records over which he had no legal authority, initially refusing to respond to press inquiries, and declining to come before an increasingly skeptical faculty senate. In response, the History Department's Charles M. White and a group of senior professors formed their own non-profit Faculty Trust Fund and selected senate presiding officer and English professor Marjorie J. Burns as its president. In the months that followed, Oregon's Department of Justice and Secretary of State mounted highly publicized inquiries into the foundation's potential "breach of fiduciary trust." Meanwhile, an internal audit prompted Sicuro to declare $3,200 of his benefits as taxable income and led him to refund $1,270 to the foundation. A final report by the Secretary of State would absolve PSU of any illegal activity but conclude that the president had improperly controlled the foundation and presided over the commingling of the nonprofit's staff, accounts, and activities with those of the university and its donors. In the end, the deficit in the unrestricted account for presidential fundraising reached $165,000.[28]

The foundation disclosures introduced a new set of players to the Sicuro drama, confining my role to that of a cheerleader. At the same time, the controversy provided fresh life to the campaign and an opportunity for student activists to join the fray. In early March 1988, a coalition of Women's Union leaders, representatives of minority and international campus groups, and several student government officials designated itself the Student Coalition for Responsible Administrative Policies (SCRAP) and organized an anti-Sicuro forum that attracted 250 people. As the last to address the crowd, I punched out a detailed timeline of each Sicuro episode. Toward the conclusion, I paraphrased a plea Populist agitator Mary E. Lease had directed to Kansas corn farmers in the 1890s. PSU students, I declared, "may have to raise a few less grades and a lot more hell." Administrators were "mere facilitators" of teaching and learning, I insisted, ending with a reference to recently deposed Haitian dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier with the declaration: "We need no Papa Doc for PSU!"[29]

Although the delegates at the March senate meeting defeated as premature

a proposal to poll faculty confidence in Sicuro's leadership, demands for the president's resignation began to multiply. Jan Wyers, a state legislator from Portland, was one of the first. It was "wildly inappropriate to buy fancy furniture and trips to Italy while students are struggling to go to school," complained Wyers. "The Stench at PSU," an editorial by Steve Forrester, Portland State graduate and publisher of the Oregon coast's *Daily Astorian*, complained that the president had "treated the foundation as his private cookie jar." "Sooner or later," wrote Forrester, "Sicuro is going to have to be shown his way to the door."[30]

That April, I received a call from an attorney and part-time Business School instructor who often gave free personal legal advice to PSU staffers and service employees. I now heard the allegation that Sicuro had stipulated that only the president could sign memos in purple ink. Another story held that he once told the grounds crew to plant purple cabbage in campus shrubbery beds within three days' time or risk mass firings. When a food service worker delivered the president's breakfast thirty minutes late one morning, went another tale, Sicuro lost his temper and had the employee transferred to another state facility. The most revealing stories concerned the $92,000 used to spruce up the presidential mansion. In the spring of 1987, physical plant employees began to complain that landscaping on the president's residential property had depleted funds for campus grounds. Other expenses supposedly included $1,000 to replace a microwave-oven door handle for the left-handed Mrs. Sicuro. My source reported that the couple once called a bewildered plumber to the mansion to complain about the taste of Dunthorpe's water. Another story had Mrs. Sicuro ordering a painter to "touch up" a hundred spots on a flawlessly completed wall and paint the unseen bottoms of bathroom drawers.

Beyond the confidential source in the Business School, faculty, staff, and administrators across the university repeatedly informed me of cases of presidential bullying, bluster, and intimidation, particularly regarding women subordinates. Sadly, the intensity of Sicuro's outbursts seemed inversely related to the target's power status. I had learned that Sicuro dismissed me as a half-cocked "gadfly," but I now perceived that my concerns merely channeled the pervasive and reasonable discontent brewing across the university. At the same time, however, I was not sure how many faculty would engage in a public confrontation with the institution's powerful disburser of funds. Protected by the security of academic tenure and a recent promotion to full professor, and aware that people more qualified than I would address the technical foundation issues, I sought to demonstrate that Sicuro had no ability to prevent even the most capricious and outrageous attacks. If the president failed to see the serious sentiments behind the seemingly bizarre antics of an out-of-control professor, I reasoned, he would only compound his dilemma.

When my informant disclosed that the 1940s swing standard "Chatta-

nooga Choo Choo" was a presidential favorite, I devised a parody with help from history undergraduate Gloria E. Myers. "Pardon me, Judge,/I'm from the PSU Foundation," the lyric began, "We'd like to state,/That our financing's just great!" The song described the campus leader leaving Dunthorpe in a "leased Oldsmobile," heading down to the athletic club "to cut his next deal." Other references included the complaints recently relayed to me by my colleague in the Business School. "Faculty are nosy and just get in the way," the parody declared, "Library books/Are only there for looks." After mentioning canceled presidential scholarships, the lyric ended with: "Students may cry/But they can go and find a banker's loan . . . The Portland State Foundation/We take care of our own!"[31]

ONCE THE TEXT of the parody appeared in the *Vanguard* in early May, I sent copies to community leaders, officeholders, and members of the PSU Alumni Board, careful to cover the costs at my own expense. As I completed the exhausting process late one afternoon, however, I ran out of blank stationary and stuffed several remaining mailers in History Department envelopes. A couple found their way to two alumni board members who complained to Liberal Arts College dean William W. Paudler that a "silly professor" had distributed a sophomoric, vindictive, and ridiculous song "demeaning to the school" at university expense. Contacted by the dean, History Department Chair Barney Burke expressed concern that the administration might seize on the opportunity to come after me. Acknowledging I had made a minor but embarrassing mistake, I asked Burke to convey my apologies and volunteered to reimburse the university the cost of a dozen envelopes.

Nothing came of the fracas. Nevertheless, I sought to exploit the situation by publishing my reply to the complaints as a letter to the *Vanguard*. The day before the song had found its way into print, I reported, Sicuro had met with his internal advisory council and warned that professors and administrators who served on the board of the alternate foundation would "hear" from him "when this is all over." Beyond the disrespect for faculty implicit in the alleged statement was the distinct threat of interference with academic governance and autonomy. "We will not allow the use of gangster-like intimidation or bullying," I wrote, "to destroy a university in which individuals are dedicated to enriching their lives through the pursuit of knowledge and critical perspective." I invited alumni board members and the entire university community to attend a "Cavalcade of American Popular Music," an informal piano recital I presented the next day on the campus Park Blocks, nearly under Sicuro's office window.[32]

Having learned to use each episode of a campaign as the building block for another, I saved a raucous version of the Sicuro parody for the finale. The performance was timely. Not long before I appeared on the Park Blocks, the administration had released a public relations packet blaming the

Courtesy of the author

On May 25, 1988, the author performed an anti-Sicuro parody to the tune of swing standard "Chattanooga Choo-Choo" not far from the president's office window fronting the university Park Blocks.

Portland State controversy on a "small but vocal group of [faculty] dissidents" who feared change. The following day, *Oregonian* reporter Paul Koberstein published a long feature on PSU, assisted in part by a detailed memo I provided. The story's news value lay in Sicuro's denial of involvement in foundation policies and Marjorie Burns's rebuttal that the president served as a non-voting member of the organization's board. "I think we're being taken for a ride by a street hustler," Koberstein quoted me as saying. The state board was not "going to baby sit him with his soaring deficit," I warned. Not long after, senior Physics professor John Dash responded to the public relations offensive by assuring *Vanguard* readers that a majority of faculty, students, and staff viewed the president as "a tyrant" who had "paralyzed the university."[33]

Dash's letter followed a series of meetings of College of Liberal Arts department heads and program directors. A pair of anonymous spokespersons told the *Vanguard* that the informal and unprecedented consultations were a response to "the breakdown of governance" at Portland State and the perception that a "mean and vindictive" leader was governing the university through intimidation. On May 31, twenty-one academic chairs addressed a personal letter to Sicuro that took "strong issue with the dismissal of serious faculty concerns." Widespread dissatisfaction across the university did "not come from fear of change," they insisted. Speaking as individuals, the signatories said they shared many objections "expressed about the professional conduct of your administration," one they saw as "unable to regain the support necessary for the continued growth and improvement of Portland State University."[34]

In June, a faculty senate task force reported that the PSU Foundation was in "serious financial difficulty," called for an early state board presidential performance review, and agreed to poll faculty for evaluations of the administration. Responding in a news conference, Sicuro proposed a "blue-ribbon panel of distinguished senior faculty to find ways to heal the rift" and said he would ask the chancellor

to approve the retention of a public relations firm to improve communication between the university and the public, news media, and faculty. With 440 faculty responding (three-quarters of those eligible), the senate survey revealed 62 percent dissatisfaction with the administration. Following a tense weekend meeting between Sicuro and academic department leaders, Philosophy Department chair Donald Moor publicly expressed the opinion that the president had lost the faculty's confidence. On June 12, the *Oregonian* called for Sicuro's resignation or an early State Board of Higher Education review. Meanwhile, as the board signed on to an early performance evaluation, a number of PSU graduating students sported stickers on their commencement caps featuring a red slash through the president's name.[35]

Following a piece in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* that described PSU as one of several institutions with "embattled chief executives," the chancellor's office appointed a high-powered panel of former state board members to oversee the Sicuro performance review. Myers and I now sought to ride the wave of discontent by publishing a new *Vanguard* parody. "Nat's pretending, that we're mending," read the lyrical appropriation of "Frére Jacques." "We say 'nope,' to such hope." In late July, I sent a personally funded mailer asking alumni, friends of the university, and concerned Oregonians to contact the newly constituted State Board Review Panel on Sicuro's future.[36] At a party that summer, I casually asked Liberal Arts dean Paudler about the "loyalist" academic administrators. "What loyalists?" he retorted.

I was not surprised, therefore, when in early September, thirty tenured department chairs signed a letter to the performance review board calling for the president's termination. Holding Sicuro responsible for "diminishing the capacity of the university to fulfill its educational mission," the chairs contended that Portland State would only "begin to recover" when its "chief administrative officer" stepped down. Not long after, presidential assistant Charles W. Stephens responded to widespread discontent among the academic deans by telling an interviewer that "individuals in management positions" should "leave" if they "can't support the president." Dean of Urban and Public Affairs Nohad A. Toulan responded that Stephens's statement was "preposterous." Sicuro's "demand for personal loyalty rather than institutional loyalty" lay at the heart of the problem, concurred Paudler. "Mr. Stephens appears to have a hard time understanding the need for discourse in a university," he declared. "If we remove the ability for disagreement, then we have abolished one of the fundamental reasons for [the] existence of universities." Sicuro "must ultimately be willing to resign," he concluded.[37]

Within hours, Stephens issued a written "statement of clarification" that administrative resignations should await the outcome of the performance review and not include faculty, department heads, or anyone with academic tenure. Nevertheless, Sicuro's difficulties intensified when about twenty-five department chairs stood up at a

meeting with the president to signal their desire for him to resign. "The only way Portland State can get on with its business if you were to step down," Psychology Department chair Roger Jennings stated. Jennings told the *Oregonian* that anything the president might do to attempt to repair the communication gap with the faculty would be "absolutely ineffective."[38]

JUST BEFORE the Sicuro review panel heard forty hours of testimony from 180 witnesses, I sent a letter to the *Oregonian*, encouraging members of the public to send in their own statements. Although the newspaper reduced the piece to the solicitation of public comment, I managed to include many of its points in my written statement to the review board. Restating the argument of Paudler and others, I declared that properly functioning institutions of higher learning "must provide open arenas of uninhibited dialogue and free expression." In contrast, I said, PSU had been "victimized by arbitrary power, overriding manipulation, base intimidation, pathetic cronyism, gangster-like bullying, and gross incompetence." Portland State had no need for "bureaucratic yes-men" or self-inflated rhetoric and posturing, I concluded.[39]

Two weeks after the hearings began, Brewin and student leaders organized a PSU Solidarity Day to initiate a period of institutional healing. I took a different approach, telling the *Vanguard* that the rally provided an opportunity for students, faculty, staff, and administrators to "close ranks" on Sicuro's fate. The demonstration, I contended, would offer a way of "letting the state board know that there is no turning back." My presentation followed that of State Representative Ron Cease, who offered an unequivocal call for Sicuro's ouster. Taking advantage of the opening, I congratulated the crowd on being "promoted from a small vocal minority to a large vocal majority!" Public institutions were "not banks for a few self-styled elites and their cronies," I declared. "All the resources of top PR men," I taunted, "couldn't put Humpty together again."[40]

The sharpness of my rhetoric stemmed partly from Sicuro's continuing support among members of the business and professional community. Despite the insistence of Paudler and others that nearly all the faculty opposed the president, loyalists such as Jim Westwood, chair-elect of the PSU Alumni Association, persistently characterized critics as "a relatively small number" of academics, and several downtown business figures testified on Sicuro's behalf. Two days after the Solidarity Day rally, an opinion piece by *Oregonian* publisher Fred A. Stickel contended that "a handful" of PSU faculty and "a few dissidents" had raised a "carefully orchestrated ruckus" to "unseat an effective and highly regarded leader." Such pronouncements merely enforced faculty rage. A letter to the editor by historian Charles White disputed Stickel's claims in his own newspaper. "A majority of PSU personnel," wrote White, was "critical of Sicuro's apparent misappropriation of funds, use of funds for personal purposes, non-availability, lack of discussion before major changes are put

forward, uncalled for diatribes against faculty members and vindictive firings or reassignments."[41]

As the Sicuro controversy reached fever pitch, Portland State awaited the announcement of the president's fate at a specially scheduled on-campus meeting of the state board on October 10. Yet, the event held no suspense for me because, days before the October session, I learned on a confidential basis that state leaders had decided to force Sicuro out. Armed with this powerful bit of news, several of us showed up at the state board meeting to distribute fliers advertising a "Good-Bye Sicuro Celebration" at my house that evening. Minutes later, the board announced that "differences" between the president and the faculty necessitated a change in Portland State's direction and outlined the terms of a generous, no-fault resignation settlement.[42]

I fully understood that once the foundation improprieties entered the picture, the case against Sicuro had fallen to more potent forces than the few of us who had initiated the process. At the same time, the president's defenders failed to realize that although only a few critics like me might use disarming rhetoric to demystify the opaque nature of university governance, a huge segment of the faculty and staff shared the grievances and complaints we highlighted. Throughout the episode, I thought it important to demonstrate that you did not need to be an inside power broker to effect change or bring salient issues to the public table and that, in the tradition of Abbie Hoffman's YIPPIES of the late 1960s, you could have a good time doing it. By preempting the announcement of Sicuro's termination at the state board meeting, therefore, I wanted to dramatize the continuing relevance of those of us who had created a movement out of the issue, even if the struggle now centered in other hands. I also believed in the importance of celebrating a rare collective victory. Accordingly, we scored a case of champagne for the party and invited the television station that had broken the foundation story to cover it.

A week after the state board meeting, I published a *Vanguard* letter declaring victory in the name of the entire PSU community. When former board president and review panel member James Peterson sent a letter to the *Oregonian* condemning our televised celebration as offensive, I used the opportunity to rework the statement for the daily's readership. Our party, I explained, "commemorated the triumph of a broad coalition . . . who succeeded against overwhelming odds in toppling an autocratic and dictatorial university administration." Sicuro's fall, I wrote, demonstrated that "normally powerless people can mount great accomplishments if organized and unified." "You bet we claim victory," I exulted, "and we're proud to celebrate our triumph." When the *Chronicle of Higher Education* reported that PSU faculty had not rejoiced over the resignation, I sent the editors a brief version of the same letter.[43]

ONCE SICURO'S term officially ended at the close of 1988, he moved on to an unpaid position with the American Association of State Col-

leges and Universities, and then to the presidency of Rhode Island's Roger Williams College, where he reportedly spent $250,000 to remodel the presidential residence. In February 1993, Sicuro resigned from the post. News accounts attributed the break to "philosophical differences" with the board of trustees and to disputes with the faculty over financial management and leadership style. It was tempting to attribute the difficulties of PSU's former leader to personal idiosyncrasies. Yet, as I had sought to point out in an unpublished letter to Portland's *Willamette Week* in the spring of 1988, Sicuro was the symptom, not the foundation, of growing business influence in the university. As Marjorie Burns told the *Chronicle of Higher Education,* Portland State's ill-fated president had imposed on the institution a "corporate model" that did not work.[44]

Beyond matters of personality and administrative style, the Sicuro episode raised significant issues about the role of higher education in a highly competitive market society. Corporate leaders and off-campus boosters tend to see public and private universities as regional agents of economic growth and incubators of business and professional expertise. By the 1980s, many universities, particularly "catch-up schools" such as Portland State, seeking national status as research-oriented institutions, saw the incorporation of market ideologies as essential to their survival. Such an agenda encouraged business-friendly administrations and programs capable of attracting private funding and, if relevant, the favor of politicians and state officials. The "corporatization" of higher education, as critics have labeled it, embraced business styles of management, emphasis on marketing and "image building" public relations, accounting techniques addressing the cost-effectiveness of learning, and a "vague rhetoric of excellence."[45]

By the early twenty-first century, public health specialist Jennifer Washburn could point to commercialization as "the single greatest threat" to higher education's "distinctive intellectual values" and "non-market culture." Indeed, most liberal arts instructors and many others viewed access to the life of the mind as a democratic right available to those committed to reason and open dialogue, one not always defined by economic imperatives. Author Eric Gould has provided further insight into the contradictions and tensions of modern university life by noting that academics function "in the last remaining American industry in which the workers are deemed to have significant control over the means and ends of production."[46]

I strongly supported an autonomous university faculty's role in promoting independent intellectual tools and a critical spirit and tried to work those values into the day-to-day decisions about my own involvement in the anti-Sicuro drive. Although some of the confrontational and theatrical aspects of the campaign alarmed some allies, I always tried to ensure that the *substance* of our concerns reflected the overwhelming sentiment of the university community. Listening carefully to the complaints of others turned out to be an indispensable part of the

entire effort. In the end, the campaign to oust Natale Sicuro coincided with the completely reasonable desire of longtime PSU faculty, staff, and administrators to preserve the viability of the university to which many had committed their careers and lives.

It should come as no surprise that the Sicuro resignation was far from a cure-all for Portland State's problems. In 1995, a faculty committee appointed by President Judith Ramaley successfully lobbied for the long-delayed promotion of intercollegiate football to Division I-AA; the program never achieved financial viability.[47] By 2010, PSU had the largest student body of any university in Oregon, yet it continued to experience periodic financial crises, dwindling and discriminatory state allotments, and faculty unrest over curriculum priorities and other top-down directives. None of this, however, should diminish the significance of the diverse coalition that came together in the late 1980s in support of an institution that had struggled for legitimacy since its founding. The campaign against dictatorial management at PSU offered a rare moment in which the philosophic ideals and dramatic tactics of a tiny group of dissidents wound up coinciding with the more pragmatic interests of key institutional players. Despite the serendipitous nature of the process, the Portland State saga represented an instructive preview of the growing clash between the values and practices of the corporate market and the principles associated with an autonomous academy.

NOTES

1. Gordon B. Dodds, *The College That Would Not Die: The First Fifty Years of Portland State University, 1941–1996* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 2000), 449; Robert Freedman, "Nat Sicuro's Urban University," *This Week*, February 25, 1987; Jim Hill, "A Man with a Mission," *Oregonian,* February 21, 1988.

2. Dodds, *College*, 448.

3. Ibid., 381.

4. Ibid., 449, 513*n*42, 347, 233, 1–60. See also Richard Sanders and Brent Schauer, *Portland State: A History in Pictures* (Portland: Retirement Association of Portland State University, 2009), 1–80.

5. Dodds, *College,* 348, 145–92, 293–315, 371, 392.

6. Ibid., 62–67, 89–92, 235–37, 258–59, 296–302, 359–64, 441, 387, 391.

7. For Michael Brewin's story, see David A. Horowitz, "Charges deserving of serious investigation," *Vanguard*, March 3, 1987. See also Dodds, *College,* 450.

8. Dodds, *College,* 77–79, 243, 245, 262–63, 290, 320, 322–24, 327, 337. Hilliard subsequently served as editor of the *Oregonian* while Bogle had a distinguished career as a journalist, radio personality, and Portland city commissioner.

9. Horowitz, "Charges"; Chris Bristol, "Sicuro Backs Erickson for State Board," *Vanguard*, March 3, 1987; Greg Needham, "Racism Summit Frustrates Group," *Vanguard*, April 17, 1987. See also Patrick Mazza, "Is Sensitivity to Minority Concerns on the Rise at Portland State?" *The Skanner,* October 14, 1987; and Dodds, *College,* 450.

10. Bristol, "Deception Disqualifies Erickson," *Vanguard*, May 12, 1987; Dodds, *College,* 450–51.

11. Dodds, *College,* 80, 269–73;

Horowitz, "Hearings Raise Questions about Motives," *Vanguard*, July 15, 1987; Needham, "Publications Board Review Questioned," *Vanguard*, July 22, 1987. The *Vanguard* subsequently reported that Erickson had told its reporters that he held several meetings with Sicuro regarding campus press coverage of student government. See Bristol, "Publications Adviser Dismissed; No Reason Given," *Vanguard,* November 10, 1987.

12. Edgington Memo, *Vanguard,* September 29, 1987; Bristol and Bennett Hall, "Upgrade of Presidential Residence Could Cost $140,000," *Vanguard,* August 5, 1987; Bristol, "Revised Dollar Estimates Lower Price Tag on House," *Vanguard,* September 25, 1987; Doug Lederman, "Portland State U. Embroiled in a Bitter Dispute over Proposal to Upgrade Its Sports Programs," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 33 (December 16, 1987): A29; "Editorial," *Vanguard,* September 29, 1987; "From the President," *PSU Currently,* November 6, 1987; Bristol, "Publications Advisor Dismissed; No Reason Given," *Vanguard*, November 10, 1987. See also Editorial, "Stop the Presses," *Vanguard,* November 10, 1987. For external coverage of the controversy, see Sam Bennett, "In the Vanguard," *Willamette Week,* September 10, 1987; Nancy McCarthy, "Portland State President Dismisses Adviser to Student Paper," *Oregonian,* November 13, 1987; Don Hamilton, "Panel Asks Explanation for Firing," *Oregonian,* November 14, 1987; David Sarasohn, "At PSU, Newspaper Making the News," *Oregonian*, November 17, 1987; and Phil Stanford, "A Little Bloodletting at Old PSU," *Oregonian,* November 21, 1987.

13. Bristol, "Getting the Shaft, at PSU," *Vanguard,* August 10, 1988; Nick Bertram, "PSU Says Bigger Deficit Reason for Study," *Oregonian*, July 11, 1987; Bristol, "Sicuro Sets up Committee to Decide Fate of Athletics," *Vanguard*, July 15, 1987; and "Athletics Deficit Subsidized by Students' Incidental Fees," *Vanguard*, August 12, 1987.

14. Dodds, *College*, 84, 281–84, 286, 288, 256–57, Scott quoted on 283.

15. Ibid., 289–90, 332–33, 427–28.

16. Richard E. Lapchick, "Making Sure Athletes Get an Education," *New York Times*, August 11, 1985; Malcolm Gladwell, "Dunk and Flunk: The Scandal of College Sports," *New Republic* 194 (May 19, 1986): 13-15; Richard M. Levinson, "The Faculty and Institutional Isomorphism," *Academe* 75 (January-February 1989): 25; George Hochfield, "'We're All Playing Games': The Incompatibility of Athletic and Academic Excellence," *Academe* 73 (July–August 1987): 40; Murray Sperber, *College Sports Inc.: The Athletic Department vs. the University* (New York: Henry Holt, 1990), vii, 16; Report of the Knight Foundation Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics, "The Need for Reform," *Keep Faith with the Student-Athlete: A New Model for Intercollegiate Athletics* (Charlotte: Knight Foundation, 1991): 5, 7. See also Paul Strohm, "The Commercialization of College Sports," *Academe* 73 (July-August 1987): 11; and John C. Weisart, "College Sports Reform: Where Are the Faculty?" *Academe* 73 (July-August 1987): 12–17.

17. Horowitz, "Breakfast at the Hilton," *Vanguard,* December 3, 1974; Needham, "Faculty Assails Administration," *Vanguard*, October 6, 1987; "PSU Faculty Opposes Move to Division I," *Oregonian*, October 7, 1987. A *Vanguard* editorial characterized the senate meeting as "a sounding board for faculty frustrations." See "Taking Time to Talk," *Vanguard,* October 6, 1987. The sports upgrade would place football in Division I-AA. See Dodds, *College,* 428–29 and 511*n*55.

18. Horowitz, "Big-Time Sports Stifles Academics," *Vanguard*, October 13, 1987.

19. Needham, "Delkin Committee Votes, Division I Move Passed," *Vanguard*, October 16, 1987; Editorial, "Taking Care of the Ball," *Vanguard*, October 16, 1987; "Division I," *Vanguard*, November 20, 1987; Horowitz, "Division I?" *Vanguard*, November 20, 1987; and "No Division I Football," *Oregonian*, November 21, 1987. See also Strohm, "Commercialization of Sports;" Hochfield, "'We're All Playing Games,'" 11, 12–17; and Weisart, "College Sports Reform" 39–43. For PSU, see Lederman, "Portland State Dispute," A28-30.

20. Needham, "Advisory board favors

PSU move to Division I," *Vanguard,* December 4, 1987; Bertram, "Vikings Will Seek Move up," *Oregonian,* December 17, 1987; Lederman, "Portland State Dispute," A28–30.

21. Lederman, "Portland State Dispute," A29–30.

22. Horowitz, "Statement to State Board of Higher Education on PSU Sports Options," December 17, 1987, author's files; Bertram, "Board OKs PSU Sports Upgrading," *Oregonian,* December 19, 1987; Charlene Tooze, "Board's Decision is in: Yes on Sports Upgrade," *Vanguard,* January 5, 1988.

23. Horowitz, quoted in Bertram, "Board OKs PSU sports upgrading"; Needham, "Faculty Senate Protests Sicuro's Plan for Funds," *Vanguard,* February 2, 1988; "Sicuro slams IFC procedure," *Vanguard,* February 5, 1988; Jeff Baker, "State Board to Reconsider PSU Upgrade," *Oregonian,* February 13, 1988; Needham, "Fees off Limits, Board Tells Sicuro," *Vanguard,* February 19, 1988. See also Terry Frei, "High-handed Sicuro Insults PSU Students," *Oregonian,* February 5, 1988.

24. Jim Hill, "Man with a Mission: Sicuro's Move to Upgrade Athletics Stirs Criticism," *Oregonian,* February 21, 1988.

25. Levinson, "Faculty and Institutional Isomorphism," 25; Paul Strohm, Editorial, "The Corporate University," *Academe* 75 (January-February 1989): 11; Laurie J. Bilik and Mark C. Blum, "'Déjá Vu All Over Again': Initiatives in Academic Management," *Academe* 75 (January-February, 1989): 23, 9, 10; Joan Wallach Scott, "The Critical State of Shared Governance," *Academe* 88 (July–August 2002): 43–44.

26. Hill, "Man with a Mission."

27. Bristol, "PSU Foundation Pays Sicuro Tab," *Vanguard,* February 19, 1988; Hill, "Foundation Offset Sicuro Expenses," *Oregonian,* March 6, 1988.

28. Paul Koberstein, "PSU Foundation Finances Face Inquiry," *Oregonian,* April 20, 1988; Koberstein, "State Questions Trust Fund Started by Faculty at PSU," *Oregonian,* April 27, 1988; Koberstein, "State Investigation of PSU Foundation Grows," *Oregonian,* April 23, 1988; Koberstein, "Controversy Tarnishes PSU," *Oregonian,* May 8, 1988; Koberstein and Phil Stanford, "Papers Show Sicuro Funds Unreported," *Oregonian,* June 1, 1988; Koberstein, "Faculty Critical of PSU Foundation," *Oregonian,* June 7, 1988; Koberstein, "Sicuro Pays Back Foundation $1,270," *Oregonian,* June 8, 1988; Hill and Koberstein, "Foundation Board Excluded, Audit Shows," *Oregonian,* June 10, 1988; Koberstein, "Report Hits PSU-foundation Ties," *Oregonian,* July 14, 1988; Bristol, "Justice Department Report Slams PSU," *Vanguard,* July 20, 1988; Koberstein, "State Monies Diverted," *Oregonian,* September 9, 1988; Phyllis Braden Lowe, "State Audit Criticizes PSU, Foundation, State Board," *Vanguard,* September 20, 1988; Hill, "State Audit Confirms Improper Diversions," *Oregonian,* February 3, 1989. See also Brent Walth, "The Trouble with Nat," *Willamette Week,* June 2, 1988; and Dodds, *College,* 451–57, "Sicuro, Sports, and Scandal: An Historical Overview," March 2, 1988, author's files.

29. Susan Polk, "Anti-Sicuro Student Group Formed," *Vanguard,* February 23, 1988; Hill, "PSU Chief Draws Fire at Meeting," *Oregonian,* March 3, 1988; Bristol, "Sicuro's Fecord Attacked at Meeting," *Vanguard,* March 4, 1988.

30. Hall, "Senate Quashes Plan for Confidence Vote," *Vanguard,* March 8, 1988; Needham, "Senator Wants Sicuro out," *Vanguard,* March 29, 1988; Editorial, "The Stench at PSU," *The Daily Astorian,* April 11, 1988.

31. "'Portland State Foundation,'" *Vanguard,* May 3, 1988.

32. "PSU Alum Pooh-poohs 'Choo Choo," *Vanguard,* May 24, 1988. For faculty complaints of Sicuro threats, see Koberstein, "Sicuro Style Gets Thumbs Down in Poll," *Oregonian,* June 15, 1988; and Walth, "Trouble with Nat."

33. Needham, "Boosters back Sicuro," *Vanguard,* May 6, 1988; Koberstein, "Controversy Tarnishes PSU," *Oregonian,* May 8, 1988; John Dash, "It's More Than a 'disruptive minority'," *Vanguard,* May 17, 1988.

34. Bristol, "Department heads meet

to Discuss Sicuro," *Vanguard,* May 13, 1988; Memo to President Sicuro from Undersigned Department Heads and Program Directors, May 31, 1988, author's files.

35. Koberstein, "Faculty Critical of PSU Foundation"; Koberstein, "Sicuro Pays Back Foundation"; Koberstein, "Sicuro Style Gets Thumbs Down"; "Administrators, Sicuro Confer," *Oregonian*, June 12, 1988; Editorial, "Change needed at PSU," *Oregonian,* June 12, 1988; Koberstein, "Controversy Spurs Board to Hold Sicuro Review Early," *Oregonian,* June 18, 1988; Bristol, "Board Plans Sicuro Review," *Vanguard,* June 22, 1988.

36. Carolyn J. Mooney, "For College Presidents, a Loss of Faculty Confidence Can Lead to War—or Dialogue," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 34 (July 13, 1988): A1 ff; Hill, "Five Named for Sicuro Job Review," *Oregonian,* July 16, 1988; "PSU Professor Proclaims 'cut the rope'," *Vanguard,* July 20, 1988; "Dear PSU Alumni, Friends of the University, and Concerned Oregonians," July 28, 1988, author's files.

37. Lowe, "Department Heads Call for Sicuro's Resignation," *Vanguard,* September 20, 1988; Koberstein, "Academic Leaders Ask Sicuro to Quit," *Oregonian,* September 20, 1988.

38. Koberstein, "Academic leaders ask Sicuro to quit."

39. Koberstein and Don Hamilton, "Sicuro Pushed to Step Down," *Oregonian,* October 7, 1988; Horowitz, "Public Can Participate," *Oregonian,* September 23, 1988; Horowitz to Dr. Louis B. Perry, Chairman, Review Panel Concerning N. Sicuro, September 13, 1988, author's files. For the review process, see Koberstein, "Faculty, Business Owners Testify at Sicuro Review," *Oregonian,* September 14, 1988; and Lowe, "Review Process Moves to Next Phase," *Vanguard,* September 30, 1988.

40. Carol M. Magnuson, "Students, Profs Set Solidarity Rally Today," *Vanguard,* September 27, 1988; Magnuson, "Students, Profs Hold Rally," *Vanguard,* September 30, 1988.

41. Koberstein, "Faculty, Business Owners Testify"; Fred A. Stickel, "Publisher Supports Retaining Sicuro," *Oregonian,* September 29, 1988; Charles M. White, "No Conspiracy at PSU," *Oregonian,* October 2, 1988.

42. Koberstein, "Sicuro Steps Down at PSU," *Oregonian,* October 11, 1988; Lowe, "Sicuro Resigns," *Vanguard,* October 11, 1988. See also Peter Monaghan, "President of Portland State U. Steps Down After a Year of Controversy," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 34 (October 19, 1988): A36–37; and Dodds, *College,* 428–49.

43. Horowitz, "Dictatorial Regime's Removal Cause to Celebrate," *Vanguard,* October 18, 1988; Jim Petersen, "Behavior Unbecoming," *Oregonian,* October 22, 1988; Horowitz, "Proud to Celebrate," *Oregonian,* November 4, 1988; Horowitz, "A Mood of Elation at Portland State," *Chronicle of Higher Education,* November 16, 1988.

44. Lowe, "Sicuro takes Unpaid Post," *Vanguard,* January 3, 1989; Hamilton, "Colleague says Rhode Island School Will Offer Helm to Sicuro," *Oregonian,* May 31, 1989; "Careers," *Willamette Week,* May 3, 1990; "Sicuro Leaves Rhode Island University," *Oregonian,* February 24, 1993; Horowitz, unpublished letter to *Willamette Week*, June 6, 1988, author's files; Monaghan, "President Steps Down."

45. Jennifer Washburn, *University, Inc.: The Corporate Corruption of American Higher Education* (New York: Basic Books, 2005), 182; Eric Gould, *The University in a Corporate Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 31, 81, 100.

46. Washburn, *University Inc.,* x; Gould, *University in a Corporate Culture,* 114. See also Sheila Slaughter and Garry Rhoades, *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy: Markets, States, and Higher Education* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); and Benjamin Johnson, Patrick Kavanagh, and Kevin Mattson, "The Rise of the Corporate University," in *Steal This University: The Rise of the Corporate University and the Academic Labor Movement* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003).

47. Dodds, *College,* 430.