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NETWORKED: NEW YORK CITY'S CHARTER SCHOOLS
AND THE NEW PROFITEERS

by

CHRISTINA A. JOHNSON

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Urban Education in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2017

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Christina A. Johnson

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Urban Education in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Date

Anthony Picciano

Chair of Examining Committee

Date

Wendy Luttrell

Executive Officer

Supervisory Committee:

Nicholas Michelli

David Bloomfield

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

ABSTRACT

Networked: New York City's Charter Schools and the New Profiteers

by

Christina A. Johnson

Advisor: Anthony Picciano

This dissertation examines the extent to which corporate players and interests are represented on New York City charter school boards by collecting and analyzing board member data for all approved charters as of January 2013. The affiliations of individuals sitting on charter school and charter management organization boards are identified. The implications of those affiliations as well as their potential to affect school governance are explored within a modern educational landscape in which policy-making favors market-based approaches and provides new entry points for profiteering. The empirical analysis and conceptual framework for this study are informed by research on interlocking directorates as well as on more contemporary forms of power, or “flex-nets,” situated within social networks. The results show that individuals tied to corporations – particularly hedge funds and other financial organizations – fill a significant number of charter school board seats, especially in comparison to parents, teachers and community members without those ties. Many of these board members have explicit ties to each other as well as affiliations with charter advocacy organizations, political action committees, and niche markets working behind the scenes to shore up pro-market education reforms. The study explores the potential ramifications of their dominance over charter schools, and proposes that financiers and their networks may stand to benefit more from charter school

proliferation than schoolchildren and local communities. Findings suggest that students in many of the charter schools across New York City are being trained for lives of relegation and regulation by the keepers of power, rather than its skeptics.

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This dissertation took longer to complete than it should have for several reasons. Some of those were wonderfully welcome, the most splendid being the birth of my daughter, Nancy Grace Johnson in spring 2010. Others are universally known to anyone who has tried to take on a task of this complexity and magnitude. And one, the death of a beloved teacher-scholar and my first advisor, Jean Anyon, was an unexpected and heartbreaking loss just as I was gaining momentum and confidence.

Jean was an inspiration, not only because of her verve, extraordinary scholarship and activism out there in the real world, but also because, behind her office doors and in her classroom, she gave so much to her students. She made me believe that I might ultimately be able to harness my overwrought and disjointed indignation about the corporatization of public education and write something worthwhile. I didn't have the full benefit of her faith or guidance throughout the long slog to complete this dissertation, but I will always be grateful for the years I was able to talk with her about radical possibilities.

I would also like to extend my deep gratitude to Anthony Picciano, who graciously agreed to take over Jean's role after she passed away, and Nicholas Michelli, both of whom provided structure, support and excellent suggestions during the subsequent years. Along those same lines, I would also like to thank David Bloomfield for agreeing to join my committee and see one of Jean's former students through to completion.

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“Imagine that you enter a parlor. You come late. When you arrive, others have long preceded you, and they are engaged in a heated discussion, a discussion too heated for them to pause and tell you exactly what it is about. In fact, the discussion had already begun long before any of them got there, so that no one present is qualified to retrace for you all the steps that had gone before. You listen for a while, until you decide that you have caught the tenor of the argument; then you put in your oar. Someone answers; you answer him; another comes to your defense; another aligns himself against you, to either the embarrassment or gratification of your opponent, depending upon the quality of your ally's assistance. However, the discussion is interminable. The hour grows late, you must depart. And you do depart, with the discussion still vigorously in progress.”

Kenneth Burke, *The Philosophy of Literary Form*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941.

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CHAPTER 1: OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Public schools are not merely schools for the public, but schools of publicness: institutions where we learn what it means to be a public and start down the road toward common national and civic identity (Barber, 1997, p. 2).

Background of the Problem: It's the Confluence, Stupid!

In New York City, corporate players and interests are disproportionately represented on charter school boards in comparison to teachers, parents, and community members without ties to business. Many of these board members have explicit connections to each other as well as affiliations with advocacy organizations and political action committees that are working behind the scenes to shore up the charter school movement. Many also have ties to related and burgeoning “niche” markets such as charter management organizations (CMOs), providers of information and communications technology (ICT), and charter facilities, all of which are being funded with public monies.

New York City’s charter schools are governed by boards of trustees, which are required to have between five and 25 members (N.Y. Education Law (§226(1)) whose skills and qualifications are evaluated as part of the charter application process. My study focuses on NYC charter schools that were approved to operate as of January 2013 and the more than 1,200 individuals governing those charters through membership on individual school or management boards.¹ Board member affiliations suggest priorities, tactics and objectives that may not always line up with public expectations for charter schools, which educate approximately 8% of New York City’s schoolchildren, and it is important to understand who fills these seats.

¹ See Appendix 4 for a full list of board members.

When I began looking at the boards of New York City charter schools in 2008, I discovered, among other things, complex money and power trails. Eva Moskowitz was teamed up with hedge fund managers and exploiting her former ties to local government and connections to New York City's Department of Education to promote her Success Academy charters (Gonzalez, 2010b). While she took on Harlem, her spouse, Eric Grannis, was busy launching charters in Brooklyn, and both were securing major support from foundations that were simultaneously funding charter advocacy organizations. These organizations, in turn, sometimes led right back to their own charter boards or those of other New York City charters.

The trails I followed were so winding and complex that I found it difficult not only to know where to stop, but also to consider how they might affect public education. I intuitively felt that the hyper-connectivity of hedge fund managers and other elites across charter boards had the potential to challenge many of the ideals that local communities hold for their schools, but I was not certain how to effectively explore or articulate this hunch.

Some of the potential outcomes I could imagine – in addition to the transfer into private hands of a substantial portion of New York City's multi-billion dollar annual education budget – were an increase in the number and type of opaque private consultancy arrangements and contracts; an overreliance on public-private partnerships and short-term foundation largesse at the expense of ongoing tax-based solutions to school funding; and curriculum and pedagogy that promote corporate interests.

Fortunately, in terms of starting to make sense of these networks of individuals and organizations, I discovered research on interlocking directorates in the corporate sector and read Janine Wedel's brilliant book *Shadow Elite* about the more contemporary forms of power that “play out not in formal organizations or among stable elites, but in social networks that operate

within and among organizations at the nexus of private and official power” (Wedel, 2009, p. 20).

Interlocking directorates exist when a single director sits on multiple boards or when two firms are linked to a third via shared directors. These board overlaps have been a characteristic of corporations and capitalism in the United States since the late 19th century (Mizruchi, 1982), and have remained relatively resilient even as corporate behaviors have changed over time (Davis, Yoo, and Baker, 2003). Corporate interlocks have alarmed progressive policy-makers and interested social scientists from their beginning, and class-domination theorists have effectively used interlocks to demonstrate cohesion among the power elite (Mills, 1959; Domhoff, 1967; Koenig & Gogel, 1981). In general, interlocks have increased access to information and resources (Stearns & Mizruchi, 1993), helped shore up companies during challenging times (Burt, 1983), and had substantial effects on corporate strategy (Useem, 1984).

More recently, and in tandem with the hyper-commercialization of higher education, some researchers have also systematically quantified trustee interlocks on postsecondary education boards, including substantial corporate interlocks within private universities involved in technoscience and finance (Pusser, 2006).² Brian Pusser, Sheila Slaughter, and Scott Loring Thomas (2006) conducted an empirical analysis of university-corporate trustee interlocks that provided an invaluable framework for gathering and analyzing data on NYC charter boards.

² As far back as 1923, author and activist Upton Sinclair sought to warn the public about interlocking directorates and their effects on higher education. He wrote that, not only did the same “plutocrats” who dominated the corporate world also largely control university boards, but that the universities, themselves, were serving as systems to shore up elite domination. In Chapter VI “The University of the House of Morgan,” Sinclair (1923) writes about Columbia University and its location in New York City – “the headquarters of the American plutocracy” – as a lead example of how interlocks (re)produce plutocratic standards.

Research on interlocks helped frame an examination of charter boards, but these relatively stable, traditional connections could not fully explain my preliminary findings. Charter school board membership changed substantially even in the timeframe between the application to authorize a school and its first few years of operation. Individual members moved quickly in and out of affiliations, leaving one hedge fund to launch another, for example, or moving from an advocacy organization to private consulting. Also, charters seemed to be providing entrée for up-and-coming elites. No longer did lower-ranked associates have to wrangle for years to get junior board memberships at mainstream cultural organizations. They could now snap up one or more of hundreds of new charter board memberships and rub elbows with some of the biggest financial titans in the world, thereby amassing a dizzying number of connections and potentially launching themselves in new and ever-widening personal and professional circles. This upward mobility seemed predicated on shirking the relatively staid, long-standing, organization-based loyalties traditionally associated with board membership.

Fortunately, Janine Wedel's exploration in *Shadow Elite* of a new class of professional power brokers called "flexians" helped shed light on what is happening on these charter boards (2009). These flexians essentially skirt the old-school system by surfing it. They assess rising tides and ride the crests from one sector to another, armed with the kind of insider information and know-how that make them indispensable to any organization looking for entrepreneurial inroads that lie just beyond the bounds of traditional public scrutiny. The flexians Wedel writes about have been able to exploit deregulation; move deftly back and forth from government jobs to corporations, think tanks or foundations; and successfully loop themselves back into burgeoning industries. Many of these activities appear to be hallmarks of charter school boards in New York City.

Statement of the Problem

In introducing this research study, it is important to acknowledge that private sector and elite involvement in public education are not new. The U.S. has a long history of wealthy White males shaping public education, particularly for communities of color, both directly and through foundations (Tyack, 1974; Scott, 2009). Education policy has always been fashioned by and with networks of individuals and organizations with corporate power and money behind them (Picciano & Spring, 2013).

The desire to interject market-based principles into the educational bureaucracy in the form of school choice also has a relatively long history in the U.S. As early as the 1950s, the ideas of neoconservatives such as Friedrich Hayek and his acolyte, Milton Friedman, began gaining traction with those who shared the belief that unfettered competition within the marketplace could improve schools (Spring, 2010). The nature of elite involvement in schools has been and will continue to be complex.

What I argue is unprecedented, however, are the sheer number of bi-partisan, private-sector actors who now engage directly in school governance; the volume of dollars changing hands; and the national, state, and city-level landscapes in which networks and exchanges are now situated. This *confluence* is what is new, and it is mighty. The systematic privatization and corporatization of public schools has been facilitated through a convergence of factors, including “schools in crisis” rhetoric; an erosion of public participation achieved, in part, through mayoral control; and neoliberal federal and state policy-making (Lipman, 2004; DiMartino & Scott, 2013; Picciano & Spring 2013).

The incontrovertible triumph of pro-market rhetoric and ideals in debates about public education; the retreat of the public sector at the local, state and federal level; and the ability of

players to operate both within long-standing power networks as well as newer more nimble ones – *these* are new (DiMartino & Scott, 2013; Burch, 2009) and fertile grounds for flexians and their networks. Most critically, I will argue, is that charter boards offer legitimacy for unprecedented profiteering and provide myriad new entry points for engaging directly with schools, such as ICT, high-stakes testing and data management and, most significantly, by helping perpetuate tax rates that are beneficial to wealthy financiers.

In New York City, arguably the financial capital of the world where the hedge fund industry *alone* holds more than \$1 trillion in assets (Crowe, 2015), charter schools have become a vital part of elites’ efforts to redirect attention away from inequitable wealth, safeguard unfair tax structures, and dominate public schoolchildren and their families. Also part of the new confluence are the unprecedented share of wealth owned by the top one percent and their capacity for influence through indirect contributions in a post-Citizens-United-case nation. The role of these hedge fund managers is noteworthy, both in terms of their sheer numbers in NYC and because, despite simplistic explanations of these financiers as “hobbyists with a heart,” the motivation for their entrepreneurial forays must be situated in the context of what they do for a living, which is high-risk investing in order to reap incredible returns.

Charter school champions continue to wage a noisy campaign for what free markets can do for public school children while, behind the scenes, public education has *become* the market. Many of the individuals and networks associated with NYC charter boards were among the first and best at understanding charters as fodder for savvy investors. As far back as 1996, a Lehman Brothers conference identified education as having the potential to “replace health care as the focus industry” (Gluckman, 2003), and Montgomery Securities referred to K-12 education as the next “Big Enchilada” for financiers (Kozol, 2007). These self-proclaimed entrepreneurial charter

champions are a modern breed of school reformers about whom previous descriptors no longer suffice.

Michael Apple's descriptions, for example, of the "rightest alliance" and "conservative modernization" are important and significantly contribute to a critique of school reform efforts that focus on the market model (Apple 1993, 2001). Both of Apple's terms are predicated, however, on the *contradictory* nature of the coalitions of neo-liberals, neo-conservatives and managerialists who struggle to redefine and redesign public education. This study elucidates the *coherence* among these individuals who have so vociferously championed charter schools in other people's neighborhoods in recent decades, a unity based on the new potential profits for not only themselves, but also their networks. I aim to quantify and describe these networks as well as examine current and future opportunities for profit in order to illuminate their enthusiasm.

In a different time in American history, much of what is happening in charter schools – million-dollar, no-bid contracts; corporate-run boards enforcing rigid, pseudo-military disciplinary tactics for young people of color; affiliated business groups openly meeting to discuss how to make the most of "investments" in public education – might have needed to be carried out quietly on the periphery rather than being publicly lauded. The market-based approach that is inherent in the charter school movement is clearly not a conspiracy, however, because it no longer needs to be. Pro-market rhetoric and tactics have triumphed broadly, and powerful people across the political spectrum are working together in the bright sunshine, despite potentially divergent individual objectives. I do not doubt that many of these people and organizations aim to do good, but I assert that their relatively narrow, neoliberal definitions of progress may ultimately inhibit democratic possibilities and publicness in education.

There is a lack of research on the individuals who make up charter school boards and on how their participation in elite networks might affect public education. This may be due, in part, to the fact that charter boards are relatively new in public education. Also, the bulk of research that has been conducted appears to focus on how to maximize trustee effectiveness and improve governance. Even at the postsecondary level, research focused on trustees has not yet sufficiently theorized about how and why interlocks – and the broader market forces they represent – may “provide a key platform and information portal for shaping the increasing commercialization of academe” (Pusser, Slaughter, & Thomas, 2006, p. 766).

For this study, I collected and analyzed information about the boards of all NYC charter schools approved as of January 2013 and their management organizations. I chose to look at every charter board, rather than select a sample, because the goal of my research was to move beyond the “usual suspects” featured in *The New York Times* or challenged by progressive educators and get a full sense of the representation of affiliations and interests. I theorized, for example, that board membership might differ across boroughs or outside of larger networks. The resulting dataset allowed me to quantify affiliations and theorize about how those affiliations may affect K-12 education policy and practice given what we know about the effects of elite networks in corporate and postsecondary settings.

Exploring the new frontier for profiteering through charters is of particular importance because nothing short of what Barber (1997) calls our “publicness” is at stake. New York City charters are governed by powerful, networked boards that have the potential to increasingly disenfranchise community members and privatize the City’s schools. This study has broad implications not just for NYC where almost 10% of students currently attend charter schools – a percentage that will grow substantially as charters fulfill their expansion goals in terms of adding

grades and as new charters are founded – but also nationwide as the overall charter movement proliferates. How much of the charter school “treatment” and success in New York City, for example, is contingent on the support of interlocked financial titans and zeal of high-level politicians (Baker & Ferris, 2011)? What might happen to charter school children and families when that exuberance inevitably fades?

Research Objectives

Several research questions guided this study:

- What types of businesses, community groups, and other organizations are represented on NYC charter school boards via the affiliations of charter board members?
- Are there specific trends across boards that should be explored (i.e., an over-representation of hedge fund managers and other financiers on charter boards in comparison to parents, educators, and other community members not affiliated with corporate interests)?
- What kinds of connections, or interlocks, exist between board members as a result of their affiliations?
- How might these affiliations, interlocks and broader “flex-nets” affect public education based on what we know about them in corporate settings and higher education?

These networks are the key to understanding the charter movement’s potential as a vehicle for elite dominance and exploitative profits. Regardless of the *individuals’* motivations, ideology or actions with respect to charter schools, their involvement with and allegiance to

networks has the potential to concentrate their efforts on establishing and maximizing opportunities for money-making rather than on educating young people to prepare them for lives in a participatory democracy. My hope is that parents and communities continue to insist on democratic participation and shared governance of schools, particularly for the sake of poor and minority students’ “destinies, downgraded and diminished by governmental penury, [which] have now become the object of so large a corporate appetite” (Kozol, 2007, p. 8).

In the remainder of this chapter, I briefly review the history of charter schools in New York City and the role of charter boards. In Chapter 2, *Literature Review*, I consider the proliferation of charters in New York City as a result of policies that have undermined traditional public schools and favored market-based reform and profiteering. These policies are important not only because of their implications for charter schools, but also because they are part of a mutually reinforcing system for the broader education reform movement, which swirls around a combination of spectacle, spin and big money, all of which are also explored. Chapter 2 also explores research on interlocking directorates and flexians in more depth in order to conceptually frame this study.

In Chapter 3, *Methodology & Data Analysis*, I describe how I gathered and organized information for my dataset. Chapter 4, *Results*, offers findings and analysis, including an in-depth case study of the powerful boards governing Success Academy Charters. Chapter 5, *Conclusions & Recommendations for Future Research*, discusses the implications of the power structure of NYC charter boards in terms of the potential consequences for public education and democracy, and proposes recommendations for future research.

A Brief History of New York City Charter Schools

Charter schools receive public funds to serve students and operate under terms approved by state or local authorizers. Depending on those terms and the laws of individual states, charter school leaders are freed up from adhering to various policies and regulations that govern traditional schools.

Minnesota passed the nation's first law authorizing the creation of charter schools in 1991. Since that time, more than 6,800 charters have been founded nationwide to enroll almost 3 million schoolchildren.³ While charter enrollees represent less than 10% of the total number of students nationwide, they are part of an education reform movement that is unprecedented in terms of the support and engagement it has garnered from bi-partisan private actors, including many of the nation's wealthiest financiers and "venture philanthropists." Charters have experienced exponential growth in a relatively short amount of time, and dominate the educational scene in some urban settings. In New Orleans, for example, the state with the largest number of charters proportionally, more than half of students are in charter schools (Ravitch, 2010).

Currently in New York City, where more than 1.1 million school children enter classrooms across each day, approximately 9.5% of them attend one of the City's charter schools (NYCcharterschools.org, 2017). In some areas, substantially more are served by charters; in Harlem, for example, half of the kindergarteners attend a charter school (Ibid).

Charters in New York State are awarded for five years, after which schools must apply for renewal. New York's charter schools are required to follow many of the same laws as traditional public schools, including those relating to health and safety, civil rights, special

³ Source: The Center for Education Reform at www.edreform.com.

education and various laws such as the Open Meetings Law and Freedom of Information Act. They must also administer the same state tests as district schools and meet similar state performance requirements.⁴ They are freed up from some of the other constraints under which traditional schools operate. They can determine the length of the school day and year, for example, develop their own curriculum, and hire non-union teachers and staff. Some focus on setting unique “no excuses” standards for student behavior and the overall school environment.

After the Charter Schools Act of 1998 was passed, New York became the 34th state to permit the creation of charter schools. The Act allowed for an unlimited number of existing schools to be converted to charter schools and another 100 start-ups.⁵ At that time, authorizers of charter schools in New York City were the Board of Trustees of the State University of New York, the New York State Board of Regents, and the New York City Department of Education. The statute charged these authorizers with approving charters, evaluating their success, and publishing outcomes.

In 2010, state legislation was amended such that local school districts could no longer approve charters, but NYC was still allowed to oversee and renew the charters for schools the City had authorized under the original law.⁶ In addition to increasing the charter cap, the May 2010 amendments to the Act also added new requirements, including that charter applications be submitted in response to Request for Proposals (RFP) issued by the two remaining authorizers; applicants demonstrate effective community outreach as part of the criteria for approval; and

⁴ See <http://www.suny.edu/about/leadership/board-of-trustees/meetings/webcastdocs/LegislativeReviewHistoryofSUNYAuthorizing.txt> for details.

⁵ As of spring 2017, the state-wide cap was 460, with a limit for NYC on new school approvals of 114.

⁶ Buffalo City School District was also allowed to continue to oversee and renew.

authorizers develop targets for enrolling and retaining numbers of at-risk students that are similar to those of the district overall.

For those charter schools included in this study and dataset – all NYC charter schools approved as of January 2013 and their management organizations – over half are elementary schools. The borough of Brooklyn ranked the highest in terms of the number of charters, followed by the Bronx and Manhattan. Queens and Staten Island, together, host less than 10% of the charters.

NYC charters in the dataset are divided relatively evenly in terms of those linked to non-profit Charter Management Organizations (CMOs) and those that are not. Only five of the City’s charters are affiliated with for-profit EMOs or Educational Management Organizations (NYCcharterschools.org) since the 2010 legislative amendment forbade for-profit management organizations for *new* charters.

A slight majority of the City’s charters (114) are housed in buildings that are owned or leased by the New York City Department of Education. The remainder are in private spaces or co-locate students in private and DOE space (NYCcharterschools.org, 2015).

Seven schools closed between 2001 June 2014; 85 charters were still in their initial charter period such that five-year and/or short-term renewals were not yet an option (NYCcharterschools.org, 2015). Eighty charter schools had received five-year renewals, and 32 had received short-term renewals. According to the New York City Charter School Center, in the 2013-2014 school year, charter school students outperformed their counterparts across all of the district schools in math, with 44% of them achieving at or above standards compared to 34%. For English Language Arts, charter and district school students were at the same level of achievement (28%).

March 2014 state budget legislation approved additional changes for NYC charters, which included the following:

- Added a schedule for fixed per-pupil funding increases by NYC DOE through 2016-2017.
- Provided the opportunity for new charters and charter schools adding grade levels to request co-location with NYC DOE schools and appeal for rental assistance if denied.
- Preserved all charter co-location arrangements approved before January 2014 and prohibited charging rent or fees to co-located charters.
- Authorized charters to provide universal pre-kindergarten (UPK) programs.
- Authorized the NYC Comptroller (rather than the New York State Comptroller, which previously lost a legal challenge) to conduct financial audits of the City's charters.
- Changed the rules such that when a charter school closes, unobligated public funds return to the school district rather than another charter.

What NYC Charter School Boards Do

New York State charter school boards' autonomy and governance power are vested through the state's Charter Schools Act and Education Law § 226(8). Charter boards have authority over all aspects of their schools, including curricular development, the use of property and facilities, and fiscal and human resources management. Individual trustee names and affiliations are typically identified in charter school applications, and prospective trustees who are recruited onto boards thereafter must be approved by the authorizer. Unlike some states, New York does not require that parents or teachers are represented on charter boards. Minnesota, for example, the nation's first state to launch charter schools, requires elections of charter boards by

school staff and parents and the inclusion of each group on boards (Annenberg Institute, 2014). In the District of Columbia, the parents of charter school students must hold at least two board seats (Ibid).

An evaluation of proposed boards is part of the authorization process to issue new charters as well as charter renewal. Authorizers require detailed information about charter boards, including the total number of members, officer positions and committees, and frequency and publication of board meetings. The SUNY Charter Schools Institute required in its July 2015 Request for Proposals (RFP) that charter applicants identify and provide brief biographies for each proposed member of the board of trustees as well as describe orientation and training opportunities provided for them. SUNY's RFP also requires that charter applicants describe whether and how boards select school leaders and measure their achievement as well as how they select CMOs if they will be used.

Board-related criteria are included in SUNY's rubric for evaluating charter school applications, including whether the education corporation's board has a "clearly defined process for monitoring, and holding school leaders accountable for, school performance" as well as "the skill sets, structures and procedures to provide rigorous oversight and support for a start-up organization, or additional school(s)" (SUNY RFP, 2015). A "Subsequent Renewal Report" for Our World Neighborhood Charter School (SUNY Charter Schools Institute, 2012) provides important insights into the full range of board responsibilities and how authorizers evaluate them:

"The school board has worked effectively to oversee the educational program and achieve the school's mission. The composition of the board includes individuals with a diverse set of skills, as well as four parent trustees who communicate the needs of the student body and school community to the rest of the board. The school board believes it is well represented in critical areas including management, business, education,

and financial expertise, but seeks to add individuals with real estate and fundraising expertise to augment its skill set. The school board is currently conducting a strategic planning effort to ensure that its existing committee structure adequately reflects the needs of the school” (p. 5).

A minimum of five board members must be proposed and, when CMOs are included in the application with which proposed board members are affiliated, an additional 1-2 members must be identified. All board members are required to file annual financial disclosure forms that detail potential conflicts of interest, including business and real estate interests.

Charter authorizers evaluate trustees through a number of checks and balances that have been built into the application and renewal process to mitigate the potential for overt profiteering by charter boards. However, several instances in the past few years demonstrate the challenges of not only monitoring board behavior, but also understanding exactly where certain risks may lie. In 2010, for example, *The New York Daily News* uncovered several cases of substantial contracts that appeared to favor the relatives of school leaders or board members, including a \$131,000 cleaning contract at a Queens charter, a \$7.6 million charter management contract between a Brooklyn-based charter and the for-profit EMO National Heritage Academies, and charter facility rental expenses in the Bronx of \$400,000 (Kolodner, 2010).

The abovementioned *2012 SUNY Institute Renewal Report for Our World Neighborhood Charter* sheds light on the myriad opportunities for these relatively new governance structures to run afoul of the State’s expectations in matters that range from less consequential to potential malfeasance:

“The school board has generally and substantially met the requirements of the Open Meetings Law, though the finance committee has conducted meetings without adequate public notice and without the proper establishment of a quorum... The OWN board of trustees has generally avoided creating conflicts of interest where possible, and where conflicts existed, the board has generally managed those conflicts in a clear and transparent manner through recusal. However, following the passage of the May 2010 amendments to the

Charter Schools Act, which made certain conflict of interest provisions codified in the General Municipal Law applicable to charter schools, the school has impermissibly maintained a contractual relationship with a law firm that employs the spouse of a current board member... Minor deficiencies were noted in the areas of teacher certification requirements, Freedom of Information Law compliance, federal Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA) compliance, Gun Free Schools Act compliance, and, as mentioned above, compliance with the Open Meetings Law and General Municipal law” (p. 5-6).

Conclusion

The affiliations of board members are important to identify and understand as charters proliferate. New York State legislators and citizens invested explicit hope for local community ascendancy in charter school governance through the 1998 Charter School Act, which stated its purpose to “authorize a system of charter schools to provide opportunities for teachers, parents, and community members to establish and maintain schools that operate independently of existing schools and school districts (SUNY Charter Schools Institute; Allen & Johnson, 2011). Yet the aforementioned confluence of opportunity, whereby individuals without local ties to schools and communities can dominate within their long-standing and newer, more flexible networks, may be undermining those hopes.

Corporate leaders can be expected to employ governance strategies that favor fast-paced changes, deregulation, privatization, and competition. Those are standard, and arguably effective, tactics in the business world, but they might ultimately be at odds with the preferences and needs of parents and schoolchildren. The degree to which corporations, hedge funds and pro-charter groups are dominating the boards of public schools must be assessed, and their interests must be considered and moderated. Otherwise, there is a distinct risk that their networks will form an echo chamber that tolerates ambiguous educational outcomes or runs roughshod over democratic processes in the name of expediency, efficiency, and profit.

The next chapter explores policies and practices that have shored up the charter school movement and positioned profiteers to wrest control of education and the public's largest remaining coffer, worth more than \$650 billion annually (Picciano & Spring, 2013). It also explicates this study's conceptual framework for examining charter board members and their networks.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction to the Relevant Literature

In the first part of this chapter, I briefly explore three policy issues – mayoral control, No Child Left Behind (NCLB), and Race to the Top (RTTT) – as well as a key area of praxis, strategic philanthropy, all of which have shored up the charter school movement, paved the way for profit-seeking, and prioritized the domination of networked elites on charter boards. In the second section of Chapter 2, I examine how research on linked elites frames my study and provides a theoretical lens through which to consider charter school governance and its potential consequences. Before turning to these topics, I briefly describe the history of pro-market forces within the charter school movement in the United States.

Over the last three decades, charter schools have appealed across the ideological spectrum to individuals interested in school reform. Despite the hope they may have initially held out for some parents, progressive educators and local communities, however, they quickly became integral to the conservative push against government and for free markets (Apple, 2006; Henig, 2009; Ravitch, 2010). Charters, in fact, became firmly aligned with conservative ideology by being framed as a struggle *between* free markets and government, substantially raising the movement's visibility, stakes and political posturing (Henig, 2009).

More recently, Democrats have marched in lock-step with conservatives in terms of favoring charter schools with rhetoric and dollars. The Democratic leadership's embrace of charters, which increasingly challenge several key ideological tenets that heretofore defined the party – including racial integration in schools and supporting union workers – is indicative of several things, two of which are particularly important for this study. First, bipartisan support

demonstrates the success of a conservative schema launched almost fifty years ago to change the national zeitgeist around several key issues, including public education. Second, the bipartisan push for charters exemplifies a trend at the local, state and federal levels of policymaking according to peripheral, but well-calculated, economic interests and pre-conceived agendas (Lubienski & Weitzel, 2010; Ball, 2007). These new interests and agendas are perpetuated by increasingly unified and self-serving elite networks with inimitable coercive power.

A key blueprint for creating the networks that have triumphed over more progressive educators (deMarrais, 2006; Phillips-Fein, 2009) was the “Powell Manifesto,” which provides a vital lens through which to view the charter school movement. Lewis Powell wrote his confidential memorandum for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce just before his nomination to the Supreme Court. Whether scholars write about this memo as having catalyzed or merely predicted what was to come, their analyses reinforce that Powell’s call for “strength... in organization, in carefully long-range planning and implementation, in consistency of action over an indefinite period of years, in the scale of financing available-only through joint effort, and in the political power available only through unified action and national organizations” has materialized (Powell Memorandum 1971, p. 4).

In his memo, Powell called on conservatives to exploit or recreate the traditional institutions and tools of the political Left to change the national conversation and make their own policies and strategies appear more mainstream. What he espoused has worked across multiple fronts, including education. Twenty-first century conversations about public education focus almost exclusively on some aspect of market principles, whether it be developing human capital, encouraging competition, discouraging government regulation or laying blame for student failure on unionized school teachers.

Powell's memo, among other things, led to the creation of think tanks such as the conservative Heritage Foundation and helped generate a confluence of philanthropic fervor. Subsequently, "funding agencies of different dimensions and varying degrees of ideological fervor, nominally philanthropic but zealous in their common hatred of the liberal enemy, disburs[ed] the collective sum of roughly \$3 billion over a period of thirty years for the fabrication of 'irritable mental gestures which seek to resemble ideas'" (Lapham, 2004 p. 3).

Grants began to flow from conservative foundations to like-minded recipients, providing them with ongoing, unrestricted funding that assured stability over the long term as well as flexibility in terms of how the monies were spent (Andrews 2004; Krehely 2004; Cohen 2007). This new kind of grant-making differed from traditional philanthropy, through which foundations solicited proposals from across the ideological spectrum and used funds to support short-term discrete projects. With sustained general operating support, as opposed to project-based funding, conservative organizations grew more nimble and secure (Andrews, 2004).

A substantial portion of these pro-market dollars began directly shoring up the charter school movement by supporting research to besiege the public's sense about its schools, funding advocacy organizations and networks, and influencing policy-makers at the federal and state level (Vergari, 2003; Andrews, 2004; Ravitch, 2010). Despite the seemingly limited authority of foundations, by funding advocacy as well as direct services, they paved the way for a substantial shift in public and legislative sentiment toward and acceptance of charter schools (Vergari & Mintrom, 2003). In New York, foundations were involved in the charter school movement to such a substantial extent and at such an early stage that they actually participated in writing the state's charter school laws (Ibid).

The nation's first African American president, who is also a Democrat, blatantly forced states to establish more charters through an orchestrated "Race to the Top," despite the fact that research clearly shows charters represent an inconsistent reform strategy, at best, and may be contributing to the resegregation of the nation's schools. Clearly, something other than sound policymaking may be at work. One of the key aims in the remainder of this chapter is to explain this new "something."

Mayoral Control

...Although the change to mayoral control was supposed to bring greater accountability to New York City's education system, one unintended consequence was tying the mayor's own political fortunes to rising test scores (Stern & Wolf, p. 115).

By dispensing with the rules of order customary for deliberative body (sic) and frequently flouting its few bylaws, Chancellor Joel Klein has run the school system as his personal fiefdom, with minimal regard for transparency and accountability (Sullivan, p. 69).

Nationally, corporate networks often drive and benefit from a mayor's control of public education, and powerful corporate interests have backed the majority of mayoral takeovers in the nation's cities (Henig & Rich, 2004; Wong, et al., 2007). The proliferation of New York City's charter schools and the elite boards that run them must be largely viewed within the context of mayoral control. Billionaire NYC Mayor Michael Bloomberg held control for three consecutive terms and was a vocal and vociferous proponent of charter schools throughout his time in office.

The New York State legislature handed control of the city's public schools to the Mayor's office in June 2002 and extended that control in 2009 for six additional years through

June 30, 2015.⁷ One important aspect of the legislation that gave the mayor control was an associated requirement for oversight by a community-based Panel for Educational Policy (PEP) in place of the Board of Education such that PEP would play a “meaningful role and continue to maintain jurisdiction over citywide educational policy issues and contracts.”

Although the legislation provided for this “balance of authority,” Mayor Bloomberg stocked PEP with like-minded appointees and removed those who disagreed, affectively drowning out citizen and community voices (Meier & Ravitch, 2009; Hernandez, 2009). In line with many CEO’s, the mayor and his chancellor valued unilateral authority, which ultimately discouraged parent involvement; flouted requirements that called for the review of major contracts; and shut down vital conversations about the manipulation of data, the proliferation of charters, and how DOE decisions might affect some of the city’s most vulnerable schoolchildren (Hernandez, 2009).

The mayor’s response to citizen unrest about PEP’s lackluster deliberations exemplifies not only what can happen when democratic processes are sacrificed for expediency, but also one inevitable result of interlocked decision-makers with shared norms and no patience for dissent: “They are my representatives, and they are going to vote for things that I believe in” (Ibid). The individuals with the most vested interests in the success of New York City’s schools – its students, families and teachers – were purposefully left out of the only participatory body remaining after local boards and elections, those “primary, albeit imperfect, mechanisms for democratic accountability,” had been pushed aside (DiMartino & Scott, 2013).

In several other key areas, Mayor Bloomberg’s administration eschewed the traditional expertise and checks and balances that public schools had formerly relied on. Once Bloomberg

⁷ As of May 2017, New York Governor Cuomo proposed in his January 2017 education budget that mayoral control continue in New York City under Mayor Bill de Blasio for three years.

appointed his pro-market chancellor Joel Klein, for example, they proceeded to bring in numerous consultants to review and revamp services such as transportation, food service, and school construction (Stern, 2009). They built a huge public-relations team within the DOE and Mayor's office, up from three individuals in 2002 to 23 by 2009 (Haimson, 2009). They simultaneously worked to highlight media coverage and positive press through the Fund for Public Schools, a non-profit then chaired by the chancellor (Ravitch, 2009).

Interestingly, and despite a typical pro-market focus on reducing bureaucratic "bloat," the number of administrators at the central office level rose by 40% in the first six years alone (Haimson, 2009). At the same time, the number of and dollar amounts associated with contracts skyrocketed and no-bid contracts were approved in huge numbers.

In 2000, prior to mayoral control, the city's school system issued seven no-bid contracts that totaled \$693,000. By comparison, in 2005 DOE shelled out \$120 million in no-bid contracts, including a single \$17 million contract to Alvarez & Marsal (Haimson, 2009), the consulting firm whose lack of familiarity and experience with non-market issues ultimately left schoolchildren stranded without school buses in the dead of winter (Gootman, 2007). Between 2006 and 2008, more than 120 no-bid contracts were approved. In 2008, a total of 944 contracts worth \$1.9 billion were issued, and 20% of those exemplified "troubling patterns of mismanagement," according to the NYC comptroller's office, running over budget by 25% or more (Haimson, 2009).

As with the broad influence of elites over public education, mayoral control of New York City's schools is not new. After 1873 and until 1969, New York City's mayors controlled the schools, leaving the day-to-day management of them to a board, but remaining fully in control of board membership and school finances (Ravitch, 2009). What *is* new is the confluence of new

opportunities for power grabs and profiteering. Bloomberg's escalation of private contracting – both in terms of contracts and dollars – for example, was unprecedented. One other well-known example is the no-bid contract with Wireless Generation, an education software development company that, among other projects, co-developed and initially implemented New York City's \$80+ million data Achievement Reporting and Innovation System (ARIS).

Two weeks before Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation bought the company in 2010, Joel Klein announced he would leave NYC's schools as chancellor and take charge of education at Wireless Generation. Soon afterwards, New York State's Education Department requested that the State Controller approve a \$27 million contract with Wireless Generation to develop a state-wide student data system similar to ARIS, despite the fact that multiple flaws had been reported with ARIS itself (Picciano & Spring, 2013). This request, initially approved with little fanfare, was only revoked after the News Corporation eavesdropping scandal erupted. NY State's Education Department initially continued to push for the contract, ironically citing substantial funding from the Gates Foundation as a justification (Ibid). Outsourcing to contractors key governmental tasks such as controlling important databases is a hallmark of flexians and how they are increasingly blurring the public-private divide (Wedel, 2009).

When he was tasked with replacing Chancellor Klein, Mayor Bloomberg hired Cathie Black, another corporatist with a lack of education credentials substantial enough to ultimately require a waiver from State Education Commissioner David Steiner. Her tenure was short and controversial. She was replaced by Dennis Walcott, New York City's former Deputy Mayor for Education, who stayed on for the remainder of Bloomberg's tenure. Carmen Farina, appointed in 2014 by Mayor Bill De Blasio, currently serves as chancellor. As of this writing, her full legacy as well as that of the new Mayor's remain to be seen.

No Child Left Behind (NCLB)

In sum, NCLB represents an enormous challenge to the status quo in public education and has the potential to create a major opening for entrepreneurs inside and outside of the public system (McGuinn, 2005, p. 28).

Under the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, the nation's "failing" schools became subject to restructuring mandates that explicitly promoted charter schools and facilitated multiple entry points for privatization (Picciano & Spring, 2013). The law generated, for example, huge revenues for tutoring and testing services, which became a sizable industry, despite ambiguous student outcomes (Ravitch, 2010). One substantial "cash cow confluence" that NCLB facilitated was through its promotion of for-profit charter management providers, or EMOs, and virtual charters. For example, in 2011 a single "cyber" school, which does not require the bricks and mortar expenditures of traditional schools, stood to receive \$72 million in public education funding for about 8,800 students who never attended (Picciano & Spring, 2013). That school was managed by a particularly profitable for-profit management organization, K-12 Inc., worth approximately \$15 billion (Ibid).

NCLB was passed with bipartisan support despite its broad expansion of federal power over local schools, traditionally a concern for conservatives, as well as its heavy emphasis on testing and market reforms, which may previously have troubled Democrats (Ravitch, 2010). The law technically expired in 2007, but it remained in effect for eight more years until it was ultimately rolled back by Congress in 2015, ceding federal control back to states and local districts. NCLB included the following provisions, many of which laid the groundwork for profit-making organizations and entities that continue to operate:

- An explicit privatization penchant with respect to encouraging consultants for restructuring and remediation for profit;
- Deregulation, including union-busting and de facto “creaming” of students;
- Deep cuts in education spending resulting from NCLB’s unfunded mandates; and
- The potential sanctioning of thousands of schools if they fail to comply with high-stakes testing and meet unprecedented standards of success.⁸

NCLB leveled sanctions that encouraged privatization when schools failed to meet its unattainable goals. In that sense, it exemplified what Naomi Klein (2008) calls “disaster capitalism.” When people in power react to natural disasters or facilitate man-made ones as if they were market opportunities, they are practicing disaster capitalism. When viewed through this lens, both No Child Left Behind, which set the stage for schools’ inevitable failure to meet 100% achievement (Ravitch 2010; Saltman, 2007), and Hurricane Katrina’s scourge in New Orleans similarly opened doors for charter operators who were poised to take advantage of disasters (Saltman, 2007; Klein, 2008; Buras, 2010).

At the local level, charters drain resources from traditional schools by siphoning off funding and enrolling the most motivated families in poor neighborhoods. This can lead to increased numbers of traditional school failures and mandated closures or restructuring, both of

⁸ Education historian Diane Ravitch has written scathingly about the outcomes of NCLB, although she was originally in full and vocal support of it (2010). She changed her mind after witnessing limited academic outcomes for students and parents’ reluctance to leave neighborhood schools. According to Ravitch, NCLB’s “most toxic flaw” – the component that most clearly exposes its authors’ penchant for disaster – was the legislative mandate that all students in every school be proficient in reading and mathematics by 2014: “Such a goal has never been reached by any state or nation” (p. 103). In 2006-2007, 25,000 schools nationwide did not make adequate yearly progress (AYP), the measurement for success used by NCLB. By 2007-2008, that number had grown to almost 30,000 or 36% of all public schools. This number, according to Ravitch, included more than half of Massachusetts’s schools, where students scored the highest in the nation on the rigorous National Assessment of Educational Progress tests, a clear indication of incompatibility with NCLB’s rubric.

which provide fodder for more charters and privatizing. Even those charters that initially appear to be strong and effective may be inherently “plagued by uncertainty and insecurity” (Saltman 2007, p. 54) if investors decide to move on to new terrain after maximizing profits or lose interest in individual charters. Separated from their communities and forced to scramble for alternative funders, space, and other logistical supports, these charters may, themselves, face a new wave of closures.

In New York City, the contentious co-location of charters within traditional public school buildings by the Department of Education (DOE) can also be viewed as a form of disaster capitalism. Traditional schools have been forced by DOE leaders to increase class size, forego library or computer room privileges, and compete psychically and logistically with a favored group of students, thereby undermining their capacity to perform to increasingly exacting standards.

Although NCLB ended, the legislation opened up new ingresses for profiteering and launched a “new normal” that will be difficult to reverse. It also established a clear precedent for another federal policy that can be viewed as having foisted charter schools on states and locales through disaster capitalism. “Race to the Top” (RtTT) not only explicitly favored charters and other market-based reforms, but the associated billions in federal funds were dangled in front of anxious state leaders who were facing economic crises unparalleled since the Great Depression. As the Board of Regents chancellor and RtTT proponent Meryll Tisch said, “In 2008, the state was broke. It was a financial crisis, and there was no money coming into the school system – none, not a penny... We had the opportunity to apply for federal funding under Race to the Top, and simultaneously, we had an opportunity to move a system that had been stagnant for a very long time forward” (Bakeman, 2015, July 15).

Race to the Top

In 2009, eight years after NCLB was enacted, the Obama administration launched its \$4.3 billion pro-market education reform initiative “Race to the Top” with American Recovery and Reinvestment Act funding. This competitive grant program only considered applications from states that prioritized market-based reforms such as the creation of large longitudinal data systems, school turn-arounds, and charter schools. It mandated that applicants ensure favorable statewide conditions for charter schools, including reconsidering any prohibitions about charter caps and guaranteeing equitable funding. It also requested that states engage charter school authorizers and membership associations in planning and implementation (RtTT Executive Summary).

In addition to promoting market-based reforms through policy, Race to the Top represents an example of the vast, symbiotic network of funders and ideologues working to affect public education. The legislation largely represents the agendas of key corporate philanthropists, particularly Bill Gates, and confirms bipartisan support for profiteering (Ravitch, 2010; Picciano & Spring, 2013).

The Gates Foundation (as well as Eli Broad’s Foundation) supported Arne Duncan’s educational reform efforts in Chicago. After Duncan became Education Secretary, he appointed former Gates Foundation program officer James H. Shelton III to serve as his Assistant Deputy Secretary for Innovation and Improvement. They gained control of \$100 billion in American Recovery and Reinvestment Act funding that resulted from the 2008 economic crisis, and set aside \$4.3 billion for Race to the Top to encourage educational reform at the state and local levels. Duncan put “flexian” Joanne S. Weiss, former partner and CEO of NewSchools Venture Fund – an organization that supports charters and charter management organizations and that has

received millions in Gates, Broad and Walton Family Foundation grant dollars – in control of designing and administering this unprecedented initiative (Ravitch, 2010; Picciano & Spring, 2013).

Mandates for states applying for RtTT “school reform” funds included lifting caps on charters as well as any breaking down barriers to linking teacher and principal evaluations and test scores, both of which are critical to privatization. Heightened competition is another key principle of free-market ideologues played out through RtTT since it pitted state departments of education against one another in a cutthroat contest for funding. An example of Bill Gates’ offer to provide 15 handpicked states with \$250,000 to hire consultants to put together winning proposals is an example of that competitiveness and how it can be injected into education policy. Much-needed federal funding – part of the stimulus package to jump-start the economy – was not only heavily influenced by Gates and his cronies on the front end, but also largely guided by them on the back end. Ironically, it was the conservative Thomas B. Fordham Institute that offered the most astute criticism of RtTT, with Michael Petrilli stating that it “marked the death of federalism” (in Ravitch, 2010, p. 218).

Race to the Top’s “State Reform Conditions Criteria” required states to provide evidence that their laws did not prohibit increasing the number of “high performing charters”⁹ and that charters received a commensurate share of revenues and facility support. New York declined to capitulate on lifting its charter school cap in its first, unsuccessfully funded round of *Race to the Top* competition. On May 28, 2010, however, the state legislature voted to lift the cap from 200 to 460, with 214 charters allocated to New York City (Medina, 2010). The promise of \$700

⁹ Race to the Top defined “high performing charters” as charters that have 1) been in operation for at least three consecutive years, 2) made substantial progress in improving student achievement, 3) the leadership necessary to overcome initial start-up problems and establish a thriving, financially viable charter school.

million in *Race to the Top* funding through a second round of awards was frequently cited as the major factor in this hotly contested decision.

New York State ultimately received a \$700 million RtTT grant to support reform in several key areas that included building data systems to assess student progress, teacher and principal recruitment and retention teachers and principals; and improving the performance of low-achieving schools. Less than two years later in early 2012, New York was on a short list of states that the U.S. Department of Education admonished for failing to live up to its promises (Santos, 2012).

In summer 2014, another hurdle in implementation – this time centered around incorporating Common Core exam scores into teacher evaluations – was reported (Klein, 2014). Funding ending in September 2015, and the results of the millions spent – half by the State and half by school districts – were decidedly mixed. Some claim that the record numbers of parents and teachers opting out of standardized tests represents a decided backlash against RtTT's key elements, and others point to important professional development opportunities that the funding facilitated (Bakeman, 2015). RtTT flung wide many of the doors to corporatization and profiteering that NCLB had pried open; whether it will have any lasting positive impacts for student learning remains to be seen.

The first section of this chapter provided a review of three policy issues that have contributed to the growth of charter schools and opened doors for profiteering. I turn now to a consideration of strategic philanthropy and how various interests have funded and set the stage for charter proliferation.

Big Money: Focused Philanthropy and Charter Schools

They are conducting the business of schooling based on a model that makes sense to them – a model that has worked well for them personally, a model consistent with their marketplace ideology (Meier, p. 162).

Philanthropy is widely cited in the literature as a key strategy for promoting charter schools. Within the field of philanthropy and education, scholars have identified three broad themes: foundations' influence in terms of the sheer numbers of dollars spent and the fact that their efforts go largely unchecked; the aforementioned new approach by conservative, pro-market foundations, including making long-term commitments to general operations and maximizing impact by funding advocacy alongside direct services; and, most importantly for this study, the inter-connectedness between and among funders and grantees. In addition to exemplifying the dogmatism, paternalism, and hubris that too often accompany philanthropy (Reich, 2006), these contributions by a few wealthy individuals and organizations are increasingly forcing taxpayers to cede control of public education while simultaneously increasing inequity and instability for schoolchildren (Baker & Ferris, 2011).

The aggressive practices of the newest philanthropists, the “billionaire boys’ club,” are often cited (Ravitch, 2010). As early as 2002, the top two foundations contributing to K-12 education were the Gates and Walton Family Foundations (of Wal-Mart fame), which were responsible for 25% of all the funding contributed by the top 50 donors (Ibid.). Researchers Sarah Reckhow and Jeffrey Snyder (2014) demonstrate through social network analysis that, from their distant offices, foundations are giving exponentially more to K-12 education; they almost doubled the annual amount given between 2000 and 2010 to \$844 million, and give more often to national advocacy organizations and other entities focused on challenging traditional public education. Two thirds of the 2010 foundation dollars given to K-12 organizations went to

organizations that *at least* one other major foundation supported (Ibid). This type of “convergent grant-making,” (Reckhow & Snyder, 2014, p. 186) demonstrates how philanthropists can substantially increase their power in the realm of education policy. It also exemplifies elite domination through interlocks, and highlights the associated risk of drowning out community voices by overlooking traditional schools.

The Gates, Walton and Eli Broad Foundations warrant extra scrutiny not only because of their money, but also because of the unusual power they exert over the media, which has been diffident in writing about them, as well as scholars, who hesitate to bite the hand that may one day feed them (Ravitch, 2010). Media reluctance is particularly problematic because these philanthropists, who have “assigned themselves the task of reconstructing the nation’s education system” warrant scrutiny (Ibid, p. 199). The foundations of these wealthy businessmen may appear ideologically neutral, but their approaches to public education converge around what they know best: Market model ideals of competition, choice and deregulation. Their aims are increasingly ambitious while their actions are increasingly opaque.

Despite its relative status as a novice, for example, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation has grown into the world’s largest philanthropic organization within its approximate twenty-year history. Its current endowment is almost \$80 billion dollars. The Gates Foundation was ranked third in the country as the most influential organization over educational policy, trailing only the U.S. Congress and the nation’s Department of Education in the power structure (Swanson, 2006). Equally telling in terms of its power to shape public education is the fact that billionaire Bill Gates was, himself, the nation’s top-ranked individual in terms of influence on educational policy-making in 2006, beating out two contemporary presidents, multiple congressmen, and the U.S. Secretary of Education (Ibid).

A front-page *New York Times* article entitled “Behind Grass-Roots School Advocacy, Bill Gates” provides one exception to the traditional media coverage of Gates as well as a window into the sophisticated and multi-pronged approach of Gates (Dillon, 2011). Teachers who spoke to Indiana State lawmakers against union policies did so without divulging that they were being paid by an advocacy organization to pose pro-market options. That organization was, in turn, funded by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. Gates Foundation funds are used synergistically to ensure success: “Mr. Gates is creating entirely new advocacy groups. The foundation is also paying Harvard-trained data specialists to work inside school districts, not only to crunch numbers but also to change practices. It is bankrolling many of the Washington analysts who interpret education issues for journalists and giving grants to some media organizations” (Ibid).

This and other examples of foundations’ mutually reinforcing efforts are replete in the literature about recent philanthropy and education. Many foundations and grantees, for example, rotate or share board members and staff; a majority of the most notable conservative organizations driving the charter movement received annual funding from the same conservative foundations.

The Philanthropy Roundtable, founded in the late 1970’s in the wake of the Powell memo, has provided a critical means of connecting and focusing the power of like-minded donors (Cohen 2007; deMarrais 2006; Krehely 2004). The Roundtable, which boasts a membership of 630, had an explicit original purpose to connect conservative donors and causes. Interestingly, the Roundtable was initially run by the Institute for Educational Affairs (IEA), which was founded after John M. Olin set out to help promulgate one of the Powell memo recommendations – the creation of counter-narratives to liberal university-based research.

Olin provided seed funding for IEA, which set out to recruit, develop and support conservative activist-scholars (Phillips-Fein, 2009). As IEA identified and nurtured these future conservative leaders, the Roundtable matched them with patrons. This symbiosis formed a direct pipeline between upcoming leaders and wealth, giving them unprecedented access to a steady stream of money and influence (deMarrais, 2006).

Scholarship that uncovers connections like these and analyzes the implications is vital; ideologues have been sheltering corporate money in foundations for decades and then essentially returning it to themselves through non-profit organizations that exist primarily to promote their own agendas. The shift from philanthropic giving that focused on non-ideological research or projects proposed at the grassroots level has perpetuated like-minded and biased research organizations over the long-term, allowing them to hone and widely disseminate messages that increasingly resonate with a wider audience (Andrews 2004; Cohen 2007; deMarrais, 2006; Krehely, 2004; Vergari & Mintrom, 2003).

Although scholars have posed important questions and attempted to contextualize why a democratic society should care about billionaires capturing education policy, a key element to the assault on education must be considered. The one thing that *all* of the individuals who are connected by and move amongst these foundations, think tanks, charter schools, niche market businesses and major corporations stand to gain from education privatization is profit. A thorough exploration of their involvement must address that potential. In addition to a belief that they know best how to mold young minds and simultaneously strangle unions, the mutually rewarding networks focused on expanding charter schools are enjoying economic gains, and a vast chasm remains untapped.

For almost half a century, conservative and corporate foundations have favored individuals and organizations who not only share free-market ideology, but also corporate ties and “entrepreneurial tendencies.” These free-marketeers regularly cycle in and out of companies, advocacy organizations, think tanks and government roles (Picciano & Spring, 2013). As such, they are well-positioned not only to take advantage of, but also to create, myriad profit-making opportunities. They have facilitated the establishment of new markets in areas as standardized testing, charter school management and facilities, and the outsourcing of an increasing number and proportion of support services such as transportation and human resources management, textbook publishing, teacher certification, and on-line course development. These new markets are able to effectively engage individuals across the ideological spectrum through membership in like-minded networks.

Giving to Think Tanks & Other Advocacy Organizations

Efforts on the part of pro-market think tanks and advocacy organizations have been vital to the charter school movement’s success (Welner, 2011). These think tanks have essentially circumvented “liberal elite” universities to generate accessible works that promote school reform. Together with advocacy organizations, think tanks form “an octopus-like network of open and hidden microphones...described as ‘perhaps the most potent, independent institutionalized apparatus ever assembled in a democracy to promote one belief system’” (Lapham 2004, p. 3). Between 1985 and 2000, for example, just three foundations made grants exceeding \$100 million to fifteen think tanks (Welner, 2011). With ample funding secured, they have been able to focus exclusively on floating pro-market messages with various constituents over many years in order to determine which ones resonate best (Henig 2009; Welner 2011;

Lapham 2004; Micklethwait 2004) and generating accessible reports to promote a host of causes, including charter schools.

The reports written, packaged and marketed by these wealthy and well-connected think tanks “have often attained greater prominence than the most rigorously reviewed articles addressing the same issues [and] published in the most respected journals” (Welner, 2011 p. 41). This is the case, at least in part, because of the relative ease and fast pace of churning out non-peer reviewed research as well as the networks and sophisticated promotional apparatus associated with conservative think tanks.¹⁰

Think tanks have, to some extent, hijacked school choice research, making it highly politicized and narrowing its function to “more [of a] political weapon than as part of a collaborative effort to genuinely inform democratic decision-making” (Henig 2009, p.138). The danger to this kind of weaponry is clear: The bulk of charter school research increasingly lacks the academy’s slower pace, contextualization, and peer review, all of which are under pressure from this growing, non-university based private research sector and its savvy technologies for disseminating findings.

Other organizations advocating for education privatization include service-oriented groups such as New Leaders for New Schools, Teach for America, and the NewSchools Venture Fund, all of which have benefited from foundation largesse. Organizations such as Democrats for Education Reform (DFER) and its lobbying arm Education Reform Now Advocacy seek to pave the way for charters within the Democratic Party, while the Black Alliance for Educational

¹⁰ Kevin Welner writes in *Free-Market Think Tanks and the Marketing of Education Policy* about a project that applied the peer review standards of academia to think tank reports favoring market reforms. A report from the Reason Foundation, for example, ascribed positive educational outcomes to policy changes that *had not yet been implemented* (2011). Overall, the project noted pervasive “methodological weaknesses...the confusion of correlation and causation...overstated conclusions, and unsupported recommendations” (Ibid, p. 42).

Options (BAEO) works to attract progressives to the charter cause (Welner, 2011). These organizations, themselves, are also part of networks that extend their reach and amplify their power. BAEO, for example, was founded with Walton Family and Lynne and Harry Bradley Foundation funding, and, in 2012, the chair of BAEO's Education Committee was also the DFER board chair.

Direct Giving to Charters and Charter Management Organizations (CMOs)

Despite the lack of relationship between charter spending and charter test scores found herein, venture philanthropists continue to gift large sums to their favored charter schools and CMOs. They do so seemingly in an effort to prove that they can succeed in overcoming the odds of educating children in poor urban neighborhoods – all the while, evoking claims that charters are doing more with less and arguing that additional resources would do little to help traditional public schools. Such arguments are particularly misleading in New York City where high spending charters far outspend nearby traditional public schools, despite claims to the contrary (Baker & Ferris, 2011, p. 27).

A 2009 study (Gittleson, 2010) used audited annual financial reports to demonstrate the extent of philanthropic giving directly to charter schools in New York City, with per pupil giving at one school (Harlem Day Charter) as high as \$8,300. Of particular importance for this study are the significant differences in per pupil expenditures between most charters and their traditional school counterparts because of the level of philanthropic support that well-connected charters are able to garner. Students with greater access to supplementary resources typically outperform those without. If we accept the premise, for example, that the well-known “wrap-around services,” based in and around the Harlem Children's Zone schools, are one of the key contributing factors to student outcomes, then access to those resources is a significant variable.

Charter boards and their networks often determine the level and role of philanthropic contributions to their respective charters. Those with fewer elite connections typically receive less private money. Funding inequalities, not just between traditional public schools and charters, but also between charter schools themselves, are being driven by private philanthropy (Baker & Ferris, 2011).

There are two related questions that scholars, educators, and families must consider with respect to this huge influx of philanthropic dollars. The first is what happens if and when these wealthy individuals decide to invest their monies elsewhere. A second related question is, given the supplemental funding that most charter schools receive on behalf of their students, what if charter attendance isn't the real "treatment"?

Most studies about the effects of charter schools seek to understand the relation between charter attendance and learning outcomes. In other words, most researchers compare the learning gains of students at charters versus those in traditional public schools to find out whether charter students fare better or worse. Savvy researchers use statistical tools to control for socioeconomic and family variables that could also play an important role in student outcomes.

Caroline Hoxby (2009), for example, capitalized on the quasi-random selection outcome created by NYC's blind admission lotteries such that, in her well-known study demonstrating substantial comparative gains in math and reading scores for charter students, she only compared "lotteried-in" students to "lotteried-out" ones. In other words, she tried to eliminate many of the concerns associated with other charter school studies by making sure that her charter students' gains were not purely the result of variables such as having come from families that would take the time and effort to enter the lottery in the first place.

Even studies such as Hoxby's, however, which has come under attack for faulty methods and exaggerated benefits (Reardon, 2009), fail to look beyond the fact that charter attendance, itself, may not be the only or most significant "treatment" in the study. We know, for example, that issues such as school and class size matter for students. Most charters, because they are new and at the beginning stages of scaling up, are also predominantly small schools. Might that explain a substantial portion of the gains that some researchers see?

The charters managed by Charter Management Organizations (CMOs) across the country average 389 students per school compared with traditional school averages in those same neighborhoods of 982, with average teacher:student ratios that are also lower (Mathematica, 2012). Small schools with smaller classes might improve outcomes for all children; what role do these ratios play in positive learning gains, and are they sustainable as charter schools scale up?

The CMOs, themselves, have been another focus of direct giving by reform-minded philanthropists, to such an extent that their very survival may ultimately depend on interminable philanthropic beneficence. A 2010 study conducted by Mathematica Policy Research and the University of Washington's Center on Reinventing Public Education (CRPE Research Brief, 2010) showed that the average CMO counts on foundation or corporate dollars for at least 13% of its total operating revenues, and many could not survive without it. Indeed, four major CMOs that were studied reported that their need for philanthropic dollars grew in line with the number of schools they managed, despite the economies of scale that CMO advocates envisioned (Ibid).¹¹

¹¹ Also of note is the self-reported difficulty CMOs have had extending their portfolios to high schools, along with holding on to teachers (CRPE research brief, 2010). Older students and more seasoned teachers may be more likely to push back against the rigid and regulatory nature of the "no excuses" model that many CMOs adhere to.

Ironically, the single greatest self-reported barrier to their growth that CMOs reported in the Mathematica study – after “scarce facilities,” a burgeoning niche market that is addressed below – is the “lack of philanthropic support” (CRPE Research Brief, 2010). In other words, the entities that charters typically tout as key for achieving economies of scale *and* whose association with charter schools ensures that individual schools receive the lion’s share of grant dollars (Baker & Ferris, 2011), feel hindered by a scarcity of philanthropic support. Interestingly, some of the policy recommendations promote opening up new markets by allowing CMOs to “unbundle” services so they can outsource functions to “a menu of independent vendors,” letting them create their own principal or teacher certification programs, and “experimenting” with “aggressively employ[ing] technology-based instruction to reduce labor costs” (CRPE Research Brief, 2010).

Another related gap in the literature that is important to note is the degree to which charter boards without ties to private foundations, banks, and billionaire philanthropists are disadvantaged when it comes to fundraising for per-pupil expenditures. Proposed and fledgling charters may feel pressured to stack their boards with representatives from insurance, law, real estate and financial industries. Community-based boards are disadvantaged by this push to corporatize. Given the overall trends in NYC, this is no small issue; the challenges from a lack of “friends in high places” can be daunting for those even at the highest levels of NYC’s educational administration. Mayor de Blasio, for example, has struggled to meet the fundraising standards set by his billionaire predecessor and the former schools Chancellor Klein, whose friends regularly rallied to the cause when they asked (Taylor, 2015a, 2015b).

The first part of this chapter explored the increase of charter schools in New York City within a slew of pro-market policies and practices that have besieged traditional public schools

and opened doors for profiteering. The remainder of Chapter 2 further contextualizes the study by examining interlocking directorates, including their causes and consequences, as well as Janine Wedel's concepts of "flexians" and "flex-nets."

Conceptual Framework – Interlocks & Flex-Nets

The question is not: are these honorable men? The question is: what are their codes of honor? The answer to that question is that they are the codes of their circles, of those to whose opinions they defer (Mills, 1956 p. 284).

Data gathered for this study demonstrate that many of the individuals serving on New York City's charter boards are connected via elite circles and organizations. One specific type of connection, known as an interlocking directorate or interlock, has been examined and quantified in the corporate sector across the past century, providing a compelling theoretical framework for considering charter school governance.

Interlocks occur when an individual director sits on multiple boards or when two firms are linked to a third via shared directors. Interlocking directorates have been documented as a remarkably enduring feature of the corporate world (Davis, Yoo & Baker, 2003) and a particularly important mechanism for ensuring the cohesion of power elites (Mills, 1956; Mizruchi, 1989; Domhoff, 2006; Burris, 2005). In fact, interlocks have been shown to be one of the most important vehicles for ensuring the political unity and congruity of elites in the business world (Mizruchi, 1989), outpacing even industry similarity and geographical proximity (Burris, 2005).

Approximately 20% of the directors of the U.S.'s largest corporations are connected across two or more boards (Domhoff, 2005), and the average director at a Forbes 500 company holds three directorships (Bouwman, 2010). Scholars have also found empirical evidence of

interlocking directorates in the nonprofit sector, including policy organizations and private foundations (Useem, 1984, Domhoff, 2006; Burris, 2005) as well as charities (Moore et al, 2002). This more expansive assessment of powerful networks across multiple sectors acknowledges the modern, muddled boundaries between the corporate, state, and civil sectors and establishes the existence of additional conduits for elite cohesion and interest-building.

In the past few decades, the boards of colleges and universities have been examined to quantify interlocks (Pusser et al, 2006). Broadly, researchers have demonstrated that connections between all of these sector leaders have shed light on the “overwhelming structural dominance of corporations and corporate directors in the network as a whole” (Moore et al, 2002, p. 741).

The relative stability of board overlaps over the last century, defying shifting business trends, including mergers and dramatic changes in production (Davis, Yoo & Baker, 2003), further highlights the extent and resilience of elite connections and as well as the importance of considering their potential for elite domination on charter school boards. Recent research on higher education interlocks is particularly relevant for examining charter school governance since it has been undertaken within the modern economic and political context of shrinking public funding for education as well as the corporatization of education in America and its increasingly contracted relegation to a means of economic and human capital development.

After Upton Sinclair’s and Louis Brandeis’s early condemnations of interlocks and their oligarchical potential, scholars such as C. Wright Mills and G.W. Domhoff not only began to measure the connections that bind corporate America, but also to theorize as to how they proved the existence of a power elite. Not all scholars since that time have been as interested in determining whether interlocking directorates verify elite dominance. Despite their likening them to viruses (Davis, Yoo & Baker, 2003) that may result in lock-step measures to, for example,

adopt “poison pills” or scoop up new industries, many researchers’ analyses of corporate interlocks have understandably shied away from civic-minded pronouncements about what is “good” or “bad” for the public (Bouwman, 2011).

However, just as the empirical network analyses have expanded past the confines of the corporate sector – partially in an acknowledgement of the aforementioned boundary shifts – the associated theorizing about the consequences of interlocks must move past any reluctance to consider their consequences for democracy. What must also be considered about charter board interlocks is that they may simultaneously be *exhibiting* the characteristics of corporate interlocks while also *promulgating* them by serving as a new locus for corporate connections.

Board members with business backgrounds typically have had success solving the complex technical or logistical problems associated with their respective enterprises. Many of their strategies and techniques might appear, on the surface, to offer an unqualified antidote for stubborn challenges in the stodgy world of education. But the intractability of issues facing students and teachers, particularly at the K-12 level, is rooted in deeper social, economic and political realities.

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, charter schools have been launched and touted within a broad and complex context of local, state, and federal policies that have disadvantaged traditional public schools for decades. Also, as the corporations that many charter board members run have increased their profits, the share of those profits not flowing to public education has simultaneously doubled (Anyon, 1997). Whereas corporate taxes made up 31% of the federal government’s revenue in the 1950’s, for example, by 1993, that share had been reduced to 15%, and transnational companies have increasingly used tax loopholes to reroute profits (Ibid). This has further and dramatically reduced the dollars – by more than \$12 billion

annually – that would have been available to, for example, fund NCLB’s prohibitive mandates (Ibid). In New York, ongoing state aid gaps coupled with substantial cuts to education funding after the 2008 economic crisis have left schools \$5 billion poorer than the support mandated after the landmark 2003 case brought by the Campaign for Fiscal Equity (Wolff, et al 2014). As statistics like these suggest, we must consider the motives behind charter school leadership and proliferation.

Research on interlocks gleaned over more than half a century suggests that charter board connections can magnify power. In the previous chapter, the charter movement was considered within a decades-long, conservative- and corporate-led effort to increase deregulation, bust unions, stratify the labor market, tap directly into students as consumers, and generate new markets for the services they might ultimately want to provide, such as data mining, testing and facilities. In this chapter, tightly connected charter school boards are considered as potential vehicles for elite domination over public education, not only through traditional interlocks, but also more contemporary, flexible connections between a new breed of actors – termed “flexians” by Janine Wedel in *Shadow Elite: How the World’s New Power Brokers Undermine Democracy, Government, and the Free Market* (2009). Flexians nimbly move within increasingly outsourced, outsized networks created by the blurring of government and private sector roles. They are particularly well-suited for navigating today’s mayor-controlled, pro-market charters and tapping into the seemingly boundless education market in the U.S., which topped \$1.1 trillion in 2010 for K-12 and higher education (Picciano & Spring, 2013). Flexians who can operate successfully on the international stage stand to reap the benefits of a global education market that is worth more than \$4.4 trillion (Strauss, 2013). An examination of their potential in the new education economy rounds out my conceptual framework.

*The Causes of Interlocks*¹²

You're damn right it's helpful to be on several boards. It extends the range of your network and acquaintances, and your experience. That's why you go on a board, to get something as well as give (Useem, 1984: 47-48, quoted in Moore, et al., 2002).

In the corporate world, interlocks originate for several key reasons, including:

- 1) a desire to limit or quash competition (Mizruchi, 1982, 1996);
- 2) constraints in the number of board members who are deemed qualified and the associated need for companies to demonstrate legitimacy through their boards (Bouwman, 2011); and
- 3) individual motivations, such as board recruiters' interpersonal ties and new recruits seeking insider information or close proximity with powerful people (Davis, Yoo & Baker, 2003).

If similar motivations are causing interlocks on charter school boards, their potential to challenge the “publicness” of New York City’s schools warrants exploration. An exploration of the potential causes for interconnectedness is also critical because interlocks may unintentionally also be promulgated by current state and local practices that favor elite connections, such as those associated with charter facilities.

Collusion and Competition Suppression as a Cause of Interlocks

Collusion and competition suppression are two motivations cited for firms to form mutual directorships (Mizruchi, 1982, 1996). Although the 1914 Clayton Act prohibits overlapping

¹² The next three sections were influenced by the work of Christa H.S. Bouwman’s review of the “causes and consequences for corporate governance” in her chapter (2011) entitled “Overlapping Boards of Directors: Causes and Consequences for Corporate Governance.”

boards from managing competitors, a board's powerful connections can amplify its capacity to anticipate and strategically react to competitors.

Board members' vast and powerful networks, shared norms, and guaranteed face-to-face time at meetings naturally increase their opportunities to work together on common enterprises.¹³ Interlocks form channels for communication between linked enterprises, providing their directors with inside information and the ability to communicate it quickly (Scott, 1997). Unequal information flows, as well as the potential for profit, can increase the power of one company over another (Ibid).

Charter schools leaders and advocates are explicit about their goal to compete with traditional public schools. Given what we know about corporate interlocks, when powerful boards seek to shake up traditional public schools in the interest of increasing opportunities for more charters, might they actually be unfairly advantaged as a result of their governance structure? Interlocked elite charter boards may, in and of themselves, be undermining traditional schools. As opposed to delivering a consistently superior education or supporting pedagogy that raises the bar for traditional schools, interlocked boards may, simply as result of their interconnectedness, undermine the ability of neighborhood schools to succeed.

In other words, rather than outpacing district schools, the very structure and make-up of charter boards could be giving them an advantage. The explicit anti-government, anti-public sentiment that has been the hallmark of many charter reform leaders (Lubienski, 2001) takes on heightened significance if interlocked charter boards, simply through their composition and

¹³ Charter school boards are required to meet at least ten times per year and are considered to be noncompliant if they fail to meet that frequently. See the *2013-2014 Growing up Green Charter School Renewal Report*, p. 19 at http://schools.nyc.gov/NR/rdonlyres/FF125B23-73D8-4A26-A711-5F081AE5972B/0/GUGCS_RenewalReport_FINAL_.pdf.

shared values, have a competitive edge over local communities and their grassroots notions of what public education should stand for.

School co-locations and closures, both of which are heavily linked to charter reform, can be considered as two manifestations of the collusion and competition suppression associated with interlocks. Mayor Bloomberg and NYC DOE's practice of supporting the co-location of charter schools, whereby charters share space with traditional schools, generated substantial public concern and became one of the touchstones of Bill de Blasio's mayoral campaign (Wolff, et al, 2014).

As of 2013, 115 of New York City's charters were co-located. Co-locations are almost always forced by powerful interests outside of local communities, despite push-back from parents, teachers, and administrators who are best situated to understand the implications. Communities have cited outcomes of co-location that include overcrowded classrooms, decreased student access to shared facilities such as libraries and gymnasiums, and marginalized groups being crowded into inappropriate spaces such as storage closets (Wolff, et al, 2014).

NYC Mayor De Blasio, who declared a moratorium on the additional co-locations that his predecessor promised on his way out of office, was particularly knowledgeable about the potential impacts of co-locations because of his former role as Public Advocate. In that role, he led efforts in collaboration with the Alliance for Quality Education to understand how co-locations and school closures were affecting students and families. The subsequent report (De Blasio & AEQ, 2010) claimed that the DOE had demonstrated a consistent lack of concern for how spaces for vital educational offerings such as art, music, physical education and afterschool programs would be effectively accessed. In addition, communication by DOE to parents about

the potential impacts of co-location was minimal, with 70% of parents indicating that the process needed to be improved (Ibid).

Many of the outcomes associated with co-location have the potential to encourage a downward spiral for the traditional schools in which charters are situated, not only in terms of potentially undermining equal access, but also because the original groups of students, families, teachers and administrators must simultaneously fight for increasingly constrained resources. Schools already operating under financial strain are further embattled, increasing the likelihood that their outcomes will one day be fodder for top-down intervention.

School closures, another facet of the charter school movement, are another troubling manifestation of collusion and aggression. After NCLB promulgated rhetoric about failing schools and initiated mandates for those deemed as underperforming, increasing numbers of state and local officials targeted and closed neighborhood schools. In the ensuing years, the damage to communities, families and students has been well documented.

Impacts on schoolchildren have included decreased access to education when new “education deserts” are created in certain neighborhoods; decreased academic performance; an increased likelihood of dropping out due to transitioning and/or the poor quality of education at the new school; and health and safety issues that result from the trauma of being forced out of familiar schools or having to cross rival neighborhoods to reach newly merged ones (Farmer, et al, 2013). Chicago Public Schools’ massive closures, almost exclusively in African American and Latino communities, highlight the potential impacts for schools, students, families and neighborhoods nationwide.

Between 2001 and 2013, 98% of schools that were closed or phased out were in communities where the majority of residents were African American or Latino (Farmer, et al,

2013), and 88% percent of the students in affected schools were African American (Caref, et al., 2012). School closure decisions were made unilaterally by outsiders – despite the vehement opposition of local communities – all in the name of “choice” for insiders.

For many families, the disappearance of neighborhood schools that have served as anchors across decades is disorienting as is the displacement of teachers who have been the source of long-standing, positive relationships (Farmer, et al, 2013). In some cases, when schools that once provided auxiliary services such as after-school opportunities or computer classes for adults are closed, their shuttered buildings not only cease to offer opportunities, but also detract from families’ property values, increasing foreclosures or encouraging people to leave communities (Ibid). One Chicago parent’s reaction provides a sense of the associated dislocation and disorientation: “During the phase-out, parents become disconnected. The environment isn’t welcoming for them. When you take all the resources away from a school, everyone just goes through the motions... It’s an emotional pain; an emotional death – a mental death (Journey for Justice, p. 6).”

Teachers’ livelihoods are also interrupted by school closures, and minority teachers are often disproportionately affected. In Chicago, the skewed effects of closures are evident in the fact that 65% of the displaced teachers are African Americans, and they were replaced with teachers more likely to be white, provisionally certified, and less experienced (Farmer, et al, 2013).

Traditional district schools simultaneously suffer consequences when schools are closed. District schools are required to educate all students rather than just those who are lotteried in or whose families are willing to adhere to rigid behavior contracts or stringent volunteer requirements. Their infrastructure costs, accordingly, are not offset by charter enrollment even

though they often lose some of their most “resource-rich” families to charters (Miron, Mathis & Welner, 2015).

School closures are expensive propositions for districts and taxpayers that are already strained. In Washington DC, for example, despite the fact that charter closures were hailed as a way to save money, the city spent \$40 million for costs associated with demolishing buildings in 2008, and the district simultaneously lost \$5 million in federal and state aid as a result of student movement (Farmer, et al, 2013). Other costs for some districts have included having to maintain emptied buildings, borrowing funds to expand the receiving schools that must accept schoolchildren who are forced out, or having to deal with increased class sizes and overcrowding (Ibid).

Given all of this costly trauma and chaos for districts, teachers, families and neighborhoods, who actually benefits from school closures? Nationwide, almost half of the closed schools have been turned into charter schools, many of which serve students with fewer needs and neighborhood ties (Farmer, et al, 2013). Some forcibly emptied buildings have subsequently been leased to private charter operators for \$1 (Caref, et al, 2012). Other facilities, after having been approved and paid for with taxpayer dollars when they were originally constructed, have been sold to charter-affiliated third parties for lease back to charter operators (Baker & Miron, 2015). In these instances, public taxpayers lose capital assets, only to be required to lease them back in the coming decades – with interest – through facility payments to the profiteers who scooped them up.

Through charter schools’ governance structure, which removes decisions from local boards, and with financial incentives from the federal government, this can all be done without public input or knowledge. “In short, what is happening is that taxpayer funds are being used,

without voter approval, to purchase a property from the taxpayers themselves, for someone else. The taxpayers are buying the facility a second time, albeit from themselves, but the result is that these taxpayers will no longer own it. Worse, in the process of transferring the property, taxpayer dollars have subsidized substantial fees and interest to various parties” (Baker & Miron, p. 34).

In New York State, at least 140 traditional public schools have been closed since 2002, making it one of the top four states nationwide for public school closures (Journey for Justice Alliance, 2014). Not all of those closures have been the direct result of charter reform, and there is little doubt that some of the closed schools provided substandard opportunities to families desperate for better options. But the fact remains that, in light of what we know about the outcomes for students forced out of schools in urban centers like Chicago – where the majority of students were moved from schools deemed bad enough to close *into* schools that were similarly underperforming – the strain and disruptions for local communities are not always mitigated by any academic gains for students (Farmer, et al, 2013).

In New York City, the pro-charter mayor Bloomberg worked closely with his chancellor and other elites, including charter boards, to push for closures and co-locations despite local opposition (Haimson, 2009). The subsequent challenges facing the new mayor in terms of slowing down co-locations to solicit more community input, shows how hard it can be to roll back the tides when powerful, interlocked individuals wrest control.

Organizational and Individual Motivations for Interlocks

In the corporate world, powerful individuals and institutions join together organically (Mills, 1956), major companies connect leaders strategically (Useem, 1984), or a few key “linchpins” serve as the pivot for larger, influential clusters (Davis, Yoo & Baker, 2003). Given

these individual and organizational motivations, no conspiracy is required to ensure elite cohesion through interlocking corporate boards. High-profile individuals need not plot to hoard charter board positions for themselves and their friends and financiers may never generate spreadsheets to gauge potential future earnings for their networks. It is sufficient that, once a few powerful people were drawn to charter schools and their boards, their individual purposes, politics or potential to profit can serve as a magnet for similarly situated people and institutions.

A 2009 *New York Times* article (Hass, 2009) provides a fascinating window into the high-powered ideals and tactics involved in charter board recruitment and demonstrates the command of interlocks. Dozens of hedge fund billionaires and associates gathered at an exclusive Lexington Avenue hotel to play poker, fundraise, and expand charter networks. The evening was hosted by hedge fund titans John Petry and Joel Greenblatt, who were focused on filling the ranks of their Success Charter Network board. Dozens of other hedge fund managers with “eight-figure incomes” as well as pro-charter organizations and individual charter schools were represented, including KIPP, Teach for America, Democrats for Education Reform, the Tiger Foundation, the Robin Hood Foundation, Harlem Success Academy 4, PAVE Academy, and Girls Preparatory Charter School (Ibid).

The attendees’ shared values, readily expressed through direct quotes in the article, include the entrepreneurial advantages of charters over traditional public schools, the key role that hedge funds play in New York City’s charters, the innovative route to social prominence offered by charter board membership, the “incredible cash flow” represented by guaranteed state funding, a data-driven approach to education, and a sense of charter board seats as filling the role of “club” memberships that has long signaled commonality across the upper classes (Domhoff, 1967; Hass, 2009).

Also of note is the relative youth of members and their burgeoning role on charter boards. A 30 year-old Goldman Sachs vice president and charter network board chairman touted the fact that he had effortlessly rounded up a half-dozen of his personal contacts from banks and hedge funds to serve on the board of his newest charter in less than a week. Their pledges of support – totaling just under a million dollars – were coming with them.

Recruitment events like these and associated outcomes are certainly understandable; these powerful individuals know and trust one another, have access to resources that will help schools flourish, and are willing to roll up their sleeves and take on challenging work. What must be considered, however is how their business acumen could be complemented by seasoned educators, local parents and community members whose financial interests are not wrapped up in charter growth.

Families, for example, have collective interests for their children's schools that extend well beyond the financial interests of corporations, both in terms of longevity and as the result of the psychological and emotional attachments that come with being part of a community (Logan & Moltoch, 1987; Emery, 2002). Corporations, unlike local communities, can detach or move on, depending on the success of their operations, and not suffer the physical or logistical ramifications that might occur. Local community members' under-representation on charter boards could be relatively easily addressed; outreach and recruitment could take place, for example, in school gymnasiums or local non-profit conference rooms rather than high-priced hotels.

Elites not only serve as linchpins, drawing other powerful people to their sides, but also provide the access, assurances and advantages required for the ongoing fundraising and multi-million dollar construction deals that often go along with high-profile charters. In the corporate

world, distinct and potent foundational features of interlocks that connect a financial institution to another firm include their influence on borrowing behavior and their monitoring role (Mizruchi, 1982; Mizruchi & Stearns, 1994). Through financial interlocks, banks have a unique vantage point and have been shown to influence borrowing behavior while simultaneously being able to keep a close eye on the companies that owe them (Mizruchi & Stearns, 1994; Stearns & Mizruchi, 1993).

In general, financial firms have long been able to capitalize on interlocks by keeping a keen eye on current investments while scanning the horizon for potential new ones (Mizruchi & Stearns, 1994). This has been beneficial for companies that need financing, but it has potentially come at a steep cost in terms of their autonomy (Ibid). Given what we know about the number of hedge fund managers and other financiers on New York City's charter boards, these motivations to assess the investment landscape represented by charters and monitor and influence borrowing behavior deserve scrutiny.

A large charter school facility construction project that was announced in April 2011 exemplifies the powerful financial interlocks required for such complex deals and the potential influence of interlocks. At that time, HCZ President Geoffrey Canada (who was also acting principal/director of its schools) was on the boards of the NYC Charter School Center, a charter advocacy organization; the After School Corporation; and the pro-charter Robin Hood Foundation. He was interlocked on the HCZ board with billionaire hedge fund investor Stanley Druckenmiller (then ranked by Forbes as the 149th richest man in America), who was serving as board chair. According to the 2010 tax forms for HCZ's Promise Academy, Druckenmiller ran a hedge fund at the time called the No-Margin Fund, in which the HCZ invested its private donations, and his support for the charter network had included a \$25 million gift.

Druckenmiller had also made substantial donations over the years to the Robin Hood Foundation, an organization where Canada served as board member along with Kenneth Langone. Langone was interlocked with both Canada and Druckenmiller through his role as Promise Academy Charter School board chair and as a board member of HCZ.¹⁴ The HCZ board was replete with many other powerful individuals, including Wallis Annenberg, whose Annenberg Foundation gave \$500,000 to HCZ during the 2010 tax reporting period; Caroline Turner, whose Oak Foundation gave \$7,250,000 to HCZ during the same period; and Gary Cohn, who as Goldman Sachs Group President and COO, facilitated a \$20 million donation to the aforementioned new Promise Academy facility.¹⁵

Cohn attended the April 6, 2011 groundbreaking for Promise Academy's new \$100 million, 135,000 square-foot facility. He, along with Canada, billionaire board chairs Langone and Druckenmiller, and the following individuals and organizations,¹⁶ demonstrate the immense power behind the Promise Academy charters, which together served a relatively small number of students (fewer than 1,300) in New York City's increasingly strained public school system:

- Mayor Bloomberg, with Deputy Mayor Dennis Walcott and then-Schools Chancellor Cathleen Black.
- U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Secretary Shaun Donovan; HUD made a \$60 million grant through DOE's Charter Facilities Matching Grant Program.

¹⁴ http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Stanley_F._Druckenmiller

¹⁵ Source: 2010 Tax Form 990 for HCZ.

¹⁶ NYC Office of the Mayor Press Release, April 6, 2011, available at http://www.nyc.gov/portal/site/nycgov/menuitem.c0935b9a57bb4ef3daf2f1c701c789a0/index.jsp?pageID=mayor_press_release&catID=1194&doc_name=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.nyc.gov%2Fhtml%2Fom%2Fhtml%2F2011a%2Fpr110-11.html&cc=unused1978&rc=1194&ndi=1

- New York City Housing Authority Chairman John Rhea; NYCHA’s participation via the Obama administration’s Choice Neighborhoods and Promise Neighborhoods initiative is particularly interesting since that initiative had itself grown out of the president’s 2007 pledge to replicate the Harlem Children’s Zone nationwide.
- Civic Builders, the leading NYC organization in the niche market for charter facilities, which donated its \$5 million development fee.
- Shearman & Sterling LLP, which provided pro bono legal services for the project.
- Google, Inc., which made a \$6 million donation.

By 2011, Harlem Children’s Zone had made impressive strides in serving children from low-income neighborhoods and its holistic, wrap-around approach to providing crucial social and support services had been noted at the federal level. A new, state-of-the-art facility was most likely an exciting next step for students and their families. However, the above-mentioned wealth – incentivized and supplemented with federal, state and local government resources – was applied in a planning process that took place outside of traditional public systems and view. It filled needs that were identified by elites, and the building and instruction in its new classrooms were similarly tightly controlled by those same circles.

The Consequences of Interlocks: Similar Governance & Political Decision-making

I turn now to a discussion of the consequences of corporate interlocks on governance and political practices and an examination of the possible ramifications for charter schools. Boards, in part because of the amount of face-to-face contact they precipitate, are vital for information-sharing. Davis, Yoo and Baker (2003) highlight the superiority of board ties to spread “ideas, strategies and structures” (p. 322), particularly in terms of how quickly information can be

moved by interlocked elites serving together. Whatever was discussed at a Chase board meeting in January, they demonstrate, could be directly communicated to 97% of the board members of the largest U.S. corporations by May, similar to a virus that could “infect” the entire corporate world within six months (Davis, Yoo & Baker, 2003).

Given this degree of closeness, it is not surprising that interlocked corporate boards run companies more similarly than those without shared directors (Davis, Yoo & Baker, 2003). They govern in lock-step, both because their directors are familiar with one another and conform to existing, majority-led practices *and* because individual board members who are interlocked exert direct influence on boards that might not have originally shared the same practices (Bouwman, 2011).

Corporate governance across the decades has been heavily influenced by the observation and propagation that close proximity between directors inculcates. The structure of interlocks creates conformity; no centralized or authoritative strategizing is required in order to accomplish consensus (Davis, Yoo & Baker, 2003). Governance practices are determined, promulgated and preserved by interlocks.

There are inherent hazards to governance when there is too much board member similarity or “like-mindedness” (Fracassi & Tate, 2012). External interlocks between CEOs and board directors, for example, have been shown to weaken board monitoring and reduce company value (Ibid). In these cases, the willingness of board members to push back against management decisions that may be in opposition to the company’s best interests can be undermined by a reluctance to damage social ties or risk future opportunities (Ibid).

Eva Moskowitz, an attendee of the above-mentioned charter board recruitment event covered by *The New York Times* (Hass, 2009) offers insights into the potential consequences for

charter school governance and public school financing associated with close links between boards and CEOs. She co-founded the first Success Academy charter school with Petry and Greenblatt and has subsequently received annual salaries approved by them that have raised eyebrows by regularly exceeding the DOE Chancellor's salary and even the State University of New York Chancellor (Gonzalez, 2009). Moskowitz's cumulative earnings have been cobbled together from different organizations across the charters' years of operation, including, in one year, Harlem Success Academy, its management company Success Charter Network, and its fundraising arm, Friends of Gotham Charter School (Ibid.). What did all three organizations have in common besides Moskowitz? John Petry and Joel Greenblatt were interlocked with her on all three boards (Ibid). More recently, her salary topped half a million dollars annually, more than twice what Chancellor Fariña made (Gonzalez, 2014).

Moskowitz effusively praises her hedge funders, stating that "these guys get it" (Hass, 2009). Ostensibly, financiers can always be counted on to understand what less powerful community members pushing back against co-location plans or "no excuses" treatment of young schoolchildren may not. Moskowitz's sentiment is understandable given her goals; she prioritizes the participation of individuals with the clout and resources she needs to overcome the slower pace of change associated with building consensus and collaborative decision-making. Given the contention surrounding her charters, however, as well as her aggressive plans to grow them, the benefits of involving a wider variety of interests, including people who may not "get it," should be considered.

In the past decade, researchers have documented the presence of corporate interlocks on university trustee boards and explored their effects on governance and policymaking (Pusser, et al, 2006). Although they have generally found more corporate connections on private university

boards, public postsecondary institutions are also interlocked, particularly with the banking industry (Ibid). These interlocks are associated with increased information flows, greater access to power, and potential differences in compensation for presidents and professors (Ibid).

One of the most salient findings for this study is that university trustees' interconnectedness with corporate boards becomes a key vehicle for the commercialization of higher education (Pusser, et al, 2006). The interlocked boards of U.S. higher education institutions reward entrepreneurial and commercial approaches to management and finance (Ibid). They apply tactics formed within their own social and corporate echo chambers and aligned with the national zeitgeist of increasing deference to business models and corporate strategy. In this way, interlocked boards governing universities in the "new economy" demonstrate the potential to alter the creation of knowledge (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004).

The new economy has multiple entry points and incentives, rewards individuals rather than the collective, and draws networks of actors, including some faculty, into the marketplace and out of the disciplinary realm (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Since the state pays for much of the costs of education, this sector is particularly appealing to those interested in subsidizing the costs of production. This is in line with the documented tendency of highly leveraged interlocked companies to take bigger risks with potentially higher yields; losses are born by the creditors – in the case of charters, the public – whereas gains accrue to the companies and shareholders (Stearns & Mizruchi, 1993).

Interlocks in public higher education institutions serve as vehicles to capitalize on state resources and traverse the new economy (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Individual trustees may be drawn from different institutional settings, but burgeoning opportunities focus their interlocked activities in remarkably similar commercialized directions, including championing

legislation that supports academic capitalism (Ibid). In general, these interlocks facilitate and function in an increasingly boundless frontier, where the lines between the public and private sectors have all but disappeared, confounding many traditional theorists since both pluralists and Marxians depend equally on clearer borders (Ibid).

In addition to governing, interlocked boards are in lock-step with regards to their worldview (Koenig & Gogel, 1981). Interlocked directors have demonstrated similarities in their politics evidenced by contributions to politicians and Congressional testimony (Mizruchi, 1992), financial risks and decision-making (Mizruchi & Stearns, 1994), and philanthropy (Galaskiewicz, 1997). Directors who sit on multiple corporate boards tend to identify with and represent broad business interests rather than the narrow ones that would more typically be associated with specific firms or communities (Useem, 1984). Equally importantly, they lead more frequently in affiliated non-profit, policy, and government organizations (Ibid).

Both linked companies and connected business elites behave similarly when it comes to supporting politicians and political causes (Burris, 2005). Interestingly, two people who serve together on more than one (different) board are statistically more likely to demonstrate similar political behavior than two who serve together on the same (one) board (Ibid).

Pluralists claim that political action is situated in the individual and subject to the attributes of those individuals, but social ties for corporate elites – as demonstrated through interlocks, among other things – create relational realities that go beyond what can be explained by individuals' attributes. Stated another way, the boards of major banks and other top companies – as well as non-corporate boards such as nonprofits, think tanks or foundations – provide important meeting grounds where social ties facilitate political cohesion. Importantly for charter board research, not only do these immediate connections matter, but the political

tendencies of elites also work their way down the “extended chains” formed by their networks such that two linked board members share political behavior with each other *and* with any board member with which *either* co-serves (Ibid).

Directors who sit on more than one corporate board accrue access to information and powerful people (Domhoff, 2005). They have a leg-up when it comes to being asked to serve in government and policy-making roles (Useem, 1984). The power elite have always influenced public education policy (Tyack, 1974; Ravitch, 2010; Picciano & Spring, 2013), but there is a new and important distinction between previous policy-making circles and today’s informal social networks or “policy communities” that integrate or sidestep more established networks and actors in their mutual, but ultimately, self-interested pursuits (Ball, 2007).

This study indicates that, while charter board memberships are interlocked, they are also highly dynamic, with members cycling on and off of boards frequently. This mobility and alacrity, in addition to potentially challenging the stability and longer-term outcomes of charters, exemplifies a newer, less traditional and less constrained powerful agent type: the “flexian” (Wedel, 2009). Flexians are able to capitalize on new opportunities as they operate nimbly across sectors.

A recent academic study (Acemoglu, et al., 2013), which explores the fiscal value to banks of the government’s rescue from the financial crisis via its November 2008 appointment of Timothy Geithner as Treasury Secretary, helps explain how flex-nets can work. The study’s authors developed “two measures of connectedness” to Geithner. By counting the number of times in a year that he met with bank executives and identifying his personal connections, they were able to ascertain that banks with the highest levels of “connectedness” through personal ties saw their stock prices rise by about 10%, relative to comparable banks without those

connections, all based only on the announcement of Geithner's appointment. Banks whose executives met frequently with Geithner, particularly those that were in Geithner's New York City-based proximity, saw smaller, but still meaningful advantages.

The authors interpret their findings as being in line with "social connections meets the crisis," whereby excess profits for Geithner-connected companies are explained less by cronyism or explicit favoritism than by the inevitable outcomes when small, powerful social networks are relied on during times of instability. Rather than having been limited to traditional interlocks represented by shared board memberships, the firms that benefited from "connectedness" with Geithner were those whose executives had merely met with him in the previous year as well as those firms located in NYC in close proximity to the New York Fed. After rejecting corruption or unethical profiteering as a cause for the surplus for connected funds, the study surmised that social connections at those firms, in conjunction with the high instability of the times, accounted for the excess.

Flexians and Charter School Boards

Who does the player represent, who are his associates and sponsors, and with whom is he affiliated? Where do his loyalties lie and to whom is he ultimately answerable? When these questions are difficult, if not impossible, to answer for so many of today's influencers, it follows that the prevailing means of keeping them in check are outmoded (Wedel, 2009, p. 203).

The current push for education reform in New York is not an expression of the vast majority of New York's parents and children but the result of a five-year-long billionaire hedge-funders' campaign to realize their own vision for public schools (Joseph, 2015).

Janine Wedel originally explored the new type of actor she calls "flexians" in places like postwar Poland and Russia, where people who had been rewarded for being nimble and fickle

under communism were perfectly positioned to jump through a host of regulatory loopholes left after its fall and make a fortune in the “Wild West” power vacuum that resulted. Her research also confirmed, however, that moral ambiguities and opportunities for profit are not limited to fledgling democracies. America – the country that spawned the Wild West – is also full of flexians and the social networks, or “flex-nets” as she terms them, in which they operate.

Flexians eschew the traditional ties that bound yesterday’s powerful elite to their companies, governments or countries. Their allegiance is, instead, only to themselves and their own networks or “flex-nets” (Wedel, 2009). This brand of personalized bureaucracy results in a close, although informal, circle of actors with shared views and norms who use their insider status and knowledge to create and fill less clear-cut jobs than their predecessors may have held.

Flex-nets are particularly powerful because, through their newly created, opaque and shifting roles, they can simultaneously control rhetoric, restructure rules, extend their influence, and shield themselves from accountability (Wedel, 2009). The ability to wield the “easy-to-grasp” rhetoric that has dominated education reform over the past few decades is one of the hallmarks of flex-nets (Ibid).

The *mobility* of flexians – to move in and out of various sectors and roles – helps ensure their success in terms of being able to capitalize on insider status and knowledge as they both make the rules and implement them, while also circumscribing the ability of others to hold them accountable (Wedel, 2009). Flexians operate in accountability vacuums, facilitated by outsourcing and other facets of new economy transactions.

The relatively ambiguous, vast and shifting relationships between actors and their flex-nets also limit the degree to which they can be held monitored. For example, within the charter school sector, the complexity of flexians’ dealings and networks suggests a need for additional

roles to inspect their activities (Wedel, 2009). Investigative journalists at *The New York Times* and *Daily News* have helped uncover potential conflicts, lawyers have demanded information that is not publicly accessible, and some legislators have been willing to change laws to mitigate the potential for malfeasance (Ibid). In addition to the staff of charter authorizers who would typically be able to monitor school contracts, these roles are pivotal.

Wedel is careful to point out that flexians are not operating outside of the laws so much as they are flexing them. They answer only to their consciences and to their collective, in effect not only rendering obsolete any traditional means of monitoring and oversight, but also potentially outpacing the capacity to invent better ones. An additional hurdle is that, not only do many new flex-nets overlap with media sources that might have once challenged them, but they are also active in the think tanks and PR firms that can successfully spin and deflect accusations (Ibid). This interconnectedness helps dilute and defy long-term solutions.

The task facing interested public education officials in local communities, which bear the burden for 60% of the costs associated with operating their neighborhood schools (Picciano & Spring, 2013), is a daunting one. How many strapped cities nationwide have the resources to push past the PR spin and ferret out the connections and potential conflicts of all of the powerful players engaged in charter schools? In New York City, where education dollars are especially tempting for entrepreneurs and their flex-nets (Picciano & Spring, 2013), how many auditors and enforcers are needed for – or could realistically be tasked with – monitoring charters and their boards? Equally importantly, is this the most efficient and effective use of our resources?

Eva Moskowitz, founder and CEO of the Success Academy Charters, is an example of Wedel's term "flexian," exemplifying the pivotal and outsized role that new actors play in New York City's charter school movement and the broader debate about what public education can

and should accomplish. As a former New York City Council member and Chair of the Council's Education Committee, Moskowitz was able to trade on her political contacts and acumen to co-launch, with powerful hedge funders Joel Greenblatt and John Petry, the first Success Academy charter in Harlem in 2006 for 165 students in kindergarten and 1st grade. A detailed case study of Success Academy Charters, provided in Chapter 4, highlights the rapid ascension of Moskowitz's charter schools since that time through her interlocked boards and flex-net.

Conclusion

By definition, interlocks and flex-nets preclude the full participation of individuals without access and power. Whereas local school district and board control have not sufficiently addressed the myriad challenges that face public schoolchildren, the transparency, scrutiny and messy democratic processes that accompany local control are vital for helping mitigate the exploitation of students, families and public coffers (Picciano & Spring, 2013).

The tendency for charter boards' shared norms to permeate management decisions may prevent frank, divergent discussions about everything from contracts to curriculum. The inclination of corporate and political players to favor spin and damage control conceivably thwarts a more inclusive, community-oriented approach to understanding and solving problems. The narrow focus of profit-seeking financiers over the longer-term precludes a more progressive or nuanced understanding of what public education can and should seek to accomplish.

This chapter has examined policies and practices that have shored up the charter movement nationally and in New York City. It has presented two key constructs that frame the study. In Chapter 3, *Methodology & Data Analysis*, I will discuss how data were collected and analyzed within the relevant literature and conceptual framework.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY & DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction to Research Procedures

This study applies basic network analysis concepts to data compiled by the author in order to identify individual board members and their respective connections and affiliations. It seeks to empirically determine the degree to which different types of actors and interests are represented on, and connected via, charter boards and to theorize as to how members' intertwined economic and political interests might affect public education.

For this study, I gathered data on the board members of 191 New York City charter schools that had been approved by state authorizers as of January 2013. I also examined the boards of the charter management organizations that oversaw one or more of those charters. In this chapter, I describe the steps taken to collect, organize, and evaluate the data in order to address the following three research questions:

- What types of businesses, community groups, and other organizations are represented on NYC charter school boards via the affiliations of charter board members?
- Are there specific trends across boards that should be explored (i.e., an over-representation of hedge fund managers and other financiers on charter boards in comparison to parents, educators, and other community members not affiliated with corporate interests)?
- What kinds of connections, or interlocks, exist between board members as a result of their affiliations?

As elucidated in the previous chapter, the conceptual framework guiding this study highlights board interlocks' causes and consequences, which respond to my fourth and final research question: How might these interlocks and broader networks affect public education based on what we know about other examples in the corporate world or higher education?

This empirical study of charter boards applies the basic concepts of network analysis, a methodology that attempts to discover individual and organizational relationships and understand their effects. After identifying 1,217 individual charter and CMO board members and their respective organizational affiliations, I organized the data in individual charter board spreadsheets. I then used these spreadsheets to create matrices that facilitated an analysis of affiliation types and connections between and among individuals and their respective organizations.¹⁷

I encountered multiple challenges in data collection. Updated, complete, and accurate charter board membership information is not always readily available. Members come and go relatively quickly, and board rosters can differ depending on the source. The tax forms that charters file with the IRS (form 990s), for example, may name board members who are not listed on the charter's website. To help address these challenges, multiple sources were consulted.

Subjects of this Study

For this study, I collected the names and organizational affiliations for individuals sitting on the boards of charter schools included in the New York State Education Department's 2013-

¹⁷ I was guided in developing these matrices by the study conducted by Brian Pusser, Sheila Slaughter, and Scott Thomas (2006) on university trustee and corporate interlocks.

2014 Charter School Directory¹⁸. This directory lists all New York State charter schools approved to operate as of January 2013, broken down by county and in alphabetical order. My first step was to pull out all of the charter schools located in the five NYC boroughs: Bronx, Kings (Brooklyn), Queens, Manhattan and Richmond (Staten Island).¹⁹ As of January 2013, 244 charter schools had been approved to operate across New York State, with 191 of those in NYC.

Table 1: Charter Schools Authorized in NYC as of January 2013, By Borough

- Total Number of Authorized Charters: 191
- Authorizers of approved charters:
 - NYSED Board of Regents (Board of Regents) – 15%
 - NYC-Department of Education (NYC-DoE) – 37%
 - State University of New York Board of Trustees (SUNY BoT) – 48%

County	# of Charters Authorized	Average Years of Operation ²⁰	Authorizers
Bronx	47	5	NYC-DoE – 32% SUNY BoT – 49% NYSED – 19%
Brooklyn	83	3.9	NYC-DoE – 36% SUNY BoT – 48% NYSED – 16%
Manhattan	46	5.3	NYC-DoE – 37% SUNY BoT – 48% NYSED – 15%
Queens	11	5.8	NYC-DoE – 58% SUNY BoT – 42% NYSED – 0
Staten Island	3	3.3	NYC-DoE – 67% SUNY BoT – 33% NYSED – 0

¹⁸ Available at http://schools.nyc.gov/NR/rdonlyres/8E63FBF3-1106-4AD2-A52F-1FEBDB243B13/0/CSDirectory1314_Introduction.pdf; downloaded from NYSED on October 10, 2013.

¹⁹ See Appendix 1 for the full list.

²⁰ These data were analyzed in October 2013. Therefore, charters authorized to open in fall 2013 are included in the calculations for .1 years; charters authorized to open fall 2014 are not included.

As described in previous chapters, EMOs and CMOs are closely linked to charter boards, often supplementing or even supplanting many of their functions. Therefore, I also collected the names and affiliations of the EMO/CMO boards that managed one or more of these 191 NYC charter schools. In order to determine which charters fell under the aegis of management organizations, I consulted multiple sources beyond my primary source, which was the most recent available NYSED directory available (March 2014).²¹ These include charter websites, EMO/CMO websites and tax forms, in order to confirm and supplement I collected the majority of data on charter school and CMO/EMO boards and their affiliations between October 2013 and December 2014. Additional research in 2015-2016 provided data for the in-depth case study on the Success Academy Charter Schools, which is provided in Chapter 4.

The overwhelming majority of board lists on charter websites did not explicitly identify parent representatives. When parent representative names were listed on tax forms or in charter applications, I included them in the spreadsheets as “parent” even if they were not included in website lists. This decision was made in order to acknowledge even the potential for parental involvement since one of my key areas of interest is the degree to which local parents and communities are represented in charter governance organizations.

For each of the 1,217 board member names, I identified the organizational affiliation(s). I used the sources described below to identify primary and secondary affiliations. In line with my theoretical framework, which focuses on less hierarchical flexians and their networks as well as traditional interlocking directorates, I did not limit those affiliations to board membership.

²¹ Available at <http://www.p12.nysed.gov/psc/documents/rptRoloWEB02-08-2012.pdf>

For example, when charters are linked via shared board members *or* associates at the same firm, as opposed to only serving as co-directors of boards, they are also included in my study as an interlock. In addition to acknowledging the burgeoning non-traditional roles and markets associated flexians (Wedel, 2009), this is in keeping with research indicating that political behavior is affected through interlocks “down the chain” from directors (Burris, 2005). This may ultimately circumscribe the ability to theorize about the potential impacts of interlocks. Lower-level associates, for example, may not always have access to the same kinds of institutional information as board members. However, the value of considering junior status and its place in the more modern “flex-nets” outweighs those limitations, an assertion that is fully explicated in the previous chapter.

Data Sources

The individual charter school websites were the principal resource for board member names and affiliation information. The majority of the charter schools maintain websites; those can be easily updated and are, therefore, presumed to be the most current and accurate. How charter schools choose to portray their board members on their websites is also of particular significance for this study. Very few websites, for example, highlight board members’ experience with educating children, their personal histories in the local schools or community, or their areas of expertise relating to public administration or education. Many do, however, emphasize members’ current or previous roles on corporate boards and affiliations with pro-charter organizations such as Teach for America.

When charter websites’ biographical sketches or “bios” for individual board members included former affiliations (i.e., previous ties to Teach for America or corporate board

memberships), that information was included in the individual charter spreadsheets, but not in the subsequent organizational matrix. Only current affiliations were included in the organizational matrix to allow for an accurate assessment of interlocks and flex-nets. Educational affiliations (i.e., graduates of Wharton School of Business) and professional association memberships (i.e., Member, American Bar Association Committee on Private Investment Funds) were also included in the individual charter spreadsheets when that information was provided, but were not included in the organizational spreadsheet since they were not consistently available. Both of these affiliation types, however, may provide rich topics for future research.

When there were slight discrepancies between common names (i.e., Douglas Band versus Doug Band), I corroborated that these were the same individual by consulting at least two other data sources, whenever possible. If websites did not provide affiliation information about individual board members, I established affiliations by consulting other sources. I ensured these were current by cross-referencing whenever possible. In addition to the aforementioned individual charter websites, I gathered data about individual board member names and affiliations from the following sources:

- Non-profit IRS Tax Filings (“Tax form 990s”); when charter websites did not provide board member names, the charters’ tax forms were consulted for those names and, in some cases, organizational affiliations. These tax forms were accessed through Guidestar, and the most recent filing year information available was used.
- Documents on the NYC Department of Education, New York State Education Department and SUNY Charter Schools Institute websites, including proposals to authorize or renew charter applications as well as SUNY’s Audited Annual Financial Reports.

- Corporation/company/nonprofit websites; expanded bios for charter board members sitting on other boards were often available on the websites of affiliated organizations.
- Forbes.com; this data source provided expansive information about many of the hedge fund managers and other financiers.
- Bloomberg Businessweek (www.bloomberg.com/businessweek); this was another excellent source for data about financiers sitting on charter boards.
- Various websites such as muckety.com and littlesis.com, which document relationships between influential individuals and interests on the boards of many organizations, were also helpful in terms of gathering affiliation information for individual board members.

By using all of the sources above, I was able to identify the names of 1,217 charter and CMO board members and at least one affiliation for 85% of those individuals (1,026).

Affiliations for the remaining individuals sitting on charter and CMO boards could not be obtained or verified. When affiliations were not identifiable, notes were kept on the multiple sources that were reviewed.

Data Collection and Organization

As mentioned above, Brian Pusser, Sheila Slaughter, and Scott Loring Thomas conducted an empirical analysis of university-corporate trustee interlocks (2006) that provided an invaluable framework for gathering, organizing and analyzing data on NYC charter boards.

Using the data sources described, the following information was collected for each charter school:

- Board member names (last, first);

- Primary affiliations for each board member (affiliation listed first or singly in biographical information on charter websites or other sources listed above) and any available descriptive information about the affiliated organization's focus and type (i.e., non-profit social services organization, real estate, law firm, or financial institution);
- Any available secondary affiliation(s) identified as well as associated organizational description; and
- CMO/EMO name, if applicable.

The initial data collection process for the first ten charters facilitated the emergence of patterns. A substantial number of individual board members, for example, were identified as being affiliated with other charter schools or networks (beyond their initial board membership) as well as charter advocacy organizations and corporate or nonprofit entities that provide services to charter schools. It also became clear that, in numerous cases, single charter boards govern multiple schools. These patterns helped inform and hone the conceptual framework on interlocking directorates and flex-nets.

Board membership data were entered into 191 individual Excel spreadsheets for each charter school as follows: Column one on each spreadsheet identified the board member's last name, column 2 included the individual's first name, column 3 listed the primary organizational affiliation identified by the data source, and a subsequent column(s) was added for any identified secondary affiliations. Table 1 provides an example of these; the source for this information was the charter school website.

Table 2: Individual Board Member Spreadsheet – Brooklyn Ascend Charter School-Lower

Last Name	First Name	Primary Affiliation	Affiliation	Affiliation
Alleyne	Kay	New York City Department of Citywide Administrative Services		
Coburn	Theodore J.	Coburn Greenberg Partners, corporate finance and merger		
Craft	Amanda	Bridgewater Associates, investment company that oversees \$120 billion in international investments for clients including foreign governments, university endowments, and foundations	Formerly with Teach for America ²²	
Mauterstock	Stephanie	Co-director for business and operations of Manhattan Charter School	Previously worked for Edison Schools, where she served as a grants compliance manager and later as a strategy and market research analyst; began her career as a program officer at the Institute of International Education.	Specializes in federal/ state education grants, particularly as applied to charter schools; is a contributing author to the No Child Left Behind Compliance Manual, Second Edition (LRP Publications, 2007) and Charter School Law Deskbook, Second Edition (Lexis Nexis Publications; 2009) and presents at state/national charter conferences.
Quirk	Kathleen	Currently pursuing MBA at Duke. Formerly chief operating officer of Cambridge Leadership Associates (CLA), where she focused on management operations and refining	Worked for NYCDOE as special assistant to Chancellor Klein and associate director of	Former Coro Fellow

²² As noted above, data on former affiliations were included in the individual charter/CMO matrices.

Last Name	First Name	Primary Affiliation	Affiliation	Affiliation
		CLA’s business development strategies to meet clients’ needs	knowledge management	
Schlendorf	Christine	Perkins Eastman, an international planning, design, and consulting firm, with more than 15 years of experience in creating beautiful and innovative educational spaces. She has been responsible for numerous public and private school projects in the United States and overseas, including Mott Haven Campus in the Bronx, a 2,200-student campus containing two high schools, one intermediate school, one charter school, and a performing arts center.		
Smith	Lisa	Parent and longtime resident of community	Infotech Solutions, a recruiting firm for IT professionals, most recently as office manager	

The CMO board member names and primary/secondary affiliations were also researched for those charter schools that engage management organizations, and similar spreadsheets were developed for each of the 24 CMOs as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: CMO/EMO Board Member Spreadsheet: Explore Schools Inc.

Last Name	First Name	Affiliation	Affiliation
Gillman	Ted	Crito Capital, LLC, which focuses on serving the middle market with proven expertise in structuring and placing private transactions across the risk spectrum. The firm provides innovative financing solutions, drawing on its team’s deep expertise in the private credit, equity and alternative markets. Areas of Expertise: Private Equity and Venture Capital Fund Placement; Hedged Investment Strategies; Emerging Markets; privately placed Equity and Debt financing	Formerly, Managing Director, Ariane Capital Partners, LLC, which provides client-focused fundraising services to established, next-generation and emerging private equity, hedge and mutual fund managers in a boutique, partner-level manner
Coad	Brian	Cartica Management, LLC, an employee owned hedge fund sponsor	
Ballen	Morty	CEO & Founder, Explore Schools, a charter management organization	
Arias	Ruben	Addeco USA, the nation’s leading provider of recruitment and workforce solutions; pre-eminent workforce management partner for Fortune 500 companies	
Taylor	Tim	Cantor Fitzgerald, a financial services firm	
Sorich	Annie	Charter School Growth Fund, a “non-profit that invests philanthropic capital in the nation's highest performing charter school operators”	
Eisenpress	Sherri Lee	Judge, Rockland County Family Court	
McGriff	Deborah	NewSchools Venture Fund: raises philanthropy from donors and uses it to find, fund and support education entrepreneurs who are transforming public education; investment strategy is designed to accelerate the pace and quality of education innovation so that more schools prepare our students for academic, career and life success; investments were instrumental in the creation of over 171,000 seats in 442 charter schools, the preparation of thousands of qualified teachers, and the	

Last Name	First Name	Affiliation	Affiliation
		development of ed tech products that serve over 60 million students and their teachers.	
McNamara	Jay	MSCI, Inc., a US-based provider of equity, fixed income, and hedge fund stock	
Cook	Stephen	Slate Path Capital, ranked #116 on To New York Metro Area Hedge Fund List	

The information from these 215 individual spreadsheets was used to create two separate matrices entitled Organizational Connections & Type (Appendix 3) and Charter/CMO Board Names with Affiliations and Networks (Appendix 4).

These aggregate matrices facilitated an analysis of the data, including the number of connections between affiliated organizations and New York City’s charter schools. If a single board member serves on two charter boards, either within the same charter network or via two separate boards, he and his affiliations are linked to two charter schools. An example is board member Brian Gavin, who is affiliated with the hedge fund The Blackstone Group. Gavin serves on two charter boards, East Harlem Scholars I and II, both of which are managed by the CMO East Harlem Tutorial Program (EHTP). Gavin also sits on the board of the EHTP CMO. In the organizational matrix, therefore, Gavin’s affiliation, the Blackstone Group, reflects three connections to NYC charters.

These two matrices also facilitated an analysis of what type of organization and individuals are governing charters. There are more than one thousand organizations associated with charter and CMO board members as well as non-organizational ties such as “certified speech pathologist” or “entrepreneur.” For any affiliation or organization not clearly described in board member bios on charter websites, extensive Internet research was conducted using the

alternative data sources listed above to determine the organizational type. Each affiliation was then categorized by type as listed in Table 4. In the above-mentioned example of charter and CMO board member Gavin, The Blackstone Group was described as a hedge fund and categorized accordingly as HF.

One detail that emerged from the process of collecting and organizing data was that many organizations are associated with charter schools beyond the initial board member connection. Three examples of these are as follows.

The law firm Willkie Farr & Gallagher LLP “has an extensive background in the area of education, representing numerous colleges, universities, charter schools and other educational providers.”²³ Commercial real estate firm NewMark Grubb Knight Frank employs a director who specializes in providing “a full range of services to best develop and implement long-term real estate strategies for universities, charter schools and technical schools in order to obtain considerable results.” The Century Foundation asserts: “Most K-12 education reforms are about trying to make ‘separate but equal’ schools for rich and poor work well. The results of these efforts have been discouraging. The Century Foundation looks at ways to integrate public schools by economic status through public school choice. At the higher education level, we examine ways to open the doors of selective and non-selective institutions to students of modest means.” These types of organizations are distinguished in the aggregate matrices with the suffix “-CH; the three organizations cited as examples above were categorized as LAW-CH, FAC-CH and FDN-CH, respectively, according to the table below.

²³ The source for all the quotes are the respective organizational websites.

Table 4: Affiliation Types

Affiliation Types	Organizations/Affiliations
ACC	Accountant/Accounting firm
ASSOC	Professional association, including unions, and community association
CAO	Charter advocacy organization
CHARTER	Charter school (beyond primary charter board membership)
CMO	Charter Management Organization (beyond primary CMO board membership)
COMM	Community resident, community board member, member of community association, community activist (not related to charter schools)
CONS	Consulting firm or independent consultant
CONS-CH	Consulting firm or individual consultant, with connection to or focus on charter schools and/or pro-market educational reform
CORP	Corporation/business
CORP-CH	Corporation/business with connection to charter schools and/or pro-market educational reform, including supplemental services
FAC	Facilities, including real estate, facilities construction, architecture, and facilities design
FAC-CH	Facilities, including real estate, facilities construction, architecture and facilities design, with connection to charter schools/facilities
FB	Faith-based organization
FB-CH	Faith-based organization, with connection to charter schools
FDN	Foundation/philanthropy
FDN-CH	Foundation/philanthropy that supports individual charter schools and/or pro-market educational reform efforts
FIN	Asset management, private equity, banking, other financial services organization (not hedge fund) and individuals who work in financial industry
HF	Hedge fund
IHE	College/university and/or affiliated scientific or research institutes
IHE	College/university and/or affiliates, with connection to charter schools
ICT	Information and communication technology
ICT-CH	Information and communication technology, with connection to charter schools
LAW	Law firm and individual attorneys
LAW-CH	Law firm and individual attorneys, with connection to charter schools
MED	Hospital/medical facility, organization focused on healthcare issues
MEDIA	News/media company
MUN/GOV	Municipal or government role or organization
NP	Non-profit or NGO
NP-ARTS	Non-profit arts & cultural organizations, including museums and libraries
NP-CH	Non-profit or NGO, with connection to charter schools
PARENT	Parent representative, individual/identified or TBD listing
PS	Private school or private school support organization

Affiliation Types	Organizations/Affiliations
PUB SCH	Public school
SE	Self-employed and/or no specific affiliation type or organization identified
SE-CH	Self-employed, charter school/education reform-related
TCH	Teacher and/or charter school alumni representative
TTNK	Think tank
TTNK-CH	Think tank with focus on charter schools

Affiliations and their categories were established for 1,026 of the 1,217 board members.²⁴

A categorization of affiliation types provided the means to quantify how many individuals with affiliations as parents, community members or teachers were represented on charter governance boards as opposed to other types of affiliations. Categorizing and organizing data also facilitated an analysis of interlocks and flex-nets.

Using the above example, The Blackstone Group has three connections to New York City’s charter network through Brian Gavin – two through his charter board membership and one through his CMO board membership. In addition to quantifying connections like these by individual board member, cross-referencing the aggregate matrices and individual board/CMO spreadsheets, interlocks and flex-nets were identified and counted. For example, Brian Gavin not only serves on three boards, but he is also interlocked on all three of them with fellow board member Joan Solotar who is also with The Blackstone Group hedge fund.²⁵

Appendix 4, Charter/CMO Board Names with Affiliations and Networks, notes which board members are affiliated with organizations with more than one link to New York City’s

²⁴ The analysis of Moore, et al. in *Elite Interlocks in Three U.S. Sectors: Nonprofit, Corporate, and Government* provided guidance in terms of thinking about categories of organizations and other affiliations.

²⁵ In this example, The Blackstone Group has a total of 11 connections to NYC’s charters because it is also affiliated with Village Academies Network, Inc. and Harlem RBI. There is also an interlock present on the Harlem RBI board through two separate board members’ affiliations with the hedge fund. Chapter 4 provides additional information about interlocks.

charter schools and CMOs. These connections are indicative of the interlocks and flex-nets that characterize charter board membership. Almost half of the organizations connected to charter/CMO boards are linked to more than one, and almost a quarter are linked to more than five.

In order to supplement these quantitative data, I also undertook an in-depth analysis of New York City's most connected charter network, Success Academy. The resulting case study, presented in Chapter 4, further elucidates the powerful players involved in the governance of an increasing share of public schools as well as their interlocks and flex-nets. It also substantiates some of the challenges associated with collecting these data, such as determining exactly who has responsibility for overseeing individual charter schools during any given year, a struggle that is described in more detail in the conclusion below.

Conclusion – Grappling with the Data

As previously mentioned, the task of identifying individual board members for each charter school is not always a straightforward one. In addition to incomplete website listings and challenges associated with locating updated tax forms or similar documents that might fill the void, board information changes relatively rapidly, confounding attempts to pinpoint the most recent data. Board lists often differ between the charter application stage, the initial year of operation, and continuing years of management. Even when board member lists are relatively stable, their individual affiliations often change.

The Success Academy Charter schools initially provided a particularly thorny challenge. Tax documents were not available for all of the schools and those forms that did exist identified different board members from application documents or the network website. This challenge was

somewhat mitigated after New York State ultimately approved a merger such that all Success Academy Charter Schools could be governed by a single non-profit education corporation.²⁶

While that simplified the process of identifying board members, the Success Academy network website lists two separate boards: The “Network Board of Directors” and the “SA-NYC Board of Directors” without providing any parameters about what each board does with respect to governing individual schools.

Additional research did not provide any definitive information except to confirm the implication that both boards are involved in school operations. For these reasons, both Success Academy Network board members and SA-NYC board members – as well as their respective affiliations – are included for each of the schools under their aegis. This establishes a complete picture of the extent to which individual board members’ roles might be magnified when they oversee such a substantial share of New York City’s charter schools (just under 9.5% of those authorized).

A lack of complete information for all of the schools associated with a single founder or network also confounds efforts to accurately list individual board members. For example, there are seven Icahn Charter Schools included in my study (Icahn Charter Schools 1-7). I was able to cobble together board member lists for five of them (charter schools 1-5) based on available tax returns, but nothing could be confirmed for the last two.

Finally, Brooklyn City Preparatory Charter School, another school for which board information was not available, is an anomaly, but an instructive one. Tom Vander Ark, a former

²⁶ “All schools operated by the education corporation...contract with Success Academy Charter Schools, Inc., (“Success Academy” or the “network”), a Delaware not-for-profit charter management organization based in New York City, for comprehensive management services.” Source: https://www.suny.edu/about/leadership/board-of-trustees/meetings/webcastdocs/A6_Success%20Upper%20West%202015-16%20RenewRecRpt%20FINAL.pdf.

Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation leader, spent several years raising hopes, more than \$1.5 million and DOE support for public school space for the first of what he intended to be a charter network. He eventually abandoned his plans and supporters, all before a single student ever walked through the school doors (Phillips, 2011). His story suggests a type of hubris that must be considered when education reformers come from outside of local communities armed with ambitious plans, access to deep pockets, and relatively easy “outs” if plans fall through.

In this chapter, I have described how data were collected and organized to answer my research questions. In Chapter 4, I provide the results of my study and how they support my findings.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of my study and considers their implications for charter school governance. In order to answer the research questions that guided this study, the affiliations of NYC charter board members are described; specific trends that warrant consideration are explored, including a substantial number of pro-charter and corporate affiliations in comparison to parents, educators, and other community members; and the incidence of interlocks and “flex-nets” is established. Reflections on the potential impact on public education within the context of the previously discussed literature and conceptual framework conclude this chapter.

Through their networks, elites govern a substantial share of the City’s schools while also engaging in sophisticated efforts to generate public support for charters. Simultaneously, their political contributions have focused on activities that, critics charge, are helping subvert public will and legislative mandates to adequately fund public schools. Advantageous tax rates for hedge funders and other private equity financiers, for example, have contributed to New York State’s current ranking as one of the nation’s most regressive school district funders and have left New York City’s neediest schools \$5.9 billion poorer than they should be after the 2007 Foundation Aid and Gap Elimination Adjustment funding formula was put into place (Joseph, 2015; Marcou-O’Malley, 2014).

More evenhanded corporate tax rates could close this gap; by some estimates, fair-share taxes on hedge funds and other major limited liability corporations, alone, would raise between \$3 and \$4 billion each year (Joseph, 2015). The disparity between hedge funders’ strident

championing of charter schools and their concurrent willingness to shortchange traditional public schools merits scrutiny, particularly given financiers' growing power and influence over the nation's economy. The financial sector currently captures one quarter of all corporate profits, despite its much smaller proportionate role, and it retains an unprecedented 85% of profits rather than investing them back into the economy (Feroz, 2016).

New York City's charter boards are a locus for economic, political, and pedagogical decisions that will affect children and families for decades to come, and it is vital that their governance is as transparent as possible. The remainder of this chapter provides a detailed description of the individuals and organizations who participate on these boards.

Findings

The total number of board members identified for the 191 charter schools and 24 CMOs included in my dataset is 1,217 (see Appendix 4).²⁷ An average of nine members govern New York City's charter school boards, with a range from four to 18 (see Appendix 2).

The first set of key findings presented are related to **research question 1**: *What types of businesses, community groups, and other organizations are represented on NYC charter school boards via the affiliations of charter board members?* Of the 1,080 unique organizations affiliated with charter board members, the largest number (190 or 18%) are hedge funds and other financial institutions. Non-profit organizations, many of which have longstanding histories in NYC, are the next largest, with 173 organizations. These types of non-profits include settlement houses, Lincoln Center, the American Museum of Natural History, Big Brothers Big Sisters, and the National Women's Law Center.

²⁷ There were eight schools that did not provide board member names and/or for which I was not able to locate member affiliations through any source.

Corporations and businesses come next in line, numbering 119. These range from large, recognizable entities such as Sony Corporation of America to smaller regional companies such as a local bakery. Seventy-one charter schools/CMOs – beyond those associated with individuals’ primary board membership – are represented, including charters located in other states. Sixty-seven institutions of higher education or associated research institutes are connected.

The next largest organization sector is non-profits that have an explicit relationship to charters, which number 61. Several of the most highly connected of these are described in detail below. Other types of organizations that are substantial in number are law firms (56); private foundations (53); private schools (43); associations (37), including athletic associations, tenant associations and unions; real estate companies (35), including those involved in facility construction, architecture and design; media-related organizations (31); municipal/government agencies and entities (29); consulting firms (27); information and communications technology companies (25); hospitals and other medical facilities (23); and faith-based organizations (18). Table 5 below provides information about all of the organization types.

Table 5: Organization Type and Number

Organization Type	Number Affiliated with Charters/CMOs
Hedge funds, private equity firms, banks, and other financial institutions	190
Non-profit organizations without charter service/advocacy orientation	173
Corporations	119
Charter schools and CMOs (other than board member's primary charter/CMO)	71
Institutions of higher education and IHE-affiliated research institutions	67
Non-profit organizations, charter-related	61
Law firms	56
Foundations	53
Private schools	43
Associations	37
Facilities, including construction, architecture, design	35
Media-related organizations	30
Municipal/government agencies and entities	29
Consulting firms	27
Information and Communication Technology	25
Hospitals and other medical facilities	23
Faith-based organizations	18
Think tanks	11
Charter advocacy organizations	4
Public schools	4
Accounting firms	3

Many board members maintain multiple current board memberships and other affiliations, and many appear to have wide interests. One board member of two charters, Harlem Village Academy and Harlem Village Academy Leadership, for example, lists all of the following in his bio: Human rights activist; co-Chairman of the PTA Special Education Committee; and co-founder and Managing Director of University Ventures, a “leading higher education focused investment fund with approximately \$300M under management that invests in entrepreneurs and institutions that are reimagining the future of higher education and creating

new pathways from education to employment.”²⁸ All of those are included in the matrix such that a single board member might be affiliated with a financial institution, non-profit cultural organization, and foundation that supports charters.

An analysis of this aggregate matrix supplements the organizational data and facilitates an understanding of the full range of board member connections. When analyzed from this perspective, all affiliations and connections for the 1,026 board members can be identified. The findings include the fact that the majority of board members have connections to charter schools, CMOs and pro-charter organizations; hedge funds and other financial firms; and/or corporations.

Almost one quarter of charter/CMO board members (23%) are connected to charters or pro-charter groups. These include the aforementioned charter schools or CMOs beyond their primary board membership; charter advocacy organizations; nonprofits or businesses that solicit work from and/or provide services to charter schools; law firms and real estate companies with charter-related services and clients; and foundations and think tanks that directly support and/or advocate for charters. Almost one quarter of the board members (22%) are affiliated with hedge funds, private equity firms, and other financial organizations. Just under 10% have affiliations with corporations and non-profits without charter connections, and about 7% are with law firms (see Table 6 below for the full list). In comparison, only a total of 85 or 8% of all charter and CMO board members are identified as parents (54), teachers (13) or community-based members (18).

This imbalanced board representation is at odds with the aforementioned original purpose of New York State’s 1998 Charter School Act. As opposed to teachers, parents and community members, whose motives for engaging with local schools are obvious and relatively stable, it

²⁸ Source: University Venture’s website.

appears that a majority of financiers, corporate leaders, venture philanthropists, and charter enthusiasts with more opaque objectives are at the helm (Allen & Johnson, 2011).

A description of several pro-charter organizations that are most closely affiliated with NYC's charter schools sheds light on the concerns associated with this imbalance, not only in terms of the perfunctory zeal with which these organizations promote charters and other pro-market education reforms, but also to demonstrate the flex-nets that drive those organizations. Teach for America, for example, is a highly connected organization to NYC charters and CMOs. As a "central node" in the network of pro-charter school organizations, it is also tightly linked to the nation's elite corporations and funders (Kretchmar, et al., 2014). This well-known, well-funded, and contentious resource for teacher education and recruitment places 33% of its recruits in charter schools nationwide, many of which it also founded, and 42% of its alumni work in charters (Cohen, 2015).

Students for Education Reform (SFER), ostensibly a student-led, grassroots movement, receives funding from Education Reform Now (ERN), a self-described "think tank and advocacy organization" headquartered in New York City with 13 chapters in other states. SFER funds and supports a host of pro-market education reform strategies and tactics, including charter schools, standardized testing, and tenure limitations (Joseph, 2013). SFER and ERN are both affiliated with Democrats for Education Reform, whose founder, Whitney Tilson, explained his interest in education by stating that: "Hedge funds are always looking for ways to turn a small amount of capital into a large amount of capital" (Ibid). Tilson is also part of the Success Academy flex-net, a web of elites described in more detail in the case study below.

The Tapestry Project, another New York City-based organization, is "creating charter schools that reflect the best of New York City. The focus of our efforts is Northern Brooklyn, a

rapidly changing neighborhood that epitomizes New York’s dynamic diversity.” Eric Grannis, Success Academy Charter CEO Eva Moskowitz’s husband, founded Tapestry, and the organization is linked to the Success Academy Network through another board member.

The Partnership for Educational Justice (PEJ), founded by journalist Campbell Brown, is also heavily connected to charters throughout the Success Academy network. PEJ was behind a successful lawsuit against teacher tenure in California as well as a similar lawsuit in New York (Callahan, 2014). Up until 2014, PEJ’s executive director was a former Teach for America and Achievement First employee (Ibid). In 2015, a new executive director took over after having worked as a “senior litigation associate at Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton and Garrison LLP, a law firm with separate connections to NYC charter board members, where she “led numerous matters representing charter schools and charter school organizations throughout the city, including matters involving co-location disputes” (<http://edjustice.org/about/team/>). Two additional Success Academy-affiliated organizations are StudentsFirstNY, a political group formed by pro-charter leaders such as Joel Klein and Michelle Rhee, and its formidable SuperPAC New York for a Balanced Albany. These pro-charter organizations are discussed in more detail in the Success Academy case study below. Table 6 below provides all affiliation types for board members.

Table 6: Individual Board Member Affiliation, Number and Percentage

TYPE OF AFFILIATION	TOTAL NUMBER	PERCENTAGE ²⁹
CHARTER- OR CMO-RELATED AFFILIATION (BEYOND PRIMARY BOARD MEMBERSHIP)	239	0.23
FINANCIAL FIRM AND/OR HEDGE FUND CORPORATION/BUSINESS AFFILIATION	230	0.22
NONPROFIT (NOT CHARTER-RELATED)	83	0.08
LAW	78	0.08
INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION or IHE-AFFILIATED RESEARCH INSTITUTION	70	0.07
PARENT/PARENT REPRESENTATIVE	68	0.07
CONSULTING	54	0.05
FACILITIES (includes real estate, architecture and facilities design)	42	0.04
FOUNDATION	42	0.04
PRIVATE SCHOOL AFFILIATION	42	0.04
MUNICIPAL/GOVERNMENT	36	0.04
INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY	25	0.02
RETIRED	24	0.02
MEDIA	24	0.02
MEDICAL	23	0.02
COMMUNITY-INCLUDES COMMUNITY ACTIVISM, COMMUNITY BOARD, AND COMMUNITY RESIDENCE	21	0.02
SELF-EMPLOYED	18	0.02
THINK TANK	18	0.02
TEACHER	16	0.02
FAITH-BASED	13	0.01
ASSOCIATION AFFILIATION	11	0.01
ACCOUNTING	7	0.01
PUBLIC SCHOOL (TRADITIONAL, NOT CHARTER)	6	0.01
MISC	5	0.00

To answer **research question 3**: *What kinds of connections, or interlocks, exist between board members as a result of their affiliations*, I compared individual charter and CMO board spreadsheets with the aggregate matrices to establish network membership. Just under 100

²⁹ Of those with known affiliations; information for 191 individuals was not identified.

charter/CMO board members (9%) are interlocked. Interlocks occur when two or more board members from a single charter or CMO share a separate affiliation. Consider the global investment firm, Pzena Investment Management, a highly connected company in terms of the number of charter schools it is linked to. Its founder sits on the board of the Success Academy charter network board and, therefore, is connected to 18 Success Academy schools as well as the CMO. Another Pzena Investment Management board member sits with the founder on the Success Academy network board. These two are, therefore, interlocked via Pzena.

More than a third (36%) of board members are part of at least one flex-net. Flex-net membership is defined as individual charter school or CMO board members having affiliations with organizations that are associated with more than one charter or CMO. One example is the most highly connected investment bank Goldman Sachs, which is associated with 55 charter schools. It is unlikely that all of the individuals from Goldman Sachs who are connected to such a substantial portion of NYC's charters and charter management organization even know one another, much less interact regularly, but the potential for shared views, behaviors and priorities is noteworthy, particularly given Goldman Sachs' vast reach and post-2008 moniker "Government Sachs" (Wedel, 2009).

In those cases where single boards run multiple charters, they are also included as part of a flex-net. Boards that are responsible for multiple schools have magnified control over public funding and associated decisions about curricular matters, staffing, and contracting. Since the total number of charters that can be authorized is capped by the state, their substantial share of longer-term power is assured. There are obvious and desirable reasons for a single board to provide management and oversight for multiple charter schools, such as maximizing expertise

and efficiency, but the trend is important to consider as perhaps contributing to elite dominance because of the overall cap on charters in New York City.

Taken together, forty-five percent – just under half – of the 1,026 board members governing NYC’s charters are interlocked and/or part of elite flex-nets. The case study presented later in this chapter elucidates the significant reach of networked boards.

As indicated in several examples above, some of the most connected charter schools in New York City are those affiliated with the Success Academy Charter Network, run by Eva Moskowitz. In 2006, Moskowitz, together with John Petry, Joel Greenblatt, and Robert Goldstein of the NYC-based hedge fund Gotham Capital, founded and opened her first Harlem Success Academy charter school in 2006 to serve 165 K-1 students. One decade and 33 schools later, after having “vacuumed up support from Bloomberg allies” (Burns & Taylor, 2015), Moskowitz’s charters are in four of five boroughs serving 11,000 students from pre-kindergarten through high school.³⁰ Across that span of time, she also launched the Success Academy Network (SAN), which currently provides management services and support for all of her individual charter schools.

The remainder of this chapter provides additional information and insights into how these findings respond to the final **research question 4**: *How might these affiliations, interlocks and broader “flex-nets” affect public education based on what we know about them in corporate settings and higher education?* A case study provides a detailed look at the formidable networks that support Moskowitz and her charter schools. In order to contextualize this case study, a brief review of charter management organizations is presented first.

³⁰ Source: (<http://www.successacademies.org>).

Charter Management Organizations - Who's Minding the Store?

The charter school model is not based on any specific pedagogical premise; rather it is a wager that increased autonomy for school leaders coupled with parental choice will result in better student outcomes (Baker & Miron, 2015). Charter boards are a key structural difference between traditional schools and charters, providing large numbers of private citizens with unprecedented control over decision-making and spending. Their autonomy has resulted in, among other things, the outsourcing of a number of administrative, instructional, and support tasks and services. While traditional school districts have always contracted out various types of support services, such as transportation, they have done so under the watchful eyes of locally elected boards and through bureaucratic processes designed to promote transparency (Ibid). Charter schools' self-governance model opens up many new – and often no-bid – opportunities, including lucrative fees for management. Unencumbered by the much-maligned bureaucracy of their district school counterparts, charter school boards can ignore many of the established traditions and regulations that, for example, require multiple bids for contracts or ensure that school land and facilities stay under public control across the long-term.

Nationally, some charter boards run schools directly, some contract with non-profit management chains, and others bring in for-profit management companies. Both types of charter management organizations fulfill many of the roles that traditional school districts do, essentially providing “central office” educational support such as teacher training, services such as data analysis, and supervision for schools (Miron & Gulosino, 2013).

New York's SUNY Charter Schools Institute defines Charter Management Organizations (CMOs) as “any not-for-profit charter management organization, educational service provider, or partner organization providing a majority of the educational management services at a charter

school” (SUNY RFP, 2015). These non-profit management organizations are distinguished from their for-profit counterparts, often termed Educational Management Organizations or EMOs.³¹

Nationwide, CMOs and EMOs are increasing their share of the operations of charter schools, both in terms of burgeoning management organizations and existing ones adding schools to their management portfolios, such that more than a third of charter schools are under their aegis (Miron & Gulosino, 2013). In New York State, after 2010 legislative amendments, only non-profit management organizations – CMOs – are able to run new charter schools, as opposed to the for-profit EMOs that continue to proliferate elsewhere. In those cases where CMOs are engaged, charter board members enter into a contract with the CMO that specifies the terms and conditions of its management services.

The aforementioned \$15 billion value of the EMO K-12 Inc. demonstrates the amount of money that stands to be made through charter management. Even when the management organizations, themselves, are non-profit, their high executive and staff salaries, contracts with for-profit service providers, and situation within elite networks warrant close scrutiny. States and locales that have not required the disclosure of potential conflict of interests among CMOs and EMOs, and carefully managed them, have demonstrated the capacity for malfeasance (Emerson, 2013). Even in those states that do require and monitor disclosures, such as New York, the potential for wrongdoing is present.

National Heritage Academies (NHA), for example, one of the few EMOs that is still operating in New York City, was grandfathered in after state law banned for-profit management. NHA was unable to convince the State Controller’s Office that it had been fiscally responsible for \$10 million in public funding at Brooklyn Excelsior Charter (Annenberg, 2014). It also

³¹ Interestingly, the term EMO was devised by Wall Street in alignment with health maintenance organizations or HMOs, perhaps in anticipation of the money-generating administrative layer that EMOs would mimic.

clearly marked up the rental rates it charged another Brooklyn charter by more than \$2.5 million annually over the leasing price (Ibid).

Another management organization, Imagine Schools, is one of the nation's largest EMOs with a portfolio of 71 schools in 11 states (Strom, 2010). It was founded in 2004 by Dennis Bakke, with his fortune from AES Corporation fortune, an energy consulting firm. After becoming an expert in the deregulation of utilities under former President Carter, Bakke "flexed" his insider knowledge and connections to enter newly deregulated markets across the world (Gunther, 2009). He ultimately grew his company so quickly, "expanding at a breakneck pace and bringing electricity to remote corners of the globe before nearly driving the company off a cliff" that he had to be replaced after a "liquidity crisis" (Ibid.).

Bakke founded Imagine Schools in order to "experiment" with how business strategies could improve public schools (Strom, 2010). His experiments eventually troubled state and local officials, who worried that Imagine, among other things, was controlling the school boards with whom it brokered deals and profiting from contracts crafted to assure its ongoing management role (Ibid). "Mrs. Bakke," who was paid a third of the couple's \$300,000 annual salary for running Imagine in 2010, is quoted in an article as demanding that her company be "judged by its educational results, not its business and financial arrangements" (Ibid). This is ironic, not only because a management company's ostensible business and financial acumen are its greatest contributions to charters, but also because its academic outcomes had been lackluster (Ibid).

Other murky circumstances under which Imagine was operating are important to consider. Mrs. Bakke defined her business to the press as a not-for-profit, despite its lack of IRS status as such, and its creative real estate transactions included selling 27 school properties to a trust, which then leased them back to Imagine so the company could sublease them to the

schools (Ibid). Imagine charged one of its Bronx charters \$10,000 more each month as a result of this subleasing deal (Ibid).

These types of transactions highlight the potential for profiteering, particularly by insiders with connections and savvy. Both NHA and Imagine were approved by state authorizers, hired by charter boards, and trusted by communities because their business and management skills were supposed to ensure efficiency, cost savings, and better outcomes for schools. Instead, some applied their knowledge and used their networks to bilk the public while simultaneously jeopardizing charter and student success.

Many management organizations, including Success Academy Network's charters, built their reputation on "no excuses" models, which regulate schoolchildren's behavior through "totalizing environments" that leave little room for creativity, critique, or agency (Goodman, 2013, p. 89). CMOs that follow this "no excuses" model imply that several key strategies, including the repetitive application of non-pedagogical disciplinary techniques, will mitigate structural inequalities and improve academic achievement. Many of these techniques are preemptive in the sense that they exist only to head off real disciplinary issues (Goodman, 2013). KIPP students, for example, must walk quietly down hallways in straight lines with hands clasped or one finger in the "shush" position, ostensibly to prevent the development of noise or traffic slow-down that might eventually cut into academic time (Goodman, 2013). Even if one accepts that test scores are the mark of educational success and that schools run by CMOs are outpacing their counterparts in terms of improving test scores, "the CMOs rely on rules rather than [developing] personal decision-making in part because the students are not encouraged to develop such prisms" (Goodman, 2013, p. 93).

CMOs can be considered as one more level of opacity between the public and the governance of its schools. They are often the site for networked efforts that may preclude parent and community participation, as the findings above and case study below demonstrate.

Case Study: An In-depth Look at Eva Moskowitz's Flex-Net

The privileges that ambitious charter leader and former New York City Council member Eva Moskowitz enjoyed during the Bloomberg administration exemplify not only what a mayor's control and strident support for charters can accomplish, but also the inimitable power of elite connections. Moskowitz was granted unprecedented direct access to Chancellor Klein as she launched her first charters (Gonzalez, 2010b). She used her formidable political skills and unfettered contact with Klein to, among other things, demand additional space in several public schools, push the boundaries of existing privacy laws to market her charters to local families, and secure millions of dollars in donations from philanthropists such as Los Angeles-based Eli Broad (Ibid).

As her charter schools were being authorized and opened, Moskowitz's partners, two hedge fund titans Greenblatt and Petry, were concurrently active on the national scene, serving as board members for the Democrats for Education Reform (DFER), a pro-charter advocacy organization with strong ties to other hedge funds. Over the ensuing years, Moskowitz also joined a pro-charter board – StudentsFirstNY – and authored a “how-to” book on running charter schools. As is typical with flexians, however, her connections go well beyond these relatively transparent ones.

Her lawyer husband Eric Grannis, for example, was a founding board member of the Bronx Preparatory and Girls Preparatory Charter Schools as well as the pro-charter organization

The Tapestry Project, where he is interlocked with Eva's Success Academy board member Isela Bahena. Moskowitz runs her own political action committee called Great Public Schools, which contributed \$65,000 to Governor Cuomo between 2011 and 2014 (Decker, 2015), and is also connected to the network behind Families for Excellent Schools (FES), a pro-charter, Wall-Street founded and funded advocacy group (Chapman, 2015) that is discussed in more detail below.

There are 33 individuals listed on the Success Academy website for the two boards that run Success Academy charter schools – one for the Success Academy Network (SAN) board and one for Success Academies-NYC (SA-NYC).³² Moskowitz's additional connections through her role on the board of StudentsFirst NY, an affiliate of the national pro-charter organization that Michelle Rhee founded after vacating the school chancellorship in Washington DC, further round out her flex-net and are also included in this case study.³³

The power, talent, skills and connections represented on these boards are impressive. All of the individuals listed are highly successful and clearly talented, and their dedication to a variety of causes, including schoolchildren and their families, is not in question. Many additional roles and accomplishments beyond their corporate or charter connections are listed for each, including affiliations with community-based organizations. Daniel Loeb, for example, who is

³² The board structure and composition changed over the course of my study. Initially, I was able to identify some charter board members for individual schools by using the 990 tax forms, although not all charters' forms were available. After 2010 amendments to the NY Charter Schools Act allowed non-profit education management organizations to operate multiple charter schools, a merger application was submitted by Moskowitz in July 2014, and Success Academy Charter Schools-NYC was authorized by the SUNY Board of Trustees to operate all of the individual Success Academy charter schools. (see the July 2015 memorandum from the SUNY Charter Schools Institute for a list of these and all similar mergers at <http://www.newyorkcharters.org/wp-content/uploads/Final-Notice-of-Merger-Revisions-July-311.pdf>).

³³ Along with Rhee, Moskowitz shares directorates with Paul Tudor Jones, Co-Chairman & Chief Investment Officer of Tudor Investment Corporation; Joel Klein, former NYC DOE Chancellor and current CEO of Amplify, News Corporation; and her own SAN chair Daniel Loeb.

interlocked with Moskowitz on the Success Academy Network and StudentsFirstNY boards, is also a “Trustee of the United States Olympic Committee, the Museum of Contemporary Art in Los Angeles, and Mt. Sinai Hospital, where he established the Ronald M. Loeb Center for the study of Alzheimer’s Disease in memory of his late father.”³⁴

What the table below shows, however, and what must be considered in light of the “publicness” of education, is that the majority of individuals in Moskowitz’s networks have primary affiliations with corporations and, more specifically, hedge funds and other financial firms. Of the 41 individuals who serve with Moskowitz on three boards – Success Academy Network, SA-NYC, and StudentsFirstNY, 53% are hedge funders or leaders from top financial firms. More than half of these financiers are simultaneously active in other realms of the charter movement through affiliations with advocacy organizations or individual charter schools. Many are also deeply embedded in pro-charter advocacy organizations or affiliated with foundations that fund them. Thirteen of the 19 individuals who are not involved in hedge funds or other finance industries are engaged in pro-charter advocacy.

Of all the individuals in Moskowitz’s expansive network across three boards, only six appear to be without close ties to finance and pro-charter networks. Only one person was identified as being the parent of a student in Success Academy charter schools, and none were highlighted as champions of public education or members of the communities where schools are located.

It is important to note that the table below does not fully capture the range of Moskowitz’s powerful contacts. It does not include, for example, her former Council colleagues’

³⁴ The source for this quote and all other information in the chart below, except where otherwise noted, the source for information about Moskowitz and her flex-nets is the Success Academy Charter Schools website successacademies.org.

affiliations or her husband's equally influential and pro-charter connections. The table also does not capture information about all of the substantial political contributions that bind Moskowitz's flex-net.

Families for Excellent Schools and the aforementioned super PAC New Yorkers for a Balanced Albany, for example, spent more than \$10 million last year on lobbying efforts, and Success Network chair Loeb, along with other hedge fund charter champions and several interlocked board members, donated more than \$3.5 million through New Yorkers for a Balanced Albany (Gonzalez, March 11, 2015). Governor Cuomo subsequently increased per pupil aid by \$2,600 for charter students, although New York City and its more recalcitrant mayor, Bill de Blasio, will bear most of the costs for that increase (Ibid). Mapping out all of these seemingly endless trails is not possible within this study, but efforts along those lines are critical for journalists and future researchers in order to fully explain the proliferation of charter schools despite their students' indeterminate educational gains.

In line with both the political cohesion of interlocks and the ability of flexians to broker outsized power within their expansive social networks, many of the individuals listed in the table below continue to dramatically shape charter school rhetoric and legislation despite losing support at the mayoral level. Moskowitz, for example, regularly engaged in high-profile, high-visibility conflicts with Mayor Bloomberg's successor, Bill de Blasio, who was also her former colleague on the New York City Council. Both in the months leading up to his election and after he took office, Moskowitz issued powerful rejoinders to De Blasio, including hinting that she might run against him for the city's highest office in 2017.³⁵ (Taylor, 2016c).

³⁵ In the true spirit of a flexian, there were related discussions about the potential need to switch parties and run as a Republican since traditional Democratic strongholds such as the teachers' union would have likely opposed her (Burs & Taylor, 2015).

Her flex-net of financiers, charter advocates and philanthropists also relentlessly confronted de Blasio, operating on multiple fronts and cultivating a new ally in New York State Governor Andrew Cuomo. Daniel Loeb, chairman of the Success Academy network, for example, contributed \$62,000 to Governor Cuomo as of spring 2015 and, when contributions from 18 of his fellow board members or their families were tallied, the total was almost \$600,000 (Gonzalez, 2015). FES, which was presented as a grassroots parent organization, was actually registered by the pro-charter StudentsFirst NY, shares an address with the Super PAC, New Yorkers for a Balanced Albany. Four out of five of its founding board members are financiers whose wealth comes from hedge funds and private equity (Joseph, 2015).

Despite having hired a top lobbyist who specializes in shielding donors' identities, FES was recently forced by a filing with the State's Joint Commission on Public Ethics to disclose its funders, revealing that two of its multi-million dollar donors have close ties to Moskowitz (Ford, 2015). They are SAN board chair and StudentsFirst NY interlock, hedge funder Daniel Loeb and Julian Robertson, a billionaire hedge funder whose family members have launched their own charters, and who made the largest donation in Success Academy's history - \$25 million – through his foundation to support its increase to 100 schools over the next decade (Taylor, 2016a).

Several FES-backed pro-charter rallies have been substantially shored up through the presence of Success Academy students. Moskowitz has adjusted her schools' instructional schedules to facilitate their attendance and used high-pressure tactics to encourage their parents to attend as well (Ford, 2015; Joseph, 2015). FES has aggressively lobbied; expenditures of \$9.6 million in 2014 were almost twice that of the UFT and New York State United Teachers combined (Joseph, 2015). FES has also funded pro-charter television ads, including ads accusing

Mayor de Blasio of forcing students to stay in failing schools, and it published a carefully timed open letter to the Mayor – signed by Moskowitz – lambasting his education policies (Ibid).

Table 7 below provides a list of all of the organizations in Eva Moskowitz’s flex-net with a brief narrative about the organizational type. Included in the table are the current and past corporate/organizational affiliations described in board member bios on the Success Academy website. Following this table is a diagram of all of the connections identified: Single directors who sit on multiple boards or firms linked via current/former shared directors or spouses.³⁶ See Appendix 5 for a detailed description of the board members and their networks.

Table 7: Eva Moskowitz’s Flex-net: Success Academy Network, SA-NYC & StudentsFirstNY

Affiliation/Organization Type ³⁷	Corporate/Organizational Affiliations of Board Members
Finance – hedge funds, investment, and wealth management companies	Third Point LLC, a hedge fund
	Herring Creek Capital, a hedge fund
	Maverick Capital, a hedge fund
	Gracie Capital, a hedge fund
	Pzena Investment Management, a hedge fund
	Gotham Capital, a hedge fund
	Sessa Capital, a hedge fund
	SPO Partners & Co., a hedge fund
	Roystone Capital, a hedge fund
	CastleLine Holdings, provides insurance products for mortgage market/mortgage underwriting
	Caxton Associates, LLC, a hedge fund
	SAC Capital, a hedge fund
	Morgan Stanley, Assets Management
	Soroban Capital Partners, a hedge fund

³⁶ These include spousal connections that were identified. For instance, Jill Braufman, Success Academy Network board member and Chair of the Board of the Center for Arts Education, is married to Daniel Nir, fellow Success Academy Network board member and founder of hedge fund Gracie Capital. In the network diagram below, therefore, the Center for Arts Education’s connections to Gracie Capital as well as the Daniel L. Nir and Jill. E Braufman Family Foundation are represented.

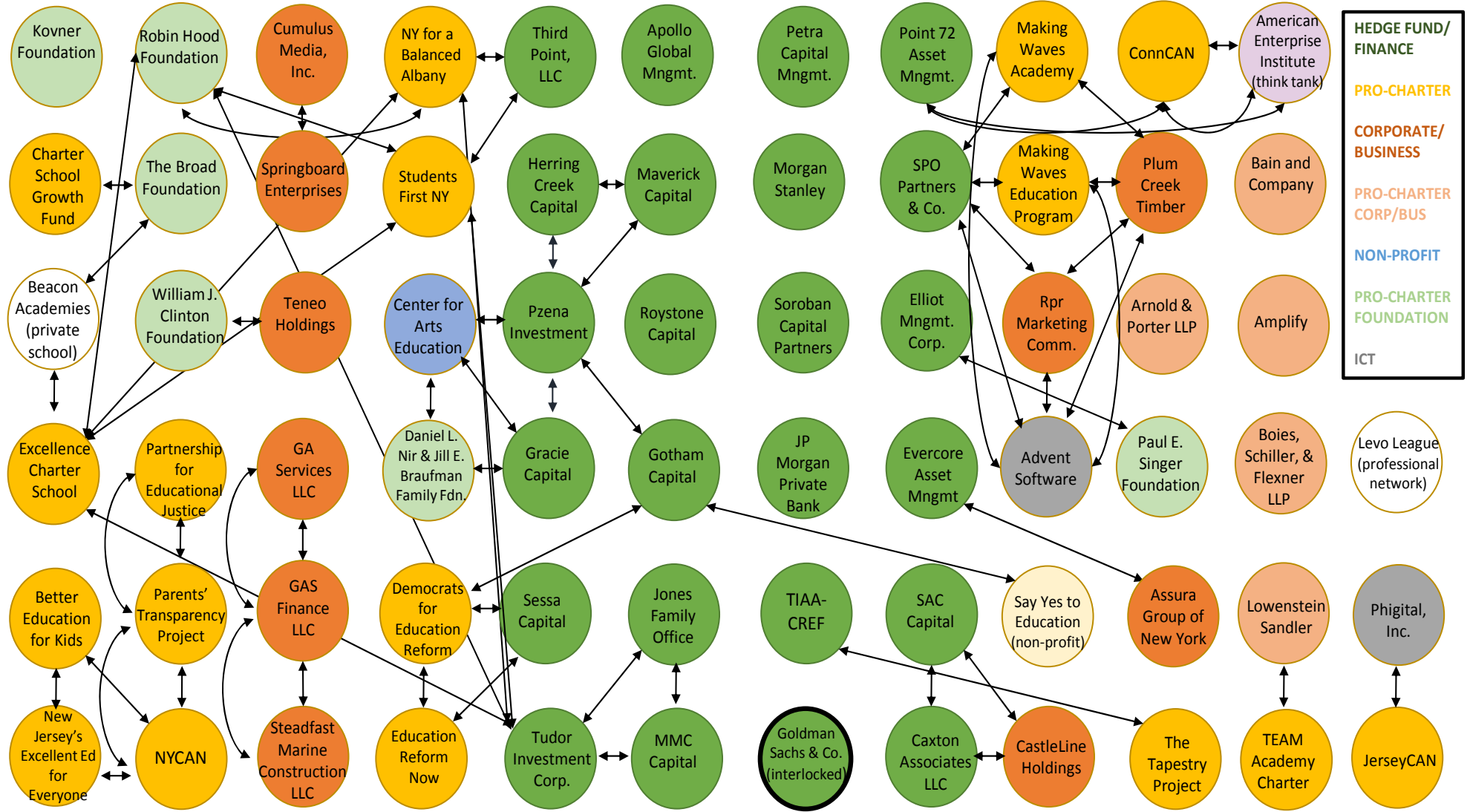
³⁷ All direct quotes describing organizations are from the Success Academy website or affiliated organizations’ websites. (<http://www.successacademies.org/about/#leaders>).

Affiliation/Organization Type ³⁷	Corporate/Organizational Affiliations of Board Members
	<p>Goldman Sachs & Co., global equities trading</p> <p>Apollo Global Management, private equity</p> <p>Evercore Asset Management, investment banking advisory firm with acquired stake in hedge fund (2011)</p> <p>Petra Capital Management, a hedge fund</p> <p>J.P. Morgan Private Bank, "... managing relationships with ultra high net worth individuals... with a specific focus on hedge fund principals"</p> <p>Jones Family Office, a family office that manages the assets of Paul Tudor Jones</p> <p>MMC Capital, venture capital fund</p> <p>Elliott Management Corporation, a hedge fund</p> <p>Point72 Asset Management, a family office, that manages the assets of Steven Cohen; Point72 is the successor to SAC Capital, which pleaded guilty to federal insider trading charges and paid a \$1.2 billion fine.</p> <p>Tudor Investment Corporation, a hedge fund</p> <p>TIAA-CREF</p>
Non-finance-related corporations/ businesses	<p>Cumulus Media, Inc., an American broadcasting company & second largest owner of AM/FM radio stations in U.S.</p> <p>Lowenstein Sandler, law firm that "conducts transactional work on behalf of charter schools"</p> <p>Plum Creek Timber Company, one of the largest private landowners in the U.S., with 6 million acres in 19 states</p> <p>GA Services LLC</p> <p>GAS Finance LLC</p> <p>Steadfast Marine Construction LLC</p> <p>Arnold & Porter LLP, which successfully defended Success Academy Charter School – Cobble Hill ... in a teacher’s union-driven litigation seeking to prevent the school from opening</p> <p>Assura Group of New York, insurance products</p> <p>Bain and Company, leading consulting firm to private equity industry; works with hedge funds</p> <p>Amplify, digital educational division of News Corporation, sold to Joel Klein and other executives in 2015</p> <p>Teneo Holdings, a global consulting firm that has secured backing from private equity</p> <p>Boies, Schiller, and Flexner LLP, a law firm (involved in New York’s teacher-tenure lawsuit led by Campbell Brown)</p> <p>Levo League, a professional network for millennials</p> <p>Rpr Marketing Communications</p>
Pro-charter advocacy groups/consultants	<p>StudentsFirst NY, the state affiliate of the national nonprofit organization "dedicated to transforming public education"</p>

Affiliation/Organization Type³⁷	Corporate/Organizational Affiliations of Board Members
	<p>NY for a Balanced Albany, a Super PAC registered by StudentsFirst NY</p> <p>Partnership for Educational Justice and journalist; PEJ was behind a lawsuit to end teacher tenure in New York</p> <p>Charter School Growth Fund, a non-profit that invests philanthropic capital in the nation's highest performing charter school operators</p> <p>Democrats for Education Reform (DFER), which seeks to pave the way for charters within the Democratic Party</p> <p>Education Reform Now, the lobbying arm of DFER</p> <p>New York Campaign for Achievement Now (NYCAN); goals include “create charter sustainability by lifting the charter cap”</p> <p>Better Education for Kids, a 501c4 organization supporting education reforms in New Jersey</p> <p>Independent consultant focusing on education reform and specifically charter schools</p> <p>American Enterprise Institute; education is key policy area, with support for charters</p> <p>ConnCAN, an education reform nonprofit</p> <p>New Jersey’s Excellent Education for Everyone, provides advocacy for school choice</p> <p>The Tapestry Project (“creating charter schools that reflect the best of New York City... focus ... is Northern Brooklyn, a rapidly changing neighborhood that epitomizes New York’s dynamic diversity.”)</p> <p>JerseyCAN (2015 goals include “strengthening the charter school law to grow the number of high-quality schools”)</p> <p>Parents’ Transparency Project, “a watchdog group that investigates and reports on failure and inequity in the public education system.”</p>
Non-profits/non-corporate organizations that are not pro-charter	<p>Say Yes to Education, which provides scholarships and other education support services</p> <p>Center for Arts Education</p> <p>US Attorney’s Office in Eastern District of New York</p>
Information and Communications Technology Companies	<p>Springboard Enterprises, a network of high-growth technology-oriented companies led by women</p> <p>Advent Software – products include portfolio and asset management software and clients are hedge funds, asset and managers, etc.</p> <p>Phigital, Inc., an early stage technology company</p>
Foundations – pro-charter/pro-market (provide support for	<p>Daniel L. Nir and Jill. E Braufman Family Foundation</p> <p>The Broad Foundation</p> <p>Kovner Foundation (“promotes excellence in public and private</p>

Affiliation/Organization Type³⁷	Corporate/Organizational Affiliations of Board Members
individual charters and/or charter networks)	education by supporting public charter schools” and made grants to Achievement First, Success Academy and Uncommon Charter Schools, among others
	Robin Hood Foundation
	Paul E. Singer Foundation, “focused on supporting research and scholars in the areas of free-market economics... Paul Singer is the founder and president of Elliott Management Corporation, a hedge fund.”
	William J. Clinton Foundation
Individual charter schools/networks (not associated with Success Academy Charters)	Beacon Academies, a manager of charter and private schools across the U.S.”
	TEAM Academy Charter School
	Making Waves Academy (California-based charter network) and Making Waves Education Program
	Excellence Charter School
Parent	Only one individual across the three boards was identified as a parent.

Figure 1: Eva Moskowitz's Flex-net: Success Academy Network, SA-NYC & StudentsFirst NY*



*Connections are established through single directors who sit on multiple boards or firms that are linked via current/former shared directors or spouses.

How might the substantial number of elite financiers and pro-charter groups in the Success Academy networks undermine the ability of less powerful constituents to meaningfully engage in teaching children or govern schools? Two specific examples of Success Academy charters' treatment of its schoolchildren, families and teachers illuminate the potential ramifications and conclude this case study.

In February 2016, a video of a Success Academy teacher speaking harshly to a struggling 1st grader surfaced on the Internet. The teacher, who had been hailed within the network as a model for others, ripped up the student's paper and banished her from the classroom because she failed to understand the math concepts being taught (Taylor, 2016). Moskowitz's claims that the teacher's actions were an anomaly and misrepresentation of her well-known "no excuses" approach were contradicted by 20 Success teachers who were subsequently interviewed (Ibid).

While the harsh treatment of a young, struggling student was at the center of the outrage and vigorous debate that followed,³⁸ other substantive related issues must also be considered. For example, after denying that a "no excuses" model could have encouraged a teacher's harsh treatment, Moskowitz and her flex-net went on the offensive with charges about school safety in DOE schools (Ibid). This strategy – of casting a staid Department of Education as the enemy and its traditional public schools as dangerous – is fully in line with the type of political spectacle favored by corporatists (Smith, 2004). If more of the concerned teachers, parents and community members who flooded *The New York Times* with comments after seeing the video sat on Success Academy charter boards, might Moskowitz's easy dismissal of the incident have been tempered by vigorous debate at regular board meetings?

³⁸ *The New York Times* wrote that more than 1,800 comments were posted in response to the story (2016, February 12).

Success Academy charters have also come under scrutiny because of perceived measures to force out students whose behavior does not conform to its rigid expectations, including the 2015 publication of a “Got to Go” list (Taylor, 2015b). Lists such as these exemplify persistent concerns with high-profile charters and accusations that they are actively “creaming” the best students or force the withdrawal of others whose behavior or academic performance might jeopardize aggregate test scores. As with the teacher video incident, Moskowitz’s official response focused on specific school leaders who, she claims, made mistakes and were reprimanded. Equally importantly, and as research on interlocks and flexians suggests, her boards and other extensive networks. These individual members, who share her “boot-strapped” sensibilities; relatively privileged position of power and wealth; and nimble, autonomous mobility across sectors, never appear to push back against the foundations of her personal philosophy or the messy details involved in implementing it.

Engaging more parents and community members in school governance might have encouraged Moskowitz to realize and acknowledge that a rigid, narrow set of expectations is not appropriate for the variety of ages and capabilities of schoolchildren in NYC. Engaging experienced teachers or administrators from traditional public schools might have helped the SAN board understand that some teachers and principals might feel the need to employ punishing tactics with vulnerable schoolchildren in their efforts to push such a strict agenda.³⁹

The domination of charters by elites has negative implications for democratic decision-making and the public sphere (Burch 2006 & 2009; Ravitch 2010), particularly in terms of

³⁹ Suspension rates at Success Academy are, on average, 7% higher than DOE’s traditional schools, and, at some schools, they are 20% higher (Taylor, K, October 29, 2015). Suspensions and other tactics against selected students eventually led to a federal Education Department complaint by parents charging that the network discriminates against students with disabilities (Taylor, January 22, 2016).

reframing debates about public education toward self-interest and away from responsibility for the broad collective (Ball 2007; Kumashiro 2008; Sunderman 2010). Conservative and pro-market forces have long understood and capitalized on the links between public education and the political, moral and intellectual landscapes that are key to economic dominance (Apple, 1993), but charter schools offer new, unprecedented opportunities to fortify their power as well as long-term inequality.

Conclusion

Chapter 2 established that the national conversation about education has shifted over the past decade such that knowledge and skills related to classroom instruction and pedagogy are less valued than corporate-style management techniques. Once this basic premise is broadly accepted, it stands to reason that bi-partisan decision-makers – as well as business leaders, themselves – would see corporate titans as vital resources for reforming education. Equally clear is a tacit understanding that, as in the business world, the pool of these high-status leaders who can be tapped for charter school leadership is finite (Bouwman, 2011).

Charter board membership that results from and promulgates elite networks, however, neglects to consider important questions about who should govern public schools, including: What experiences and capabilities are required to run a successful school, and who decides these criteria? Does a school board need to represent a variety of backgrounds and perspectives in order to effectively govern? With a failure rate of more than 15% nationwide, and the overwhelming majority of those charters closed due to poor financial performance or

mismanagement (Consoletti, 2011), the expertise of charter leaders in even the most business-oriented aspects of school administration is called into question.⁴⁰

If powerful elites decide they are the best school leaders and then actively recruit board members from within their own ranks, the capacity of local and marginalized communities to participate in local decision-making and governance is necessarily circumscribed. This thin democracy of neoliberalism runs counter to a collective approach or thicker democracy that allows for true participation (Apple, 2006). Public education is a vital sector in which to maintain robust democratic participation; schools are spaces not only where learning publicness can take place (Barber, 1997) but also where citizens can practice democracy and push back against prevailing market and political forces (Habermas, 1991).

Corporations have long sought to control education policy and practice for multiple reasons, but today's efforts are intrinsically different from those that have always been part of the polis. In the last decade, in particular, unparalleled changes have placed educational policy and practice well beyond the reach of most citizens and firmly in the hands of an elite few who have capitalized on the "political spectacle" associated with modern politics in general (Edelman, 1988) and educational policy, more specifically (Smith, et al, 2004). These flexians are connected to one another and to organizations that are benefitting from and shoring up the charter school movement.

Rather than a grassroots movement anticipated by New York State's Charter Act purpose, this highly networked group is directly governing an increasing share of the City's schools while simultaneously capitalizing on an unprecedented confluence of rhetoric, policy and practice that allows them to legitimize an underfunded public education enterprise from which

⁴⁰ The failure rate in New York State is similarly high, with approximately 10% of the State's charters closed or not reauthorized (Sahm, 2016).

they directly benefit. By promoting charter schools as the panacea for all of society's ills, they are able to maintain their exorbitant profits at the expense of a more realistic tax structure (Joseph, 2015).

Charters have provided a “feel-good” cover for what is essentially a well-orchestrated advertising campaign to ensure the vast economic gaps between wealthy financiers who run an increasing share of the nation's schools and the schoolchildren they govern. (Joseph, 2015). Investors use charters to focus public opinion and efforts away from the tangible school funding gaps that could be filled with up to \$4.2 billion annually if fairer-shared taxes were levied (Ibid). They simultaneously hedge their bets that the public will cede more control of its schools and position themselves and their networks to gain direct control over hundreds of billions of dollars each year.

The final chapter summarizes the implications of this study's findings, particularly what the nation may expect now that President Donald Trump's billionaire education secretary is at the helm. Her philanthropy and advocacy in the area of education have largely been conducted as chairperson of the American Federation for Children, the self-proclaimed “leading school choice organization in the U.S.” Chapter 5 also discusses the study's limitations and provides ideas for future research needed.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

It does not follow, because you are general of an army, that you are to take all the treasure, or land, it wins; (if it fight for treasure or land;) neither, because you are king of a nation, that you are to consume all the profits of the nation's work. Real kings, on the contrary, are known invariably by their doing quite the reverse of this,—by their taking the least possible quantity of the nation's work for themselves (John Ruskin, in Tinker, 1908).

Implications of Findings

Charter boards have been described by scholars as part of a “range of reforms that redistribute resources and control over most aspects of schooling away from traditional public governance structures to a disparate assemblage of parents, teachers, school leaders, community members, private sector actors, and private organizations” (DiMartino & Scott, 2013, p. 432). Yet, as the findings in Chapter 4 show, the majority of New York City charters are governed by individuals affiliated with financial firms, corporations, and pro-charter organizations. In comparison, less than 10% of this “disparate assemblage” are parents, teachers or community members. This study situates charter boards as a key site for shifting power and funding away from democratic processes and into the hands of an elite few.

As previously mentioned, corporate leaders have always been involved in public education, and there are ample benevolent reasons for them to sit on charter school boards. New York City is one of the key financial capitals of the world, so it is also understandable that a substantial number of individuals from hedge funds and private equity firms would demonstrate an interest in the City’s schools. This study moves beyond drawing attention to their presence on charter boards; it identifies their number and proportion and establishes their position within exponentially powerful networks. It also examines whether there are sufficient numbers of

individuals without these corporate and pro-charter affiliations, including parents, teachers and community members, to balance governance and mitigate the consequences of elite dominance.

Many modern citizens are part of a variety of networks. They share knowledge, appeal for favors, and enlist the members from their circles in other membership groups. The interactions facilitated by these types of connections are often imperceptible, even to the networks' own members (Koenig & Gogel, 1981). Research has demonstrated consistently, however, that sinister motives are not needed or, indeed, deduced in order to gain and perpetuate power through elite networks.

The impenetrability of many of the organizations whose members are managing NYC charters – whether represented by the wealth required to invest in hedge funds or the requisite social capital for membership on some of the nation's top corporate boards – are reason enough to question whether democratic participation and principles might be in jeopardy. Given additional data about their high level of organizational and individual connectivity, when these same groups run public schools, it becomes even more vital that we not underestimate the potential for powerful networks with shared pro-market views to shape public education and, ultimately, American society (Koenig & Gogel, 1981).

New York City's charters overwhelmingly enroll children from families of color, many of whom are poor, racially marginalized, and already struggling to ensure that their concerns can be voiced within traditional democratic processes and organizations (Kretchmar et al., 2014). When there is a transference of power from the public to the private, as represented by charter boards, it can be even more difficult for families to push back (Ibid). If powerful elites decide they are the best school leaders and they actively recruit from within their own ranks, the

capacity of marginalized communities to participate in local decision-making about governance issues is circumscribed.

In this and other important ways, charter schools may be diminishing vital civic outcomes. They are a linchpin in the overall move to privatize the public (Apple, 2006). Their governance structure undervalues community input; their pedagogy and teaching materials emphasize standardized and corporatized outcomes; and their diminishing of traditional public schools and teachers – even those within their own charter schools as seen in the Success Academy Network case study – undermines deep and longstanding relationships between schools and communities (Ibid).

Fundamental questions must be asked and answered regarding who should govern public schools. These include what experiences and capabilities that are required to run a successful school, and who determines these criteria? Does a school board need to represent the backgrounds and perspectives of its local communities in order to effectively govern? Chapter 2 established that the national conversation about education has shifted over the past decade such that knowledge and skills related to classroom instruction and pedagogy are less valued than corporate-style management techniques. Once this basic premise is broadly accepted, it stands to reason that key decision-makers in education – as well as business leaders, themselves – would see corporate titans as singular resources for reforming education. Equally clear is a tacit understanding that, as in the business world, the pool of qualified high-status leaders who can be tapped for charter school leadership is finite (Bouwman, 2011).

Financiers, think tank analysts, foundation officers and advocacy organization leaders cycle in and out of the private, public and government sectors, using knowledge and positions within each sector to anticipate and affect the others (deMarrais, 2006; Ravitch, 2010; Wedel,

2010). This study partially addresses a critical analytical gap in the current literature about charter schools, which is the urgent need to look at them as a direct means of economic gain for these new, nimble flexians. Charters are facilitating profits for savvy investors. They have helped create a new marketplace, not just by normalizing privatization, but also by providing multiple entry points for profiteering to an increasing number of eager entrepreneurs.

This study identifies the individuals who sit on charter boards, situates them within their networks, and considers some of the potential gains for those networks in order to better understand who stands to benefit from privatizing schools through charters and how much is at stake for the public. My research revealed one area for profits, the niche market for charter facilities, which not only illustrates the potential for interlocks and flex-nets to profit, but also the related barriers for non-elite charter boards. The high price and sophisticated nature of leasing, renovating or building charter facilities, particularly in NYC, significantly ups the ante for all charter boards and provides a concluding illustration of networked power and profit.

Schools lacking connections to the requisite finance, law, real estate and construction industries are at a distinct disadvantage. Charters proposed or governed by grassroots community groups, as opposed to elites such as Eva Moskowitz, can be expected to have a more difficult time attracting the kind of high-profile board members who can tap into their networks and assuage savvy investors. The need to carve out space for charter schools – and access the millions of dollars required to lease, upgrade or build them – may actually necessitate the presence of elite boards and their flex-nets.

Charter School Facilities in the New Educational Marketplace

Charter school facilities offer a lucrative market for investors and help illuminate why education and charters may have become such a critical interest of some the nation's wealthiest individuals and corporations. National statistics give a sense of the total in public funding that stand to be tapped: "[L]ess than 20% of charters lease property from their respective districts at a minimal cost to the charters and the taxpayers who fund them. ...[of] the states that enroll 75% of charter students nationally, ...charters spend, on average, 20-25% of their per pupil revenues on repaying loans and bonds associated with charter facilities, monies that would traditionally have gone toward instruction" (Ascher et al., 2004). In addition to the direct profits that stand to be made through construction and renovation of charter schools, there are multiple consultants, lawyers, and real estate brokers whose expertise must be compensated (Wigglesworth & Briggs, 2015).

Renovations of leased facilities, which may need to be undertaken frequently as charters expand enrollment, are one area of industry growth. In many cases, facility improvements ultimately benefit property owners rather than public citizens when a charter closes or moves to a new property (Ascher, et al, 2004). The construction of new facilities, however, is where the real money stands to be made. Charter school facilities have offered some investors returns of up to 100% within seven years (Gonzalez, 2010a). In Philadelphia, for example, one charter school will spend \$78 million over 30 years – on top of a \$55 million bond – under the burden of interest rates that are more than double what the school district pays (Wigglesworth & Briggs, 2015). That charter's exorbitant payments to shrewd bondholders and bankers – almost a third of its budget and more than its teachers' salaries – already led to a \$500,000 operating deficit, which threatens the long-term viability of instruction for 1,400 schoolchildren (Ibid.).

Charter school bonds are deemed as higher-risk investments, and loans are over-collateralized. Ironically, it is the high risk associated with charters, given their potential for being shuttered, that drives up the interest rates (Wigglesworth & Briggs, 2015). These “junk” rates benefit investors with higher payoffs than other types of investments (Ibid). These high-risk rates seemingly belie the hype around charters’ entrepreneurial governance and ensured success; the per-pupil monies automatically flow to charters from taxpayers should ideally minimize risk if sound business plans are in place. While it is the public nature of charters that creates the opportunity for issuing bonds, and public coffers advance the capital through per-pupil state aid, in many cases, only private individuals reap the profits.⁴¹

In New York State, the actions of one charter leader and flexian – Brighter Choice Foundation vice chairman Tom Carroll – highlight the profiteering and conflict of interests. The Brighter Choice Foundation is a nonprofit organization that “provides start-up grants, school facilities, a revolving loan fund, and technical assistance”⁴² to Albany’s charters.

After having helped write New York State’s charter law when he worked for the Pataki administration, Carroll went on to help found and govern several charter schools in Albany. In order to build charter facilities, he sought help from investors under the auspices of the federal New Markets Tax Credit (NMTC) (Gonzalez, 2010a). Congress approved these tax credits in 2000 to incentivize private sector investment in low-income communities. Carroll was also a member of the board of directors of the Virginia-based community development institution that

⁴¹ These private investors are profiting from new charter facilities at the same time that the nation’s existing school buildings are in serious need of expansion or repair. State and local construction funding never recovered after the 2008 recession, and conservative estimates made indicate that deferred maintenance and repairs would cost at least \$270 billion, with \$542 billion required to fully modernize school buildings and meet contemporary instructional, safety and health standards (Center for Green Schools, 2013; 2013 Report Card for America’s Infrastructure).

⁴² See <http://albanycharterschoolnetwork.org/brighterchoicefoundation/>.

facilitated the NMTC-based financing. Three of the five Brighter Choice Foundation schools subsequently struggled under escalating rents (Ibid).

In one case, the rent increased by 229% within two years and, for Carroll's charter, the increase was 79% during the same time period (Gonzalez, 2010a). At the same time, those charters did not meet their enrollment targets, undermining their ability to use anticipated state aid to cover their escalating operating costs. Simultaneously, and conceivably as a result of the monies that went to the financiers, JP Morgan Chase announced that it was establishing a \$325 million investment fund to take advantage of continuing NMTC windfalls (Ibid).

In New York City, charter facilities are especially big business. In addition to the impressive dollars involved – including charters' access to more than \$3.8 billion in city and state coffers established by legislation – these facilities essentially kept construction companies afloat after the 2008 economic crisis (Gregor, 2009). In addition to the aforementioned per pupil monies, New Market Tax Credits, and city/state funding, charters have been able to access other government-based programs that support facility acquisition, renovation or construction such as the Charter Schools Stimulus Fund, which has provided more than millions of dollars statewide since 2003 (LISC 2014).

A symposium in spring 2015, funded in part by the Gates and Walton Family Foundations, attracted hedge fund managers and other savvy investors with information focused on “Bonds & Blackboards: Investing in Charter Schools” and associated “new innovative financing mechanisms” (Gonzalez, 2015). The speakers, who included Whitney Tilson, Founder and Managing Partner of Kase Capital Management and Co-Founder of Democrats for Education Reform, and the Executive Director of KIPP New Jersey, focused on “charter school credit worthiness” and “best practices for assessing their credit” and provided insights from investors,

lenders, authorizers and rating agencies.⁴³ Around that same time and after some of the symposium's pro-charter attendees contributed millions in to Democratic New York State Governor Andrew Cuomo, charters and their supporters benefited from a \$2,600 increase per pupil to cover charter school facilities (Ibid).

Civic Builders, Inc. is a New York City-based non-profit organization that builds charter schools across the northeast. In 2009, when preliminary research for this study was conducted, Civic Builders referred to its process of building charters “de-linking” real estate and educational investments (Allen & Johnson, 2011).⁴⁴ This meant that the facilities it built were not slated to become the property of the schools, themselves, or of the DOE, but rather ownership would be retained by Civic Builders. The key rationale for the organization's “de-linking” philosophy was that investments could be secured only *because* Civic Builders would maintain ownership and charters would lease the spaces. Given the relatively risk nature of charters and the fact that they needed to be reauthorized every five years, investors could not be certain of their success.

At that time, most of the Civic Builders board members had ties to financial services and/or commercial real estate, expertise that would certainly be indispensable to the non-profit's focus, but that also increase the likelihood of potential conflicts of interest. Board member Jordan Meranus was involved with the New Schools Venture Fund, which helped launch Civic Builders, along with multiple other charters and charter advocacy organizations. Board member Mimi Clark Corcoran was involved with the New York Charter School Center and the Beginning with Children Foundation, thereby interlocked with another board member at that time, Joseph Reich, who co-founded the Beginning with Children Foundation with his wife. Board member

⁴³ Source: Event description retrieved from <http://newyorkcity.eventful.com/events/2nd-bonds-and-blackboards-investing-charter-scho-/E0-001-078429685-4>.

⁴⁴ As of this writing, that term can no longer be found on the Civic Builders website.

Phoebe Boyer was the interim Executive Director for the Robertson Foundation, which had contributed part of the \$43 million in philanthropic support raised by Civic Builders at the time, as well as the Executive Director of the Tiger Foundation, which had also been an active supporter of the charter school movement (Allen & Johnson, 2011).

The implications of the above examples are clear. Private investors are able to use federal tax credits on one end and receive guaranteed state-funded monthly payments toward the loan on the other in order to realize the kind of gains that few other investment opportunities could offer. They do all of this outside of the boundaries established through traditional public and bureaucratic processes.

Also, the amount of money that is needed to pay off a construction debt can increase substantially over a short amount of time, which inevitably drains money away from instruction. If increased enrollment targets established by charters and included in business planning are not met in the coming years, an even high proportion of funds will need to be redirected to line the pockets of investors.

At the same time, charter board members – who might also be connected to investors or any of the myriad companies associated with the facilities, such as construction, law, or real estate – must successfully navigate potential conflicts of interest that, minimally, call into question how evenhandedly they can fill a neutral governance role at the respective charter school. Ultimately, the competence of even the most seemingly sophisticated of board members must be scrutinized; with a 15% failure rate of charters nationwide (more than 1,100 schools), and the overwhelming majority of those closed due to poor financial performance or

mismanagement (Consoletti, 2011), a substantial number of charter leaders may be lacking in even the most business-oriented aspects of school administration.⁴⁵

Future Research & Limitations of the Study

What is at risk if we place pro-market principles at the heart of teaching and learning? The 2008 financial crisis, the worst economic disaster since the Great Depression, was brought about by unfettered capitalism and hedge-betting financiers. What happened in that crisis and subsequent year is evidence of what could befall our educational system as an increasing share of our schools are put in those same hands. Public assets, including schools and teachers, which had already been restructured under the market-based agendas of No Child Left Behind and “Race to the Top,” paid a substantially high price in the form of austerity measures foisted onto the middle class. (Lipman, 2011). Additional similarities exist in terms of how those losses were socialized by taxpayers and how the financing mechanisms of educational markets such as charter facilities ultimately protect investors.

Conversion of public dollars and an invaluable public good into a private investment opportunity for financiers. Human capital development to prepare students for work rather than citizenship. Parents and students as consumers of education rather than creators and critical scholars. Unfortunately, the triumph of market rhetoric as the sole means of improving public education limits the agency of parents whose local schools are in dire need.

It is important to acknowledge the limitations of this study’s findings. Only 191 charters – those authorized as of January 2013 – are included in the dataset. For the 2017-2018 school year, 231 charters are authorized for operation across the five boroughs (NYC DOE). A substantial percentage of board member affiliations (15%) for the schools included could not be

⁴⁵ The failure rate in New York State is similarly high, with approximately 10% of the State’s charters closed or not reauthorized (Sahm, 2016).

identified. Although it is anticipated that the percentage of parents, teachers and community members included in that subset of unknown affiliations would be in keeping with the overall results, there is a chance it could be higher. The categorization of affiliations by type also introduces limitations. It is not inconceivable that a private foundation, for example, that has funded numerous charter schools, CMOs or charter advocacy organizations and is, therefore coded in my matrix as such is not also supporting parent-led charters or groups that are promoting more progressive educational causes. Finally, the relevant literature and the conceptual framework cannot adequately encompass all of the causes and consequences of charter board participation.

What can be avowed, however, is that many essential differences between the relatively narrow goals that business leaders have for public education and the broader, long-term aspirations of local communities are being played out at the school board level (Emery, 2002) and that, since many of the nation's wealthiest individuals and zealous defenders of pro-market reforms are governing NYC's charters, they are at the forefront of these types of negotiations. Future researchers may want to conduct interviews with NYC charter board members to learn more about their motivations, specific role in governance and whether/how they explicitly tap into their networks in their work with charters. Ongoing research is also needed in terms of understanding whether political contributions, conflicts of interest, and profiteering are occurring within the charter school landscape. The costs associated with this type of monitoring are high in terms of dollars, but critical in terms of faith.

Conclusion

Corporate players have been vocal about many of their goals with respect to public education, including encouraging efficiency, privatization and competition. They are less

focused on, or perhaps just less transparent about, the inevitable associated student, school and community outcomes when these are the top priorities. Some of these include encouraging an overreliance on public-private partnerships and short-term foundation funding at the expense of stable, tax-based solutions for public education; pitting communities and schools against one another in this progressively underfunded landscape; the transfer of an increasingly large portion of the \$700 billion annual budget for public education into private hands; dismantling teachers' unions and de-professionalizing their work; and increasing no-bid private consultancy arrangements and contracts. Perhaps most importantly, pro-market forces may deliver the final blow to the pedagogical principles and humanist teachings that best promote publicness; elites increasingly imply that "any curriculum not tied to basic literacy or numeracy as disposable or inappropriate" and view progressive education as "superfluous, complicating, and even threatening" (Michelli & Keiser, 2005, p. xix).

The nature of elite involvement in schools will continue to be complex, and the extent to which charter schools improve student learning will continue to be a matter of debate. As charters proliferate and while this debate carries on, however, one thing is clear: Too few parents, teachers and residents in charter neighborhoods have the opportunity to make meaningful contributions – beyond the minimum power offered by consumerism (Pedroni, 2007) – to their community schools.

Appendix 1: List of Charter Schools Included in Dataset, by Borough⁴⁶

- Total Number of Authorized Charters: 191
- Authorizers of approved charters:
 - NYSED Board of Regents (Board of Regents) – 15%
 - NYC-Department of Education (NYC-DoE) – 37%
 - State University of New York Board of Trustees (SUNY BoT) – 48%

Charter School Name	Years of Operation as of 2012-13	Authorizer
1. Academic Leadership Charter School	4	NYC-DoE
2. Boys Preparatory Charter School of New York	Authorized to open Fall 2014	SUNY BoT
3. Brilla College Preparatory Charter School	<1 - Opened Fall 2013	Board of Regents
4. Bronx Academy of Promise Charter School	5	NYC-DoE
5. Bronx Charter School for Better Learning	10	SUNY BoT
6. Bronx Charter School for Children	9	Board of Regents
7. Bronx Charter School for Excellence	9	SUNY BoT
8. Bronx Charter School for the Arts	10	Board of Regents
9. Bronx Community Charter School	5	NYC-DoE
10. Bronx Global Learning Institute for Girls Charter School	5	NYC-DoE
11. Bronx Lighthouse Charter School	9	NYC-DoE
12. Bronx Preparatory Charter School	12	SUNY BoT
13. Children's Aid Society Community Charter School	1	SUNY BoT
14. Dr. Richard Izquierdo Health and Science Charter School	3	NYC-DoE
15. Equality Charter School (The)	4	NYC-DoE
16. Family Life Academy Charter School	12	SUNY BoT

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- ⁴⁶ This list is adapted from the New York State Education Department's on-line *2013-2014 Charter School Directory*, which was downloaded from www.p12.nysed.gov on October 10, 2013. Highlighted by borough: Bronx (blue); Brooklyn (orange); Queens (yellow); Manhattan (green); Staten Island (grey).

Charter School Name	Years of Operation as of 2012-13	Authorizer
17. Family Life Academy Charter School II	1	SUNY BoT
18. Girls Preparatory Charter School of the Bronx	4	SUNY BoT
19. Grand Concourse Academy Charter School	9	SUNY BoT
20. Harriet Tubman Charter School	11	Board of Regents
21. Heketi Community Charter School	1	SUNY BoT
22. Hyde Leadership Charter School	7	NYC-Doe
23. Icahn Charter School 1	12	SUNY BoT
24. Icahn Charter School 2	6	SUNY BoT
25. Icahn Charter School 3	5	SUNY BoT
26. Icahn Charter School 4	4	SUNY BoT
27. Icahn Charter School 5	2	SUNY BoT
28. Icahn Charter School 6	1	SUNY BoT
29. Icahn Charter School 7	<1 - Opened Fall 2013	SUNY BoT
30. International Leadership Charter School	7	NYC-DoE
31. KIPP Academy Charter School	13	NYC-DoE
32. Metropolitan Lighthouse Charter School	3	NYC-DoE
33. Mott Hall Charter School	1	Board of Regents
34. Mott Haven Charter School	5	NYC-DoE
35. New Visions Charter High School for Advanced Math and Science	2	SUNY BoT
36. New Visions Charter High School for Advanced Math and Science II	1	Board of Regents
37. New Visions Charter High School for the Humanities	2	SUNY BoT
38. New Visions Charter High School for the Humanities II	1	Board of Regents
39. New York City Charter High School for Architecture, Engineering & Construction Industries	5	NYC-DoE
40. New York City Montessori Charter School	2	Board of

Charter School Name	Years of Operation as of 2012-13	Authorizer
		Regents
41. South Bronx Charter School for International Cultures and the Arts	8	NYC-DoE
42. South Bronx Classical Charter School	7	NYC-DoE
43. South Bronx Classical Charter School II	<1 - Opened Fall 2013	Board of Regents
44. Success Academy Charter School - Bronx 1*	3	SUNY BoT
45. Success Academy Charter School - Bronx 2*	3	SUNY BoT
46. Tech International Charter School	1	SUNY BoT
47. University Charter High School	5	SUNY BoT
48. Achievement First Apollo Charter School	3	SUNY BoT
49. Achievement First Aspire Charter School	<1 - Opened Fall 2013	SUNY BoT
50. Achievement First Brownsville Charter School	5	SUNY BoT
51. Achievement First Bushwick Charter School	7	SUNY BoT
52. Achievement First Central Brooklyn Charter School	Authorized to open Fall 2014	SUNY BoT
53. Achievement First Crown Heights Charter School	8	NYC-DoE
54. Achievement First East New York Charter School	8	NYC-DoE
55. Achievement First Endeavor Charter School	7	NYC-DoE
56. Bedford Stuyvesant Collegiate Charter School	5	SUNY BoT
57. Bedford Stuyvesant New Beginnings Charter School	3	NYC-DoE
58. Beginning with Children Charter School	12	NYC-DoE
59. Beginning with Children Charter School II	1	SUNY BoT
60. Brooklyn Ascend Charter School	5	NYC-DoE
61. Brooklyn Charter School	13	NYC-DoE
62. Brooklyn City Preparatory Charter School	Authorized to open Fall 2014	NYC-DoE
63. Brooklyn Dreams Charter School	3	SUNY BoT
64. Brooklyn East Collegiate Charter School	3	SUNY

Charter School Name	Years of Operation as of 2012-13	Authorizer
		BoT
65. Brooklyn Excelsior Charter School	10	SUNY BoT
66. Brooklyn Prospect Charter School	4	SUNY BoT
67. Brooklyn Scholars Charter School	4	NYC-DoE
68. Brooklyn Urban Garden Charter School	<1 - Opened Fall 2013	Board of Regents
69. Brownsville Ascend Charter School	4	NYC-DoE
70. Brownsville Collegiate Charter School	4	SUNY BoT
71. Bushwick Ascend Charter School	3	NYC-DoE
72. Canarsie Ascend Charter School	<1 - Opened Fall 2013	NYC-DoE
73. Citizens of the World Charter School New York 1	<1 - Opened Fall 2013	SUNY BoT
74. Citizens of the World Charter School New York 2	<1 - Opened Fall 2013	SUNY BoT
75. Community Partnership Charter School	13	SUNY BoT
76. Community Roots Charter School	7	NYC-DoE
77. Coney Island Preparatory Public Charter School	4	NYC-DoE
78. Cultural Arts Academy Charter School At Spring Creek	3	NYC-DoE
79. Ethical Community Charter School (The)	4	NYC-DoE
80. Excellence Boys Charter School of Bedford Stuyvesant	9	SUNY BoT
81. Excellence Girls Charter School	4	SUNY BoT
82. Explore Charter School	11	NYC-DoE
83. Explore Empower Charter School	4	NYC-DoE
84. Explore Enrich Charter School	Authorized to open Fall 2014	SUNY BoT
85. Explore Envision Charter School	Authorized to open Fall 2014	SUNY BoT
86. Explore Exceed Charter School	1	SUNY BoT
87. Explore Excel Charter School	2	SUNY BoT
88. Fahari Academy Charter School	4	NYC-DoE
89. Hebrew Language Academy Charter School	4	NYC-DoE
90. Hellenic Classical Charter School	8	NYC-DoE
91. Hyde Leadership Charter School - Brooklyn	3	NYC-DoE

Charter School Name	Years of Operation as of 2012-13	Authorizer
92. Imagine Me Leadership Charter School	3	NYC-DoE
93. Invictus Preparatory Charter School	2	SUNY BoT
94. Kings Collegiate Charter School	6	SUNY BoT
95. KIPP AMP Charter School	8	NYC-DoE
96. La Cima Charter School	5	Board of Regents
97. Launch Expeditionary Learning Charter School	1	Board of Regents
98. Leadership Preparatory Bedford Stuyvesant Charter School	7	SUNY BoT
99. Leadership Preparatory Brownsville Charter School	4	SUNY BoT
100. Leadership Preparatory Canarsie Charter School	<1 - Opened Fall 2013	SUNY BoT
101. Leadership Preparatory Ocean Hill Charter School	3	SUNY BoT
102. Lefferts Gardens Charter School	3	NYC-DoE
103. Math, Engineering, and Science Academy Charter High School	<1 - Opened Fall 2013	Board of Regents
104. New American Academy Charter School (The)	<1 - Opened Fall 2013	Board of Regents
105. New Dawn Charter High School	1	Board of Regents
106. New Hope Academy Charter School	3	SUNY BoT
107. New Visions Charter High School for Advanced Math and Science III ⁴⁷	<1 - Opened Fall 2013	Board of Regents
108. New Visions Charter High School for Advanced Math and Science IV	Authorized to open Fall 2014	Board of Regents
109. New Visions Charter High School for the Humanities III	<1 - Opened Fall 2013	Board of Regents
110. New Visions Charter High School for the	Authorized to open Fall	Board of

⁴⁷ The total number of New Visions Charter High Schools listed on the website are 8 (Advanced Math and Science I-IV and Humanities I-IV). All of those were not included in the NYSED 2013 list, so they have not been added here. All eight are included in the CMO/EMO list to reflect the total number of schools managed by New Visions for Public Schools in NYC, although the author notes that the eight schools individually listed on the website contradicts the New Visions “Our Schools” page statement: “Today, New Visions has a total of seven charter high schools open in the Bronx, Brooklyn, and Queens with a goal of opening 14 more over the next five to seven years.”

Charter School Name	Years of Operation as of 2012-13	Authorizer
Humanities IV	2014	Regents
111. Northside Charter High School	4	Board of Regents
112. Ocean Hill Collegiate Charter School	13	SUNY BoT
113. PAVE Academy Charter School	5	NYC-DoE
114. Roads Charter School I	1	SUNY BoT
115. Roads Charter School II	1	SUNY BoT
116. Success Academy Charter School - Bed Stuy 1*	2	SUNY BoT
117. Success Academy Charter School - Bed Stuy 2*	1	SUNY BoT
118. Success Academy Charter School - Brooklyn 5	<1 - Opened Fall 2013	SUNY BoT
119. Success Academy Charter School - Brooklyn 6	<1 - Opened Fall 2013	SUNY BoT
120. Success Academy Charter School - Brooklyn 7	<1 - Opened Fall 2013	SUNY BoT
121. Success Academy Charter School - Cobble Hill*	1	SUNY BoT
122. Success Academy Charter School - Williamsburg*	1	SUNY BoT
123. Summit Academy Charter School	4	NYC-DoE
124. Teaching Firms of America Professional Preparatory Charter School	2	NYC-DoE
125. UFT Charter School	8	SUNY BoT
126. Unity Preparatory Charter School of Brooklyn	<1 - Opened Fall 2013	Board of Regents
127. Urban Dove Charter School	1	Board of Regents
128. Williamsburg Ascend Charter School	Authorized to open Fall 2014	SUNY BoT
129. Williamsburg Charter High School	9	NYC-DoE
130. Williamsburg Collegiate Charter School	8	NYC-DoE
131. Academy of the City Charter School	2	SUNY BoT
132. Central Queens Academy Charter School	1	SUNY BoT
133. Challenge Preparatory Charter School	3	NYC-DoE
134. Growing up Green Charter School	4	NYC-DoE

Charter School Name	Years of Operation as of 2012-13	Authorizer
135. Merrick Academy - Queens Public Charter School	13	SUNY BoT
136. Middle Village Preparatory Charter School	<1 - Opened Fall 2013	SUNY BoT
137. Our World Neighborhood Charter School	11	SUNY BoT
138. Peninsula Preparatory Academy Charter School	9	NYC-DoE
139. Renaissance Charter School (The)	13	NYC-DoE
140. Riverton Street Charter School	3	NYC-DoE
141. Rochdale Early Advantage Charter School	3	NYC-DoE
142. VOICE Charter School of New York	5	NYC-DoE
143. Amber Charter School	13	SUNY BoT
144. Broome Street Academy Charter High School	2	SUNY BoT
145. Democracy Preparatory Charter School	7	NYC-DoE
146. Democracy Preparatory Charter School - Harlem	3	NYC-DoE
147. Democracy Preparatory Endurance Charter School	1	Board of Regents
148. Dream Charter School	5	NYC-DoE
149. East Harlem Scholars Academy Charter School	2	SUNY BoT
150. East Harlem Scholars Academy Charter School II	<1 - Opened Fall 2013	SUNY BoT
151. Equity Project Charter School (The)	4	NYC-DoE
152. Future Leaders Institute Charter School	8	NYC-DoE
153. Girls Preparatory Charter School of New York	8	SUNY BoT
154. Global Community Charter School	1	Board of Regents
155. Great Oaks Charter School	<1 - Opened Fall 2013	Board of Regents
156. Harbor Science and Arts Charter School	13	SUNY BoT
157. Harlem Children's Zone Promise Academy Charter School	9	NYC-DoE
158. Harlem Children's Zone Promise Academy II Charter School	8	NYC-DoE
159. Harlem Hebrew Language Academy Charter School	<1 - Opened Fall 2013	Board of Regents
160. Harlem Link Charter School	8	SUNY

Charter School Name	Years of Operation as of 2012-13	Authorizer
		BoT
161. Harlem Preparatory Charter School	8	SUNY BoT
162. Harlem Village Academy Charter School	10	SUNY BoT
163. Harlem Village Academy Leadership Charter School	8	SUNY BoT
164. Innovate Manhattan Charter School	2	SUNY BoT
165. Inwood Academy for Leadership Charter School	3	NYC-DoE
166. John V. Lindsay Wildcat Academy Charter School	13	NYC-DoE
167. KIPP Infinity Charter School	8	NYC- DoE
168. KIPP NYC Washington Heights Academy Charter School	1	Board of Regents
169. KIPP S.T.A.R College Preparatory Charter School	10	Board of Regents
170. Manhattan Charter School	8	NYC-DoE
171. Manhattan Charter School II	1	SUNY BoT
172. Neighborhood Charter School of Harlem (The)	1	Board of Regents
173. New Heights Academy Charter School	8	NYC-DoE
174. New York Center for Autism Charter School	8	NYC-DoE
175. New York French-American Charter School	3	NYC-DoE
176. Opportunity Charter School	9	NYC-DoE
177. Renaissance Charter High School for Innovation (The)	3	NYC-DoE
178. Sisulu-Walker Charter School of Harlem	14	SUNY BoT
179. St. Hope Leadership Academy Charter School	5	NYC-DoE
180. Success Academy Charter School - Harlem 1	7	SUNY BoT*
181. Success Academy Charter School - Harlem 2	5	SUNY BoT
182. Success Academy Charter School - Harlem 3	5	SUNY BoT
183. Success Academy Charter School - Harlem 4	5	SUNY BoT
184. Success Academy Charter School - Harlem 5	3	SUNY BoT

Charter School Name	Years of Operation as of 2012-13	Authorizer
185. Success Academy Charter School - Manhattan 1	<1 - Opened Fall 2013	SUNY BoT
186. Success Academy Charter School - Manhattan 2	<1 - Opened Fall 2013	SUNY BoT
187. Success Academy Charter School - Manhattan 3	<1 - Opened Fall 2013	SUNY BoT
188. Success Academy Charter School - Upper West*	2	SUNY BoT
189. John W. Lavelle Preparatory Charter School	4	NYC-DoE
190. New World Preparatory Charter School	3	SUNY BoT
191. Staten Island Community Charter School	3	NYC-DoE

Appendix 2: NYC Charter Schools List, with CMO/EMO and Number of Board Members⁴⁸

Charter School Name	Management Company	Number of Charter Board Members
Academic Leadership Charter School	No CMO identified	10
Academy of the City Charter	No CMO identified	8
Achievement First Apollo Charter School	Achievement First, Inc.	6
Achievement First Aspire Charter School	Achievement First, Inc.	10
Achievement First Brownsville Charter School	Achievement First, Inc.	7
Achievement First Bushwick Charter School	Achievement First, Inc.	5
Achievement First Central Brooklyn Charter School ⁴⁹	Achievement First, Inc.	Unknown ⁵⁰
Achievement First Crown Heights Charter School	Achievement First, Inc.	7
Achievement First East New York Charter School	Achievement First, Inc.	7
Achievement First Endeavor Charter School	Achievement First, Inc.	7
Amber Charter	No CMO identified	15
Bedford Stuyvesant Collegiate Charter School	Uncommon Schools, Inc.	9
Bedford Stuyvesant New Beginnings Charter School	No CMO identified	9
Beginning with Children Charter School	Beginning with Children Foundation	7
Beginning with Children Charter School II	Beginning with Children Foundation	7
Boys Preparatory Charter School of New York	Public Preparatory Network, Inc.	7
Brilla College Preparatory Charter School	No CMO identified Physical address listed on tax form in San Francisco.	7

⁴⁸ The most recent NYSED directory available as of March 2014 that included EMO/CMO information was updated on February 8, 2012 (Available at <http://www.p12.nysed.gov/psc/documents/rptRoloWEB02-08-2012.pdf>). I confirmed and/or supplemented that, as needed, via additional sources that include individual charter websites, tax forms, and EMO/CMO websites.

⁴⁹ Appears to have been renamed Achievement First North Brooklyn Prep Elementary School as per charter website – opened in 2014.

⁵⁰ Board members for this school could not be identified during the study period.

Charter School Name	Management Company	Number of Charter Board Members
Bronx Academy of Promise Charter School	Imagine Schools	5
Bronx Charter School for Better Learning	No CMO identified	10
Bronx Charter School for Children	No CMO identified	9
Bronx Charter School for Excellence	No CMO identified	17
Bronx Charter School for the Arts	No CMO identified	12
Bronx Community Charter School	No CMO identified	10
Bronx Global Learning Institute for Girls Charter School	Victory Education Partners (formerly Victory Schools, Inc.)	9
Bronx Lighthouse Charter School	Lighthouse Academies, Inc.	8
Bronx Preparatory Charter School	No CMO identified	17
Brooklyn Ascend Charter School (BACS)	Ascend Learning, Inc.	7
Brooklyn Charter School	No CMO identified	6
Brooklyn City Preparatory Charter School	City Prep Academies	N/A ⁵¹
Brooklyn Dreams Charter School	National Heritage Academies, Inc.	8
Brooklyn East Collegiate Charter School	Uncommon Schools, Inc.	9
Brooklyn Excelsior Charter School	National Heritage Academies, Inc.	6
Brooklyn Prospect Charter School	No CMO identified	9
Brooklyn Scholars Charter School	National Heritage Academies, Inc.	6
Brooklyn Urban Garden Charter School	No CMO identified	9
Broome Street Academy Charter High School	No CMO identified	13
Brownsville Ascend Charter School	Ascend Learning, Inc.	7
Brownsville Collegiate Charter School	Uncommon Schools, Inc.	9
Bushwick Ascend Charter School ^{*52}	Ascend Learning, Inc.	7
Canarsie Ascend Charter School *	Ascend Learning, Inc.	7
Central Queens Academy Charter School	No CMO identified	9
Challenge Preparatory Charter School	No CMO identified	9
Children's Aid Society Community Charter	No CMO identified	8

⁵¹ Brooklyn City Preparatory Charter School was included on the 2013-2014 list of charter schools with a statement that it was scheduled to open in fall 2014. The organization that was to have managed this charter was the for-profit City Prep Academies, launched by Tom Vander Ark, a former Gates Foundation leader. It was financed with \$1.5 million in venture funding from Revolution Learning, which Vander Ark also ran. The school never opened and Vander Ark abandoned the project, the public school space that had been designated for his school and at least 150 eighth graders who had applied (Phillips, 2011).

⁵² An asterisk is used throughout to note boards that govern more than one charter.

Charter School Name	Management Company	Number of Charter Board Members
School		
Citizens of the World Charter School New York 1*	Citizens of the World Charter Schools	5
Citizens of the World Charter School New York 2*	Citizens of the World Charter Schools	5
Community Partnership Charter School	No CMO identified	7
Community Roots Charter School	No CMO identified	12
Coney Island Preparatory Public Charter School	No CMO identified	9
Cultural Arts Academy Charter School at Spring Creek	No CMO identified	9
Democracy Preparatory Charter School	Democracy Prep Public Schools	13
Democracy Preparatory Charter School - Harlem	Democracy Prep Public Schools	12
Democracy Preparatory Endurance Charter	Democracy Prep Public Schools	9
Dr. Richard Izquierdo Health and Science Charter School	No CMO identified	9
Dream Charter School	Harlem RBI	7
East Harlem Scholars Academy Charter School*	East Harlem Tutorial Program (EHTP)	8
East Harlem Scholars Academy Charter School II*	East Harlem Tutorial Program (EHTP)	8
Equality Charter School (The)	No CMO identified	8
Equity Project Charter School (The)	No CMO identified	6
Ethical Community Charter School	No CMO identified	9
Excellence Boys Charter School of Bedford Stuyvesant*	Uncommon Schools, Inc.	13
Excellence Girls Charter School*	Uncommon Schools, Inc.	13
Explore Charter School*	Explore Schools, Inc.	8
Explore Empower Charter School*	Explore Schools, Inc.	8
Explore Enrich Charter School	Explore Schools, Inc.	N/A ⁵³
Explore Envision Charter School	Explore Schools, Inc.	N/A
Explore Exceed Charter School*	Explore Schools, Inc.	5
Explore Excel Charter School*	Explore Schools, Inc.	5
Fahari Academy Charter School	No CMO identified	5
Family Life Academy Charter School	No CMO identified	11
Family Life Academy Charter School II	No CMO identified	5

⁵³ Explore Enrich and Envision were not yet operational when board lists were developed.

Charter School Name	Management Company	Number of Charter Board Members
Future Leaders Institute Charter School	No CMO identified	11
Girls Preparatory Charter School of New York	Public Preparatory Network, Inc.	4
Girls Preparatory Charter School of the Bronx	Public Preparatory Network, Inc.	5
Global Community Charter School	No CMO identified	5
Grand Concourse Academy Charter School	Victory Education Partners (formerly Victory Schools, Inc.)	6
Great Oaks Charter School	Great Oaks Foundation	6
Growing Up Green Charter School	No CMO identified	5
Harbor Science and Arts Charter School	No CMO identified	10
Harlem Children’s Zone Promise Academy Charter School*	Harlem Children’s Zone, Inc.	18
Harlem Children’s Zone Promise Academy II Charter School*	Harlem Children’s Zone, Inc.	18
Harlem Hebrew Language Academy Charter School	National Center for Hebrew Language Charter School Excellence and Development, Inc.	11
Harlem Link Charter School	No CMO identified	10
Harlem Preparatory Charter School*	No CMO identified	12
Harlem Village Academy Charter School*	Village Academies, Inc.	7
Harlem Village Academy Leadership Charter School*	Village Academies, Inc.	7
Harriet Tubman Charter School	Edison Schools, Inc./Learn Now, Inc.	11
Hebrew Language Academy Charter School	National Center for Hebrew Language Charter School Excellence and Development, Inc.	9
Heketi Community Charter School	No CMO identified	12
Hellenic Classical Charter School	No CMO identified	9
Hyde Leadership Charter School	Hyde Leadership Schools	7
Hyde Leadership Charter School - Brooklyn	Hyde Leadership Schools	5
Icahn Charter School #1	Foundation for a Greater Opportunity ⁵⁴	9

⁵⁴ From www.ica hncharterschools.org: “In 2000, Foundation for a Greater Opportunity, a foundation funded by Carl C. Icahn, applied to open a charter elementary school in the South Bronx. The application, in partnership with CEI-PEA, was submitted to SUNY’s Charter Schools Institute, which approved the charter in March 2001.”

Charter School Name	Management Company	Number of Charter Board Members
Icahn Charter School #2	Foundation for a Greater Opportunity	5
Icahn Charter School #3	Foundation for a Greater Opportunity	7
Icahn Charter School #4	Foundation for a Greater Opportunity	7
Icahn Charter School #5	Foundation for a Greater Opportunity	5
Icahn Charter School #6	Foundation for a Greater Opportunity	Unknown
Icahn Charter School #7	Foundation for a Greater Opportunity	Unknown
Imagine Me Leadership Charter School	No CMO identified	6
Innovate Manhattan Charter School	No CMO identified (slated for closure in 2015)	5
International Leadership Charter School	No CMO identified	6
Invictus Preparatory Charter School	No CMO identified	8
Inwood Academy for Leadership Charter School	No CMO identified	10
John V. Lindsay Wildcat Academy Charter School	No CMO identified	9
John W. Lavelle Preparatory Charter School	No CMO identified	11
Kings Collegiate Charter School*	Uncommon Schools, Inc.	9
KIPP Academy Charter School	KIPP, NYC, LLC (as identified on NYSED doc)	9
KIPP Always Mentally Prepared (AMP) School	KIPP, NYC, LLC	9
KIPP Infinity Charter School	KIPP NYC, LLC	6
KIPP NYC Washington Heights Academy Charter	KIPP NYC, LLC	9
KIPP S.T.A.R. College Prep Charter School (now KIPP STAR Harlem College Prep Elementary)	KIPP NYC, LLC	5
La Cima Charter School	No CMO identified	8
Launch Expeditionary Learning Charter School	No CMO identified	6
Leadership Preparatory Bedford Stuyvesant Charter School*	Uncommon Schools, Inc.	13
Leadership Preparatory Brownsville Charter School*	Uncommon Schools, Inc.	13
Leadership Preparatory Canarsie Charter School*	Uncommon Schools, Inc.	13

Charter School Name	Management Company	Number of Charter Board Members
Leadership Preparatory Ocean Hill Charter School*	Uncommon Schools, Inc.	13
Lefferts Gardens Charter School	No CMO identified	7
Manhattan Charter School*	No CMO identified	9
Manhattan Charter School II*	No CMO identified	9
Math, Engineering, and Science Academy Charter High School	No CMO identified	9
Merrick Academy - Queens Public Charter School	Victory Education Partners (formerly Victory Schools, Inc.)	7
Middle Village Preparatory Charter School	No CMO identified	11
Metropolitan Lighthouse Charter School	Lighthouse Academies, Inc.	9
Mott Hall Charter School	Replications, Inc.	9
Mott Haven Academy Charter School	No CMO identified	5
Neighborhood Charter School of Harlem	No CMO identified	12
New American Academy Charter School (The)	No CMO identified	6
New Dawn Charter High School	No CMO identified	6
New Heights Academy Charter School	No CMO identified	10
New Hope Academy Charter School	Victory Education Partners (formerly Victory Schools, Inc.)	8
New Visions Charter High School for Advanced Math and Science	New Visions for Public Schools	9
New Visions Charter High School for Advanced Math and Science II	New Visions for Public Schools	7
New Visions Charter High School for Advanced Math and Science III*	New Visions for Public Schools	5
New Visions Charter High School for Advanced Math and Science IV	New Visions for Public Schools	Unknown
New Visions Charter High School for the Humanities	New Visions for Public Schools	9
New Visions Charter High School for the Humanities II	New Visions for Public Schools	7
New Visions Charter High School for the Humanities III*	New Visions for Public Schools	5
New Visions Charter High School for the Humanities IV	New Visions for Public Schools	Unknown
New World Preparatory Charter School	Victory Education Partners (formerly Victory Schools, Inc.)	9
New York Center for Autism Charter	No CMO identified	16

Charter School Name	Management Company	Number of Charter Board Members
School		
New York City Charter High School for Architecture, Eng. & Construction Industries	Victory Education Partners (formerly Victory Schools, Inc.)	5
New York City Montessori Charter School	No CMO identified	7
New York French-American Charter School	No CMO identified	9
Ocean Hill Collegiate Charter School*	Uncommon Schools, Inc.	8
Northside Charter High School (originally chartered as Believe Northside Charter High School)	No CMO identified (formerly Believe High School Network, Inc.)	9
Opportunity Charter School	No CMO identified	8
Our World Neighborhood Charter School	No CMO identified	8
PAVE Academy Charter School	No CMO identified, but affiliated with Friends of PAVE Academy Charter School (FOP)	7
Peninsula Preparatory Academy Charter School	Victory Education Partners (formerly Victory Schools, Inc.)	6
Renaissance Charter High School for Innovation	No CMO identified	10
Renaissance Charter School	No CMO identified	8
Riverton Street Charter School	National Heritage Academies	6
Roads Charter School I	No CMO identified	13
Roads Charter School II	No CMO identified	13
Rochdale Early Advantage Charter School	No CMO identified	4
Sisulu-Walker Charter School of Harlem	Victory Education Partners (formerly Victory Schools, Inc.)	7
South Bronx Charter School for International Cultures and the Arts	Victory Education Partners (formerly Victory Schools, Inc.)	6
South Bronx Classical Charter School	No CMO identified	9
South Bronx Classical Charter School II	No CMO identified	9
St. Hope Leadership Academy Charter School	No CMO identified	9
Staten Island Community Charter School ⁵⁵	No CMO identified	6

⁵⁵ DOE indicated it will close after June 2016, but charter website indicated lottery open for 2016-2017 school year.

Charter School Name	Management Company	Number of Charter Board Members
Success Academy Charter School - Bronx 1* ⁵⁶	Success Network, Inc.	13
Success Academy Charter School - Bronx 2*	Success Network, Inc.	13
Success Academy Charter School - Bed Stuy 1*	Success Network, Inc.	13
Success Academy Charter School - Bed Stuy 2*	Success Network, Inc.	13
Success Academy Charter School - Brooklyn 5*	Success Network, Inc.	13
Success Academy Charter School - Brooklyn 6*	Success Network, Inc.	13
Success Academy Charter School - Brooklyn 7*	Success Network, Inc.	13
Success Academy Charter School - Cobble Hill*	Success Network, Inc.	13
Success Academy Charter School – Williamsburg*	Success Network, Inc.	13
Success Academy Charter School - Harlem 1*	Success Network, Inc.	13
Success Academy Charter School - Harlem 2*	Success Network, Inc.	13
Success Academy Charter School - Harlem 3*	Success Network, Inc.	13
Success Academy Charter School - Harlem 4*	Success Network, Inc.	13
Success Academy Charter School - Harlem 5*	Success Network, Inc.	13
Success Academy Charter School - Manhattan 1*	Success Network, Inc.	13
Success Academy Charter School - Manhattan 2*	Success Network, Inc.	13
Success Academy Charter School - Manhattan 3*	Success Network, Inc.	13
Success Academy Charter School - Upper West*	Success Network, Inc.	13
Summit Academy Charter School	No CMO identified	7

⁵⁶ Success Academy Charter Schools are listed differently in the two complete NYSED charter documents used for this study. The January 2013 NYSED document lists 18 Success Academy charters as having been authorized; all 18 are included in this list, as named in the 2013 document.

Charter School Name	Management Company	Number of Charter Board Members
Teaching Firms of America Professional Preparatory Charter School	No CMO identified	7
Tech International Charter School	No CMO identified	6
UFT Charter School	No CMO identified CLOSED (elementary and middle schools; high school remains open.	14
Unity Preparatory Charter School of Brooklyn	No CMO identified	8
University Prep Charter High School (formerly Green Dot New York Charter School)	No CMO identified (formerly Green Dot Public Schools)	5
Urban Dove Charter School	No CMO identified	10
VOICE Charter School of New York	No CMO identified	14
Williamsburg Ascend Charter School	Ascend Learning, Inc.*	6
Williamsburg Charter High School	No CMO identified	8
Williamsburg Collegiate Charter School	Uncommon Schools, Inc.	9

Appendix 3: Organizational Connections & Type

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP	5	ACC
Sabal & Associates	1	ACC
Thompson & Company	1	ACC
1199 - Healthcare Education Project	1	ASSOC
American Federation of Teachers	11	ASSOC
Association of Magazine Media	1	ASSOC
Beatrix Farrand Garden Association	1	ASSOC
Coalition for the Improvement of Bedford-Stuyvesant	1	ASSOC
Council of School Supervisors & Administrators	9	ASSOC
Council on Competitiveness	9	ASSOC
Democratic Leadership for the 21st Century	1	ASSOC
Democratic State Committee Member	1	ASSOC
Family Support & Resources' Board	1	ASSOC
International Communications Association	1	ASSOC
Levo League	19	ASSOC
National Advocates for Pregnant Women	1	ASSOC
National Black MBA Association	1	ASSOC
National Cable & Telecommunications Association	3	ASSOC
New Jersey Chapter of the NBMBA	1	ASSOC
New York Academy of Public Education	1	ASSOC
New York State Association for Affordable Housing	3	ASSOC
New York State Association of Supervision and Curriculum Development	1	ASSOC
New York State Coalition for School Based Health Centers	1	ASSOC
New York State United Teachers (NYSUT)	1	ASSOC
NFL Players Association	2	ASSOC
NYC Youth Funders Network	2	ASSOC
Ridgewood-Bushwick Senior Citizens Council, Inc.	1	ASSOC
The Long Island Association	5	ASSOC
The NanoBusiness Alliance	1	ASSOC

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
UJA Federation of New York	8	ASSOC
United Federation Of Teachers	8	ASSOC
Yorkville Youth Athletic Association	1	ASSOC
Red Hook East Tenants Association	1	ASSOC
Producers Guild of America	3	ASSOC-ARTS
Caribbean American Chamber of Commerce	1	ASSOC-BUS
United States Elect Chamber of Commerce	1	ASSOC-BUS
Park Slope Chamber of Commerce	1	ASSOC-BUS
New York Lawyers for the Public Interest	1	ASSOC-LAW
Richmond County Bar Association Board of Directors	1	ASSOC-LAW
Pension Real Estate Association	2	ASSOC-RE
50CAN, the 50-State Campaign for Achievement Now	12	CAO
National Association of Charter School Authorizers	16	CAO
New Schools for New Orleans	10	CAO
Partnership for Innovation in Compensation for Charter Schools	1	CAO
CWC (Citizens of the World) Hollywood	3	CH
Achievement First East New York Charter School	1	CH
Amani Public Charter School	1	CH
Amber Charter School	1	CH
Amistad Academy Charter School	13	CH
Bronx Community Charter School	13	CH
Brooklyn Prospect Charter School	13	CH
Community Charter School of Cambridge	1	CH
Explore Charter Schools	1	CH
Family Life Academy Charter	3	CH
Girls Prep Bronx Elementary	1	CH
Girls Prep Charter Lower East Side	1	CH
Great Oaks Charter School	1	CH
Harbor Science and Arts Charter School	1	CH
Harlem Children's Zone/Promise Academy Charter School	10	CH
Harlem Hebrew Charter School	1	CH
Harlem Village Academies	4	CH

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
Hellenic Classical Charter School (HCCS)	1	CH
Hyde Leadership Charter School, Bronx	1	CH
JVL Wildcat Academy Charter School	2	CH
KIPP AMP	5	CH
KIPP Dallas Fort Worth	1	CH
KIPP Infinity	2	CH
Leadership Prep Brownsville Charter School	1	CH
Leadership Prep Charter School	2	CH
Lighthouse Community Charter School	1	CH
Manhattan Charter School	5	CH
Manhattan Charter School II	2	CH
Middle Village Preparatory Charter School	1	CH
Mott Hall Science and Technology Academy	1	CH
Mott Hall V Middle School	1	CH
Mott Haven Academy Charter School	1	CH
New Visions charter schools	1	CH
New York French-American Charter School	1	CH
North Star Academy Charter School (Newark)	13	CH
PAVE Academy Charter School	1	CH
Peninsula Preparatory Academy Charter	1	CH
Riverton Street Charter School	1	CH
ROADS Charter High School	4	CH
Success Academy Charter Schools	4	CH
Wildcat Academy	1	CH
Achievement First Brooklyn High School	3	CH
Bronx Charter School for Better Learning	1	CH
Brooklyn City Preparatory Charter School	1	CH
Dream Charter School	4	CH
Renaissance Charter School	5	CH
Southwest Detroit Lighthouse Charter Academy	1	CH
Success Academy Charter School Bronx 1	1	CH
Uncommon Charter High School	1	CH
University Prep New York Charter School	1	CH
William Penn Charter School	1	CH
Ascend Learning, Inc.	8	CMO

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
Beginning with Children	10	CMO
Democracy Prep Public Schools	8	CMO
East Harlem Tutorial Program	1	CMO
Explore Schools, Inc.	8	CMO
Foundation for a Greater Opportunity	9	CMO
Great Oaks Foundation	2	CMO
Green Dot Public Schools	1	CMO
Harlem Children's Zone	7	CMO
Harlem RBI	3	CMO
Hebrew Charter School Center/National Center for Hebrew Language Charter School Excellence and Development, Inc.	5	CMO
KIPP NYC, Inc.	7	CMO
Lighthouse Academies, Inc.	2	CMO
Making Waves Academy	38	CMO
New Visions for Public Schools	18	CMO
Success Academy Network	14	CMO
Uncommon Schools	40	CMO
Victory Education Partners	1	CMO
Public Preparatory Network	1	CMO
SA-NYC Board of Directors	1	CMO
Community Board 1, Staten Island	2	COMM
Brissett & Associates	1	CONS
CMK Select	1	CONS
Consulting Group of JH Cohn LLP	1	CONS
Coronado Consultants	1	CONS
DeloitteServices LP	2	CONS
Ervin Consulting Services	2	CONS
Fireball Network	1	CONS
Harambee Solutions	6	CONS
KPMG	1	CONS
McKinsey & Company	3	CONS
Mercer	2	CONS
Michael Karp Advisory Services	1	CONS
MIM Consulting Services, Inc.	1	CONS
Opportunities Development Group, LLC	1	CONS
Premier Business Consulting, Inc.	1	CONS

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
Steve Hall & Partners	1	CONS
Strategic Admissions Advice, LLC	1	CONS
Stratex Management Consulting	13	CONS
Teneo Holdings	19	CONS
The Boston Consulting Group (BCG)	5	CONS
The Chartis Group	1	CONS
The Cole Group	1	CONS
The Cue Group	4	CONS
Bain & Company	18	CONS-CH
Beanstalk group	1	CONS-CH
Growth for Good	2	CONS-CH
New Heights Analytics	1	CONS-CH
WhatIf!	2	CORP
220 Victory Corporation	1	CORP
A&P	2	CORP
Abernathy McGregor Group	5	CORP
Accelerated Oil Technologies	1	CORP
Accenture International	5	CORP
Addeco USA	4	CORP
Alicart Restaurant Group	1	CORP
American Property Investors, Inc.	13	CORP
American Railcar Industries, Inc.	13	CORP
ANN Inc.	1	CORP
Antares Venture Solutions	1	CORP
Ark Restaurant Corp.	1	CORP
Assura Group of New York	19	CORP
AXA Equitable	1	CORP
Barrio Foods LLC	1	CORP
Bayonne Water JV	1	CORP
Becker Professional Education	4	CORP
Best Buy Co., Inc.	5	CORP
Blockbuster, Inc.	12	CORP
Bloomberg LP	1	CORP
Broad Market Media LLC	1	CORP
Brooklyn Nets	1	CORP
Cabela's Corporation	5	CORP
Cambridge Leadership Associates (CLA)	5	CORP

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
CampGroup Family of Camps	1	CORP
Carnival Corporation	1	CORP
Centers for Research on Creativity (CRoC)	2	CORP
ClaroLux Landscape Lighting	1	CORP
COACH Inc.	1	CORP
Colgate-Palmolive Co.	9	CORP
Cumulus Media, Inc.	18	CORP
Delaware Express Co.	1	CORP
Empire State Development Corp.	2	CORP
Energy Future Holdings	1	CORP
F. Schumacher & Co.	1	CORP
Federal Express	1	CORP
Fingerhut Management Corporation	1	CORP
Fortune Creek Midstream	1	CORP
GA Services LLC	19	CORP
Gap, Inc.	1	CORP
GAS Finance LLC	19	CORP
Geeknet, Inc.	4	CORP
General Electric	7	CORP
Global Corporate Services	1	CORP
Global Travel Marketing	12	CORP
GPS For Management	1	CORP
Harley-Davidson, Inc.	5	CORP
Harmonie Club of New York City	1	CORP
Heidrick & Struggles	9	CORP
Heyman Associates	2	CORP
Home Concepts, Inc.	1	CORP
ideas42	9	CORP
IdeaSphere Inc.	1	CORP
jchoice.org	2	CORP
Katya, Inc., fashion	1	CORP
KH Designs	1	CORP
LaGuerre Office Support Services	1	CORP
LLC Steadfast Marine Construction LLC	19	CORP
Lowestfare.com	12	CORP
Macy's	1	CORP
Manhattan GMAT	1	CORP

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
Marcus Samuelsson Group	1	CORP
McGraw Hill Corporation	1	CORP
MetLife	3	CORP
MSBphilanthropy Advisors, LLC	1	CORP
New York Yankees	2	CORP
NYC & Co.	1	CORP
OR International LLC	1	CORP
Lingo Ventures	1	CORP
PepsiCo, Inc.	5	CORP
Plum Creek Timber Company	19	CORP
Purdue Pharma	13	CORP
Ramtron International Corporation	1	CORP
RDO Equipment Co.	4	CORP
Red Rooster Restaurant (Harlem)	1	CORP
Rpr Marketing Communications	19	CORP
Samson Resources	1	CORP
Shadow Group	1	CORP
Solaire Generation	1	CORP
Solvay	1	CORP
Sony Corporation of America	2	CORP
SOS Security LLC	1	CORP
Springboard Enterprises	18	CORP
Staples	1	CORP
The Estee Lauder Companies	2	CORP
The Travelers Companies	5	CORP
Triad Retail Media LLC	1	CORP
U.S. Display Group	1	CORP
Unilever	1	CORP
Vertex Business Services NA	1	CORP
Village Cake Craft LLC	1	CORP
weeSpring	9	CORP
Westbrick Energy	1	CORP
Yahoo! Inc.	1	CORP
Young & Rubicam	1	CORP
The Navigators Group, Inc.	1	CORP
Access America Prep Programs, LLC	1	CORP
Advantage Testing Foundation	1	CORP

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
New York Mets	2	CORP
Dinex Group	2	CORP
Koo New York	1	CORP-ARTS
Institute for Student Achievement	3	CORP-CH
Amplify Education	20	CORP-CH
Circumventure	1	CORP-CH
Edison Schools Learning Institute	2	CORP-CH
Executive Leadership Council (ELC)	2	CORP-CH
Home Depot	2	CORP-CH
Hunter Group, LLC	2	CORP-CH
JPS Solutions	1	CORP-CH
Kaplan Educational Foundation/Kaplan K12 Learning Services	2	CORP-CH
Kitamba, Inc.	2	CORP-CH
Leveraging Leaders	1	CORP-CH
Schoolnet-Pearson, (acquired by Pearson)	2	CORP-CH
Tugboat Education Services	2	CORP-CH
Urban Education Exchange	1	CORP-CH
Zearn	6	CORP-CH
Catapult Learning	2	CORP-CH
University Ventures	1	CORP-ICT
Loci Architecture PC	1	FAC
Architect and urban planner	1	FAC
Zubatkin Owner Representation, LLC	2	FAC
Abbell Credit Corporation	2	FAC
AIG Global Real Estate	1	FAC
Bedford Stuyvesant Real Estate Board	1	FAC
Brookfield Properties Corporation	1	FAC
Brown Harris Stevens	1	FAC
Brown Rudnick LLP	1	FAC
CB Richard Ellis Commercial Real Estate	1	FAC
CC Strategies	1	FAC
Coldwell Banker Kueber Realty	1	FAC
Community Development Trust – CDT	1	FAC
Copper Hill Development	1	FAC

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
Council of Urban Real Estate C.U.R.E., formerly African American Real Estate Professionals of New York	1	FAC
Dafnonas Estates, Ltd., real estate	1	FAC
First Nationwide Title Agency, LLC	1	FAC
Guad Contracting, Inc.	1	FAC
Heddings Property Group	1	FAC
Higgins Group LLC	2	FAC
Houlihan Lawrence	1	FAC
Peninsula Properties Realty	1	FAC
Real Estate Board of the State of New York	6	FAC
Starrett Companies LLC	1	FAC
The Stahl Organization	1	FAC
Vantage Properties, LLC	1	FAC
Jones Lang LaSalle	4	FAC-CH
Civic Builders	2	FAC-CH
DBI Construction Consultants	2	FAC-CH
The Georgetown Company	1	FAC-CH
The Hudson Companies/The Related Companies, Inc./Hudson Yards	4	FAC-CH
Perkins Eastman	4	FAC-CH
The Decurion Corporation	3	FAC-CH
Works-in-Progress	1	FAC-CH
Newmark Knight Frank	2	FAC-CH
1000 Congregations for Economic Justice	1	FB
Blue Nile Passage, Inc.	5	FB
Bronx Clergy Task Force	1	FB
Caribbean American Clergy Coalition	1	FB
Christian Cultural Center	1	FB
Churches United to Save and Heal (CUSH)	1	FB
Far Rockaway Community Church of the Nazarene	1	FB
First Corinthian Baptist Church in Harlem	1	FB
Health Care Chaplaincy Network	1	FB
National Latino Evangelical Association	1	FB
New Covenant Community Development Corporation	1	FB
New Hope Christian Fellowship	1	FB

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
Reverend, Promised Land Covenant Church	2	FB
St. Bartholomew Church	3	FB
St. Paul Community Baptist Church	1	FB
Temple Shaaray Tefila	1	FB
Abyssinian Baptist Church in the City of New York	8	FB-CH
Latino Pastoral Action Center	2	FB-CH
De Kay Foundation	1	FDN
Edna McConnell Clark Foundation	9	FDN
Edward And Kinga Lampert Foundation	5	FDN
English College Foundation	1	FDN
Evan's Team Foundation	1	FDN
Irvington Education Foundation	2	FDN
Jewish Funders Network	3	FDN
John F. Kennedy Library Foundation	5	FDN
Leif Nissen Foundation	1	FDN
Nduna Foundation (formerly Amy L. Robbins Foundation) Africa; and encouraging and empowering others	2	FDN
North American Foundation for the University of Leeds	1	FDN
REIVIM-Fund for the Jewish Future	2	FDN
Sohn Conference Foundation	1	FDN
The Annenberg Foundation	2	FDN
Touch Foundation	1	FDN
Van Ameringen Foundation	1	FDN
The Simons Foundation	1	FDN
Open Society Foundations	1	FDN
Irvington Education Foundation	2	FDN
Jackie Robinson Foundation	2	FDN
Robert Wood Johnson Foundation	9	FDN
Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation	2	FDN
Excellence Academies Foundation, Inc.	9	FDN-CH
Alice M And Thomas J Tisch Foundation Inc	6	FDN-CH
Amy and Larry Robbins Foundation	2	FDN-CH
Big Wood Foundation	1	FDN-CH
Blue Ridge Foundation	11	FDN-CH

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
Bouncer Foundation	10	FDN-CH
The Broad Foundation	18	FDN-CH
Brooklyn Community Foundation	3	FDN-CH
Carnegie Corporation of New York	10	FDN-CH
Carroll and Milton Petrie Foundation	9	FDN-CH
Carson Family Charitable Trust	2	FDN-CH
Daniel L. Nir and Jill. E Braufman Family Foundation	18	FDN-CH
DiMenna Foundation	2	FDN-CH
Gattegno Foundation for Education	1	FDN-CH
Hollyhock Foundation	12	FDN-CH
John and Amy Griffin Foundation	8	FDN-CH
Kirsh Charitable Foundation	3	FDN-CH
Kovner Foundation	18	FDN-CH
Oak Foundation	2	FDN-CH
OWN Foundation	2	FDN-CH
Philanthropy New York	1	FDN-CH
The Robin Hood Foundation	31	FDN-CH
Samberg Family Foundation	3	FDN-CH
Steinhardt Foundation for Jewish Life	3	FDN-CH
The Carroll and Milton Petrie Foundation	1	FDN-CH
The JW Foundation	4	FDN-CH
Tiger Foundation	1	FDN-CH
Tortora Sillcox Family Foundation	1	FDN-CH
WKBJ Foundation	33	FDN-CH
Zeldin Family Foundation	1	FDN-CH
Philanthropy Roundtable	1	FDN-CH
Tradeweb Markets LLC	1	FIN
GreenOak Real Estate Advisors, LP	2	FIN
360 Capital Management	1	FIN
Acadia Woods Partners, LLC	2	FIN
Accretive Health	1	FIN
AEP Capital LLC	1	FIN
AG Mortgage Investment Trust, Inc.	1	FIN
Allen and Company	2	FIN
Allianz	1	FIN
American Express	12	FIN

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
Apollo Global Management	18	FIN
Athilon Structured Investment Advisors, LLC	1	FIN
Banco Espirito Santo S.A.	2	FIN
Bank of America Merrill Lynch	3	FIN
Barclays Capital	16	FIN
Berkshire Realty Ventures	1	FIN
BNP Paribas Securities Corp.	2	FIN
BNY Mellon Wealth Management	1	FIN
Brixton Partners LLC	3	FIN
Brown Brothers Harriman & Co.	1	FIN
Burnett Taylor Consulting	1	FIN
Cantor Fitzgerald	8	FIN
Capital Formation Group	1	FIN
Capital Group	1	FIN
Castleline Holdings	19	FIN
Centerbridge Partners, L.P.	8	FIN
Centerview Partners, LLC	8	FIN
Chilton Investment Company, LLC	3	FIN
Citigroup/Citigroup-Smith Barney	11	FIN
Coburn Greenberg Partners	6	FIN
Court Square Capital Partners	4	FIN
Credit Suisse/Credit Suisse Group/Credit Suite Americas Foundation	17	FIN
Darien Rowayton Bank	1	FIN
Depository Trust and Clearing Corporation	4	FIN
Deutsche Bank	1	FIN
Edelman Financial Group	3	FIN
EKO Asset Management	1	FIN
Evercore Partners, Inc.	25	FIN
Fair Mortgage Collaborative	1	FIN
Family Capital Trust Company	1	FIN
Federal Reserve Bank	1	FIN
Federal Reserve Bank of Boston	14	FIN
Finance, financial industry	3	FIN
Finance & technology	1	FIN
First Manhattan Company	1	FIN
First Marblehead	1	FIN

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
First Niagara Financial Group Inc.	13	FIN
Four Partners	6	FIN
Global Investors	1	FIN
Goldman Sachs	55	FIN
GTIS Partners	1	FIN
Guggenheim Partners	1	FIN
Guy Carpenter, LLC	1	FIN
Highview Investment Group	9	FIN
Houlihan Lokey	5	FIN
Hudson Housing Capital	1	FIN
Hunter Equity Capital, LLC	1	FIN
Icahn Enterprises	1	FIN
Infrastructure Macro Income Fund	1	FIN
International financial communication company	2	FIN
Invemed Associates	3	FIN
Involved in private equity market	1	FIN
J.P. Morgan/Asset Management/Private Bank	26	FIN
Jones Family Office	18	FIN
KECALP Inc.	1	FIN
Kelso & Company	4	FIN
Kestrel Energy Partners	5	FIN
KKR & Co. L.P. (KKR)	1	FIN
Kohlberg Kravis Roberts	4	FIN
Kokino LLC	10	FIN
Lux Capital	1	FIN
Madison Investment Partners, Inc.	1	FIN
major Asian investment bank	1	FIN
MasterCard Worldwide	1	FIN
MD Sass	1	FIN
Merrill Lynch Ventures LLC	2	FIN
MMC Capital	18	FIN
Moody's Corporation	2	FIN
Morgan Stanley/Morgan Stanley Assets Management/Morgan Stanley Smith Barney/Morgan Stanley & Co., Inc.	37	FIN
Mountain Capital.	1	FIN

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
Mutual of America Capital Management Corp.	1	FIN
Neuberger Berman LLC	3	FIN
New Amsterdam Partners	1	FIN
New Mountain Capital	2	FIN
Noah Fund, LLC	2	FIN
North Bay Associates	10	FIN
Northwinds Advisors LLC	2	FIN
Oakcliff Capital	3	FIN
Olayan Group	1	FIN
Perennial Advisors	1	FIN
Phare Capital Inc.	1	FIN
Pzena Investment Management	37	FIN
QS Investors, LLC	1	FIN
Riverside Risk Advisors LLC	4	FIN
Roundwood Capital	2	FIN
Ruane, Cunniff & Goldfarb	1	FIN
Solera Capital	3	FIN
SPO Partners & Co.	19	FIN
Spring Hill Capital Partners LLC	3	FIN
TD Securities	1	FIN
The Riverside Company	5	FIN
The Rockledge Group	1	FIN
The Wicks Group of Companies, L.L.C.	3	FIN
Thompson Coburn LLP	1	FIN
Thorobird Companies LLC	1	FIN
TIAA-CREF	18	FIN
TowerBrook Capital Partners	21	FIN
U.S. Trust, Bank of America Private Wealth Management	1	FIN
UBS Financial Services	1	FIN
Valmiki Capital Management	1	FIN
Veronis Suhler Stevenson	1	FIN
W.R. Berkley Corporation	13	FIN
Wall Street Access Asset Management	1	FIN
Warburg Pincus	1	FIN
Wells Fargo	1	FIN

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
Welsh, Carson, Anderson & Stowe	1	FIN
WM Capital Partners	1	FIN
Zig Investment Company	2	FIN
New York Mercantile Exchange	1	FIN
Rockefeller & Co., Inc.	1	FIN
Greenhill SAVPt	1	FIN
Carver Community Development Corporation (CCDC)/Carver Federal Savings Bank	3	FIN
SeaChange Capital Partners	20	FIN-CH
Accipiter Capital Management	1	HF
Arcem Capital	2	HF
Argonaut Capital	1	HF
BlackRock Kelso Capital Corporation	2	HF
The Blackstone Group	11	HF
Blue Ridge Capital	2	HF
Bridgewater Associates	5	HF
Cartica Management, LLC	4	HF
Caxton Alternative Management	4	HF
Coatue Management, LLC	2	HF
Crito Capital, LLC	4	HF
D.E. Shaw Group	1	HF
Dalton, Greiner, Hartman, Maher, & Co.	1	HF
Davidson Kempner Capital Management, LLC	3	HF
Diker Management LLC	4	HF
DLA Piper's Corporate Group	1	HF
Eagle Capital Management	5	HF
Element Capital Feeder Fund	3	HF
Element Capital Management LLC	3	HF
Elliot Management Corporation	18	HF
Ernst & Young's Financial Services Office	1	HF
Falcon Edge Capital	1	HF
Fortress Investment Group	2	HF
Glenview Capital Management	10	HF
Gotham Capital	19	HF
Gracie Capital	18	HF
Hedge fund manager	2	HF

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
Herring Creek Capital	19	HF
Icahn Associates Corp, also known as Icahn Group	25	HF
Icahn Management LP	13	HF
Joho Capital, LLC	12	HF
Karsch Capital Management	2	HF
Kase Capital (formerly T2 Partners LLC)	2	HF
Khronos LLC	6	HF
King Street Capital Management	2	HF
Kingdon Capital Management	2	HF
Luminus Management	1	HF
Magnitude Capital, LLC	4	HF
Maverick Capital	4	HF
MSCI, Inc.	5	HF
NewSmith Capital Partners	1	HF
Pamola Advisors	1	HF
Perry Capital, LLC	1	HF
Petra Capital Management	18	HF
Point72 Asset Management	18	HF
PointState Capital LP	3	HF
Probitas Partners	3	HF
Proxima Alfa Investments USA LLC	3	HF
Roystone Capital	19	HF
Saba Capital Management, L.P.	2	HF
SAC Capital Advisors, LP	2	HF
Senator Investment Group LP	1	HF
Serengeti Asset Management	2	HF
Sessa Capital	19	HF
Slate Path Capital	4	HF
Soroban Capital	32	HF
Starboard Value, L.P.	3	HF
Third Point LLC	19	HF
TRQ Management Company	10	HF
Tudor Investment Corporation ("Tudor Group")	20	HF
Two Sigma Investments	3	HF
Value Insight Partners	1	HF

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
West Side Advisors	1	HF
Zentero Capital LLC	1	HF
Zweig-DiMenna Associates	2	HF
Park Hill Group LLC	1	HF
Chilton Trust Management	3	HF
Advent Software	19	ICT
C3Multimedia LLC	1	ICT
Clearwater Analytics	3	ICT
E. Vega & Associates, Inc.	2	ICT
Identropy	1	ICT
Infoblox	1	ICT
Infotech Solutions	4	ICT
ITT Corporation	2	ICT
J Adams: Strategic Communications, LLC	1	ICT
Media Scheme, Inc.	1	ICT
MediaMath	2	ICT
Nia Technologies Corporation	1	ICT
Nobel Inc.	1	ICT
Pearson K-12 Technology/K12 Technologies at Pearson Education, Inc.	2	ICT
Phigital, Inc.	19	ICT
Qumu Corporation	6	ICT
SoftBank Internet and Media, Inc.	2	ICT
Synacor	5	ICT
Technology Crossover Ventures	2	ICT
Teq	1	ICT
The Fullbridge Program	1	ICT
XO Communications, Inc.	12	ICT
GFI Group	1	ICT
LightSail Education	1	ICT-CH
Sangari Global Education	2	ICT-CH
CUNY	4	IHE
John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY	3	IHE
Landmark College	1	IHE
Mercy College	3	IHE
American Academy in Rome	1	IHE
American University	2	IHE

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
Bank Street College Graduate School of Education	2	IHE
Barnard College	1	IHE
Baruch College	6	IHE
Beasley School of Law at Temple University	2	IHE
Benjamin Cardozo School of Law	1	IHE
Bioethics research	1	IHE
Board of Visitors of Columbia College	2	IHE
Boricua College	1	IHE
Bowdoin College	1	IHE
Bronx Community College-CUNY	1	IHE
Brooklyn College	3	IHE
Brown University	5	IHE
Cahn Fellows Program	1	IHE
Center for Strategic and International Studies	2	IHE
City University of New York	4	IHE
College of Staten Island	1	IHE
Columbia Law School/Columbia University/Columbia, Teachers College/Columbia University- College of Physicians & Surgeons/Columbia University Board of Visitors/Columbia University Medical Center	26	IHE
Consortium for Research in Emotional Intelligence in Organizations	1	IHE
Council on Emerging National Security Affairs (CENSA)	1	IHE
Dartmouth College	2	IHE
Fairfield University	2	IHE
Fordham University	3	IHE
Georgetown University/Georgetown University's Public Policy Institute	3	IHE
Harvard College/Harvard Graduate School of Education/Harvard Kennedy School	13	IHE
Harvard College Fund	1	IHE
Hunter College/Hunter College Elementary and High Schools	3	IHE
Math for America	1	IHE
Montclair State University	1	IHE

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
New Jersey City University	1	IHE
New York City College of Technology, CUNY	1	IHE
New York University/New York University - Child Study Center/NYU Stern School of Business	11	IHE
Nyack College	1	IHE
NYU	3	IHE
Pennsylvania State University	2	IHE
Polytechnic Institute of New York University	4	IHE
Pratt Institute	2	IHE
Princeton	1	IHE
Purdue University	2	IHE
Queens College-CUNY	1	IHE
Queensborough Community College – CUNY	1	IHE
Research Alliance for NYC Public Schools (at NYU)	24	IHE
St. Francis College	1	IHE
St. John’s University	1	IHE
St. Lawrence University	1	IHE
Stanford University	1	IHE
State University of New York College at Old Westbury	5	IHE
The Levin Institute	5	IHE
Tisch School of the Arts/NYU	1	IHE
Tufts University	1	IHE
UC Berkeley - Fisher Center for Real Estate and Urban Economics	1	IHE
University of Chicago	1	IHE
University of Maryland	1	IHE
University of Pennsylvania	1	IHE
Wagner College	2	IHE
Woods Hole Oceanographic Institute	1	IHE
Wurzeiler School of Social Work – Yeshiva University	1	IHE
Rider University	1	IHE
Sackler Institute	9	IHE

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
The Davidson School of Education at the Jewish Theological Seminary	2	IHE
The New School University's Robert J. Milano Graduate School of Management and Policy	1	IHE
Relay Graduate School of Education	35	IHE-CH
Ashenfelter, Slous, McDonough, & Trevenen, LLP	1	LAW
Attorney	19	LAW
Attorneys for Family-Held Enterprises	1	LAW
Barton LLP	1	LAW
Beress & Zalkind, PLLC	1	LAW
Berger & Webb LLP	1	LAW
Cleary Gottlieb Steen & Hamilton LLP	1	LAW
Cozen O'Connor	2	LAW
Cravath, Swaine & Moore LLP	2	LAW
Davidoff, Malito & Hutcher	1	LAW
Foster, Lynch, & Thomas, LLC, legal	2	LAW
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson LLP	4	LAW
Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP	5	LAW
Greenberg Traurig and Hoffman LLP	6	LAW
JC Latimer Law, PLLC	1	LAW
Litman, Asche, and Gioiella, LLP	1	LAW
Lowenstein Sandler	18	LAW
Montage Legal	1	LAW
Partner, Davidoff, Malito & Hutcher LLP	1	LAW
Partner, Friedman LLP	1	LAW
Pillsbury Law	5	LAW
Proskauer, LLP, law firm	1	LAW
Rich, Intelisano & Katz, LLP	1	LAW
Ropes & Gray LLP, law firm	2	LAW
Sanders Ortoli Vaughn-Flam Rosenstadt LLP	1	LAW
Satterlee Stephens Burke & Burke	1	LAW
Schiff Hardin LLP	2	LAW
Seyfarth Shaw, LLP	1	LAW
Simpson Thacher & Bartlett LLP	16	LAW
Stroock & Stroock & Lavan LLP	1	LAW

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
Vernon and Associates, P.C.	1	LAW
Wachtell, Lipton, Rosen & Katz	1	LAW
WarwickPlace Legal, LLC	1	LAW
Weil, Gotshal & Manges LLP	1	LAW
Wilson Harvey Browndorf (WHB)	1	LAW
Winston & Strawn LLP	1	LAW
Younkins & Schecter LLP	1	LAW
Tannenbaum, Helpern, Syracuse & Hirschtritt LLP	2	LAW
Mayer Brown LLP	4	LAW-CH
Arnold & Porter LLP	19	LAW-CH
Bingham McCutchen LLP	1	LAW-CH
Boies, Schiller, and Flexner, LLP	18	LAW-CH
Holland & Knight	1	LAW-CH
Ingram Yuzek Gainen Carroll	1	LAW-CH
King & Spalding LLP	2	LAW-CH
Latham & Watkins LLP	1	LAW-CH
Law Offices of Eric J. Grannis	5	LAW-CH
Lawyers Alliance for New York	1	LAW-CH
Manatt, Phelps & Phillips, LLP	1	LAW-CH
Orrick, Herrington & Sutcliffe LLP	1	LAW-CH
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP	3	LAW-CH
Polsinelli Shughart	1	LAW-CH
Shearman & Sterling LLP	1	LAW-CH
Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher, & Flom	2	LAW-CH
Willkie Farr & Gallagher LLP	1	LAW-CH
Sullivan & Cromwell LLP	3	LAW-FIN
Albert Einstein Medical School	5	MED
Bella Vista Health Center	1	MED
Bronx Health REACH	1	MED
Bronx Lebanon Hospital	5	MED
Dentist	1	MED
Dossia Service Corporation	1	MED
Harlem Hospital	1	MED
Healthcare Public Relations and Marketing Society of Greater New York	1	MED

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
Memorial Hospital for Cancer and Allied Diseases	10	MED
Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center	10	MED
Mount Sinai Adolescent Health Center	1	MED
Mount Sinai School of Medicine	2	MED
Mt. Sinai Hospital	9	MED
Narco Freedom	1	MED
New York Presbyterian Hospital	12	MED
NYU Langone Medical Center	2	MED
Palisades Medical Center	1	MED
State Island University Hospital	1	MED
United Hospital Fund	1	MED
Vivaki Nerve Center	4	MED
Urban Health Plan	3	MED
Community Health Care Association of New York State (CHCANYS)	1	MED
Smile Design Manhattan	2	MED
ABC News	1	MEDIA
Artemis Media Ventures	1	MEDIA
Audible, Inc.	12	MEDIA
BuzzFeed	1	MEDIA
Channel One News	1	MEDIA
CNBC	2	MEDIA
Essence Communications Inc.	6	MEDIA
Forbes Magazine	1	MEDIA
Google	1	MEDIA
Independent producer/director	1	MEDIA
iVillage	1	MEDIA
Latina Media Ventures	2	MEDIA
Morning Joe	1	MEDIA
MTV Networks	1	MEDIA
NBC Universal Media	1	MEDIA
Editorial Projects	9	MEDIA
Random House, Inc.	5	MEDIA
Scholastic Inc.	3	MEDIA
Scripps Networks Interactive (SNI)	1	MEDIA
Sesame Workshop	11	MEDIA

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
Showtime Pictures LLC	2	MEDIA
Staten Island Advance	1	MEDIA
Stickball Printmedia Arts	1	MEDIA
The Motion Picture and Television Fund	3	MEDIA
The Wall Street Journal	2	MEDIA
Time Warner	11	MEDIA
Trilogy Films	5	MEDIA
Viacom Inc.	2	MEDIA
WNET Channel 13	5	MEDIA
Women@NBCU	5	MEDIA
Brooklyn Supreme Court	2	MUN/GOV
City of New York	2	MUN/GOV
Erie Canal Harbor Development Corporation	5	MUN/GOV
Federal government attorney	1	MUN/GOV
Human Resources Administration, NYC	1	MUN/GOV
Internal Revenue Service	1	MUN/GOV
J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board	10	MUN/GOV
Kings County District Attorney	1	MUN/GOV
Long Beach, NY City	2	MUN/GOV
Mayor of New York City	2	MUN/GOV
New York City Council	1	MUN/GOV
NYC Department of Citywide Administrative Services	4	MUN/GOV
New York City Department of Education	2	MUN/GOV
New York City Housing Authority	1	MUN/GOV
New York City Housing Development Corporation	1	MUN/GOV
New York State Assembly	2	MUN/GOV
New York State Attorney General's Office	1	MUN/GOV
New York State Division of Human Rights	1	MUN/GOV
Newark Department of Education	1	MUN/GOV
NY State Assembly	1	MUN/GOV
NYC Department of Education	7	MUN/GOV
NYC Housing Authority	1	MUN/GOV
Queens County District Attorney	1	MUN/GOV
Rockland County Family Court	4	MUN/GOV

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
Town of Hempstead	1	MUN/GOV
U.S. Attorney's Office for the Eastern District of NY	19	MUN/GOV
U.S. Attorney's Office for the Southern District of NY	5	MUN/GOV
U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development	3	MUN/GOV
United States Commission of Civil Rights' Advisory Committee for the State of New Jersey	1	MUN/GOV
Boys & Girls Clubs of America	1	NP
I Have a Dream Foundation	4	NP
122 East 66th Street Foundation	1	NP
ACLU/NYCLU, affiliate of ACLU	1	NP
Advocates for Children	1	NP
Alliance for Quality Education (AQE)	1	NP
American Jewish World Service	2	NP
Ausable Club Preservation Foundation	1	NP
Bell (Building Educated Leaders for Life)	3	NP
Big Brothers Big Sisters (multiple locations)	10	NP
Board of Academy of Political Science	2	NP
Board of Black United Leadership of the Bronx (B.U.L.B.)	1	NP
Boy Scouts of America	5	NP
Boys' Club of New York	2	NP
Boys & Girls Clubs of America	1	NP
Brooklyn/Queens Regional BETAC	1	NP
BuildOn	1	NP
Bushwick Community Partnership Program	1	NP
CAMBA	1	NP
Carnegie Hall Corporation	2	NP
Catalyst	10	NP
Catholic Big Sisters & Big Brothers	3	NP
Center for After School Excellence	1	NP
Central Park Conservancy	3	NP
Change for Kids (CFK)	1	NP
Children's Aid Society	2	NP
Citizens' Committee for Children of NYC	1	NP

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
Collaborative for Teaching and Learning, Louisville, KY	1	NP
College Board	1	NP
College Summit	3	NP
Conservation International	5	NP
Coro New York	1	NP
Creative Coalition	5	NP
East Side House Settlement	4	NP
Education and nonprofit professional	1	NP
El Centro del Inmigrante, nonprofit	1	NP
Equal Opportunity Schools	1	NP
FINCA International	5	NP
Fundacion Amistad	1	NP
Future Is Now	2	NP
Games for Change	1	NP
Girl Scouts of America/Greater New York	2	NP
Girls Inc. of New York City	1	NP
Global Partnership for Afghanistan and the Civilians	1	NP
Gowanus by Design	1	NP
Greater New York YMCA	1	NP
Greyston Foundation	1	NP
Groundwork, Inc.	1	NP
Hazon	2	NP
Helen Keller International	1	NP
Hope Case Management Program	1	NP
Housing Works Inc.	1	NP
Human Rights Watch	2	NP
International Rescue Committee	1	NP
Jewish Board of Family & Children's Services	1	NP
Jewish Community Project	1	NP
Labor Council for Latin American Advancement	1	NP
(NYC) Leadership Academy	3	NP
Leadership Team of the Collaborative for Academic Social and Emotional Learning (CASEL)	1	NP

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
Learning Leaders	1	NP
Legal Aid Society	1	NP
Lenox Hill Neighborhood House	1	NP
Medecins Du Monde UK	1	NP
Millennium Promise	2	NP
Mission Hill Summer Program	2	NP
MissRepresentation.org	1	NP
Morrisania Revitalization Corporation	1	NP
National Constitution Center	1	NP
National Geographic Education Foundation	1	NP
National Institute for Reproductive Health	1	NP
National School Climate Center	1	NP
National Summer Learning Association	1	NP
National Women's Law Center	10	NP
Network for Teaching Entrepreneurship in New York City (NFTE)	1	NP
New Heights Youth, Inc.	1	NP
New York City Police Foundation Board	2	NP
New York Civil Liberties Union	1	NP
Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolence	1	NP
Northeast Brooklyn Housing Development Corp.	1	NP
Northside Center for Child Development, Inc	5	NP
NYC Leadership Academy	2	NP
Odyssey	1	NP
ORT America	1	NP
Partnership for After School Education	1	NP
Partnership for Public Service	8	NP
Partnership with Children	1	NP
Planned Parenthood	6	NP
Population Council	1	NP
Project ALS	1	NP
Project HEALTH	3	NP
Project Renewal	1	NP
Public Education Network	1	NP
Say Yes to Education	19	NP

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
Services for the Underserved	1	NP
Shorefront YM-YWHA of Brighton-Manhattan Beach	1	NP
SI Youth Media Project	1	NP
Social Accountability International	2	NP
South Asian Youth Action (SAYA!)	1	NP
SpotlightKorea.org	1	NP
StreetWise Partners	2	NP
Students Partnership Worldwide	1	NP
Teach Plus	1	NP
The After School Corporation	8	NP
The College Board	2	NP
The Creative Coalition Inc.	2	NP
The Door	4	NP
The Elders	2	NP
The Five Pearls Foundation	1	NP
The Korean American Project	1	NP
The Leadership Program	4	NP
The National Fish and Wildlife Foundation	2	NP
The New York Foundling	1	NP
The Reset Foundation	2	NP
Trust for Public Land	1	NP
TurnAround For Children	4	NP
United Way	1	NP
University Neighborhood Housing Program	1	NP
Up2Us	1	NP
Urban Land Institute	1	NP
US Fund for Unicef	2	NP
West Side Federation for Senior & Supportive Housing	1	NP
Weston United Community Renewal	1	NP
WITNESS	2	NP
World Vision	1	NP
Year Up	1	NP
Youth On the Move	5	NP
YouthNoise, Inc.	8	NP
University Settlement	1	NP

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
Jewish National Fund	2	NP
Jewish Outreach Institute	3	NP
Operation Exodus	1	NP
Brooklyn Public Library	1	NP
New York Public Library	1	NP
Queens Borough Public Library	1	NP
National Geographic Television International	1	NP
Innocence Project	1	NP
JerusalemU.org	2	NP
Lighthouse International	1	NP
New York Cares	13	NP
Open Books	3	NP
Sustainable Long Island	5	NP
Jewish Museum	2	NP-ARTS
Frick Museum	5	NP-ARTS
American Friends of the Centre Pompidou	1	NP-ARTS
American Museum of Natural History	5	NP-ARTS
Brooklyn Botanic Garden	4	NP-ARTS
Brooklyn Children's Museum	1	NP-ARTS
Casita Maria Center for Arts and Education	1	NP-ARTS
Flamenco Vivo Carlota Santana	1	NP-ARTS
Friends of the Art Museums of Israel (BFAMI)	2	NP-ARTS
Jazz at Lincoln Center	2	NP-ARTS
Lincoln Center	5	NP-ARTS
Lincoln Center Institute	8	NP-ARTS
Los Angeles County Museum of Art	2	NP-ARTS
Metropolitan Museum of Art	5	NP-ARTS
MoMA P.S.1	2	NP-ARTS
Municipal Art Society of New York	1	NP-ARTS
Museum of Contemporary Art in Los Angeles	3	NP-ARTS
Museum of the City of New York	12	NP-ARTS
Nature Conservancy on Long Island	1	NP-ARTS
New Federal Theatre	1	NP-ARTS
Newseum	5	NP-ARTS
New York Historical Society	1	NP-ARTS
Performa	2	NP-ARTS

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
Public Art Fund	2	NP-ARTS
Tate International Council	2	NP-ARTS
The American Friends of the Musée Fesch	1	NP-ARTS
The American Museum of Natural History	5	NP-ARTS
The Guggenheim Museum	1	NP-ARTS
Shakespeare Workshop	5	NP-ARTS
The Public Theater	5	NP-ARTS
Theatre International, Inc.	1	NP-ARTS
Virginia Film Festival	3	NP-ARTS
iMentor	11	NP-CH
Community First Services	1	NP-CH
CoreSpring	1	NP-CH
South Bronx Overall Economic Development Corporation (SoBRO)	2	NP-CH
100 Hispanic Women, Inc.	1	NP-CH
Abyssinian Development Corporation	8	NP-CH
Alliance for School Choice	1	NP-CH
American Center for School Choice	2	NP-CH
American Federation for Children	1	NP-CH
Association for a Better New York	8	NP-CH
Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation	4	NP-CH
Center for Arts Education	18	NP-CH
Center for Education Innovation and Public Education Association (CEI-PEA)	12	NP-CH
TNTP - The New Teachers Project	13	NP-CH
Charter School Business Fellows	1	NP-CH
Charter School Growth Fund	24	NP-CH
ConnCAN (the Connecticut Coalition for Achievement Now)	10	NP-CH
Democrats for Education Reform	19	NP-CH
Education Reform Now	20	NP-CH
Foundation for Florida's Future	3	NP-CH
Fund for Teachers	8	NP-CH
GO Project	1	NP-CH
Henry Street Settlement	1	NP-CH
Hunts Point Alliance for Children	1	NP-CH
JerseyCAN	18	NP-CH

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
KIPP Foundation	17	NP-CH
La Asociación Comunal de Dominicanos Progresistas	1	NP-CH
Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC)	3	NP-CH
Making Waves Education Program	36	NP-CH
New Classrooms Innovation Partners	10	NP-CH
New Jersey's Excellent Education for Everyone	18	NP-CH
New Profit, Inc.	13	NP-CH
New Schools Venture Fund	13	NP-CH
New York Campaign for Achievement Now (NYCAN)	18	NP-CH
New York Charter School Incubator	1	NP-CH
New York City Leadership Academy	1	NP-CH
NewSchools Venture Fund	17	NP-CH
NYC Charter Center	1	NP-CH
Parents' Transparency Project	19	NP-CH
Partners for Developing Futures	2	NP-CH
Partnership for Educational Justice	18	NP-CH
Partnership for New York City	5	NP-CH
Progressive Education Consulting Group	1	NP-CH
Rockaway Center for Community Development	1	NP-CH
Show Me Campaign	2	NP-CH
Stand for Children	2	NP-CH
Student Achievement Partners	1	NP-CH
Students for Education Reform	13	NP-CH
StudentsFirst/StudentsFirst NY	23	NP-CH
Teach for All	2	NP-CH
Teach For America/Teach for America NY	47	NP-CH
The Achievement Network	1	NP-CH
Broad Center for the Management of School Systems	1	NP-CH
The Fund for Public Schools	2	NP-CH
The Tapestry Project	19	NP-CH
The Wonder of Reading	6	NP-CH
Urban Alliance	8	NP-CH

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
PELIE (Partnership for Effective Learning and Innovative Education)	3	NP-CH
We Can Do Better NJ	1	NP-CH
Better Education for Kids (B4K)	19	NP-CH/PAC
New York for a Balanced Albany	18	NP-CH/PAC
ECDO Head Start	1	PS-PRE-K
Kid Krazy Preschool/Daycare	1	PS-PRE-K
Allen-Stevenson School	1	PS
Bridge School	1	PS
Children's Storefront	2	PS
Choate Rosemary Hall	8	PS
Christ the King High School	1	PS
Cristo Rey New York High School	1	PS
Dalton School Manhattan Upper East Side	6	PS
De La Salle Academy	1	PS
Eagle Hill School	2	PS
ECLC of NJ	1	PS
Edmund Rice High School	12	PS
Ethical Culture Fieldston School	5	PS
Fieldston School	1	PS
Gilmour Academy	2	PS
Hackley School	1	PS
Holderness School in Plymouth, NH	12	PS
Horace Mann School	1	PS
Immaculate Conception (Montclair) Catholic HS	1	PS
Inwood Academy	1	PS
Packer Collegiate Institute	2	PS
Monsignor McClancy Memorial High School	2	PS
Nativity Mission Center	2	PS
NativityMiguel Network of Schools	2	PS
New York Interschool	1	PS
Phillips Exeter Academy	1	PS
Prep for Prep	11	PS
Riverdale Country School	1	PS
Rye Country Day School	2	PS
Santa Maria School	1	PS

Organization	# of Connections between Organizations and Charters and/or CMOs	Affiliation Type
Seton Education Partners	2	PS
Seton Hall	1	PS
Sidwell Friends School	1	PS
St. Ann's School in Brooklyn	1	PS
St. Anthony Catholic HS (Jersey City)	1	PS
The Archer School for Girls	3	PS
The Brearley School	1	PS
The Dwight School	2	PS
The Hewitt School	1	PS
Trinity School	4	PS
United Nations International School	9	PS
Avenues, The World School	1	PS
Marble Hill High School for International Studies	7	PUB SCHOOL
New Hyde Park Memorial High School	1	PUB SCHOOL
Washington Heights Expeditionary Learning School	1	PUB SCHOOL
Bronx Center for Science & Mathematics	9	PUB SCHOOL
Council on Foreign Relations	46	TTNK
Economic Policy Institute	9	TTNK
Peter G Peterson Foundation	10	TTNK
Peterson Institute for International Economics	9	TTNK
Washington Institute for Near East Policy	2	TTNK
Brookings Institution and The Hamilton Project	26	TTNK
New America Foundation	1	TTNK
Albert Shanker Institute	2	TTNK-CH
Education Sector	6	TTNK-CH
National Council on Teacher Quality	9	TTNK-CH
The Century Foundation	1	TTNK-CH

Appendix 4: Charter/CMO Board Names with Affiliations and Networks

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Alvarez	Pedro	ACCOUNTING	
Mulvaney	Patricia	ACCOUNTING	Pricewaterhousecoopers LLP (5)
Sabal	Stuart M.	ACCOUNTING	
Valeriano	Edwin	ACCOUNTING	
Thompson	Winston	ACCOUNTING/ ASSOCIATION/FACIL ITIES	
Romero	Jorge	ACCOUNTING/ INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	Analytical fiscal executive and administrator with more than 30 years' results-driven experience in all aspects of financial control and accountancy
Tillard	Tamecca	ASSOCIATION	
DeJesus	Evelyn	ASSOCIATION (UFT)/NP	Executive board of the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement
Mulgrew	Michael	ASSOCIATION (UNION)	New Visions for New Schools CMO board; American Federation of Teachers (AFT) Vice President; United Federation of Teachers (UFT) president
Valentin	Lorean	ASSOCIATION (UNION)/COMMUNIT Y	Longtime resident of the Bronx and community organizer
Weingarten	Randi	ASSOCIATION (UNION)/THINK TANK	On New Visions for New Schools CMO board; interlocked on UFT Charter via American Federation of Teachers (AFT)
Brown	Christina D.	CHARTER	
Buery	Richard	CHARTER	Lead applicant for Leadership Prep Brownsville Charter School, and founding Chair of the Achievement First East New York Board of Trustees; cofounded and directed iMentor (11)
Campbell	Maureen	CHARTER	On two charter boards, Harlem Hebrew Charter School and Middle Village Preparatory Charter School
Canada	Geoffrey	CHARTER	On HCZ CMO board and its two charter boards, HCZ Promise Academy I and II
Algozo	Christine	CHARTER	Uncommon Charter High School (on board of Central Queens Academy

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
			Charter School)
Awosogba	Patrick	CHARTER	Founder of Mott Hall Charter
Bryon	Melanie	CHARTER	Community Partnership Charter School (Lower School Director)
Coleman	David	CHARTER	
Colon	Ismael	CHARTER	
Cotton	Ashley	CHARTER	
Crowley	George	CHARTER	Led conversion of the Wildcat Charter School from a DOE school to a charter school
Daverin	Rebecca	CHARTER	On two charter boards, Explore Charter School and Math, Engineering & Science Academy
Davis	Justin	CHARTER	
Day	Elena	CHARTER	On two charter-related boards, Ascend Learning, Inc. board and Brooklyn Urban Garden Charter
Donald	Marc	CHARTER	
Figuroa-Hurwitz	Norma	CHARTER	Norma co-founded Academic Leadership Charter School with her husband, Ted Hurwitz.
Gauthier	Stacey	CHARTER	
Geyer	Sandy	CHARTER	
Gordon	Mark	CHARTER	
Goubourn	Joanne	CHARTER	
Hiciano	Soledad	CHARTER	Executive Director of La Asociación Comunal de Dominicanos Progresistas (ACDP) or Community Association of Progressive Dominicans, a community organization in Northern Manhattan and the Bronx, which founded the Amber Charter School.
Hurst-Hiller	Caleb	CHARTER	Head of School at the Community Charter School of Cambridge
Hurwitz	Ted	CHARTER	Co-founded Academic Leadership Charter School with his wife, Norma
Joffee	Monte	CHARTER	Founding Principal, The Renaissance Charter School (Retired)
Kalam Id-Din	Shahidah	CHARTER	William Penn Charter School

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Kennedy	Julie	CHARTER	On six Uncommon Schools charter boards and Uncommon Schools Managing Director, New York City Middle and High Schools)
Kenny	Deborah	CHARTER	Founder and Chief Executive Officer of Harlem Village Academies; on two charter boards Harlem Village Academy and HVA Leadership
Lewis	Debon	CHARTER	Principal, KIPP AMP
Li	Jeff	CHARTER	8th grade math teacher at KIPP Infinity; Prior to his most recent teaching position, Jeff was the Executive Director of Teach For America – New York
Linde	Stuart M.	CHARTER	On six Uncommon boards; Managing Director, Uncommon New York City Middle and High Schools
Lopez	Elaine Ruiz	CHARTER	CEO/Founder of International Leadership Charter High School
Martinez	Tina	CHARTER	Operations Director at Mott Haven Academy Charter School (on board of Heketi Charter)
Mathurin	Ehri	CHARTER	Student Affairs Director, Harbor Science and Arts Charter School (on Equality Charter board)
Mauterstock	Stephanie	CHARTER	On multiple Ascend Learning charter boards: Brooklyn Ascend, Brownsville, Bushwick, Carnarsie, Williamsburg. Co-director for business and operations of Manhattan Charter School; "...previously worked for Edison Schools, where she served as a grants compliance manager and later as a strategy and market research analyst; also specializes in federal and state education grants, particularly as applied to charter schools. She is a contributing author to the No Child Left Behind Compliance Manual, Second Edition ...and the Charter School Law Deskbook... and presents at state and national charter conferences." (Source: charter website)

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
McDonald	Varleton "Mac"	CHARTER	"...served as a teacher for five years and then as an Assistant Principal for three years... became principal of one of the twelve most violent schools in NYC, Thomas Jefferson High School. After leading a successful turnaround, Mac was promoted to a Local Instructional Superintendent in charge of a dozen schools. Since 2006, Mac serves as a Network Leader, helping support about two-dozen schools. Mac has ties to community organizers in East New York and across the city." (Source: charter website)
Michel	Michael	CHARTER	Middle Village Preparatory Charter School Founder
Oroszlany	Peter	CHARTER	Founding principal of Mott Hall V Middle School
Ramos	Wendy	CHARTER	Formerly with Bronx Charter School of the Arts
Rattray	Keisha	CHARTER	Middle School Director at Community Partnership Charter
Reardon	Tom	CHARTER	Operations Coordinator at Family Life Charter
Reich	Carol F.	CHARTER	Emeritus Board Member/Co-Founder Beginning with Children with spouse below
Reich	Joseph H.	CHARTER	Emeritus Board Member/Co-Founder Beginning with Children with spouse above
Reyes	Christina	CHARTER	Co-School Founder, Executive Director, Inwood Academy
Rodriguez	Angel	CHARTER	On two New Visions boards, Charter HS M&S II and Humanities II; affiliation is Family Life Academy Charter School
Rodriguez	Jenny	CHARTER	Affiliation is Washington Heights Expeditionary Learning School

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Spruill	Helen	CHARTER	Founding teacher at Lighthouse Community Charter School in Oakland, CA
Tabano	Ronald	CHARTER	"...founding member of both Wildcat Academy, which opened in 1992 under the NYC DOE and the first Second Opportunity School (SOS) in the Bronx which opened in 1997. Mr. Tabano also started the first New Beginnings School in 1999 in Queens. He marshaled Wildcat Academy through the charter conversion process in 2000. Today as CEO/Principal of Wildcat, Mr. Tabano is responsible for a budget of \$9.5 million and a staff of 54." (Source: charter website)
Tom	Ka Yee	CHARTER	Uncommon Schools, Senior Director of Data and IT, and Broad Residency Alumni
Vallas	Paul	CHARTER	Former Superintendent, New Orleans Recovery School District
Vance	Quinton	CHARTER	Executive Director of KIPP Dallas Fort Worth; on 3 KIPP charter boards, KIPP Academy, KIPP AMP and KIPP NYC Washington Heights
Vanderhoek	Zeke	CHARTER	Founder of Manhattan GMAT (www.manhattangmat.com), a national GMAT test-preparation company
Castro	Cecelia	CHARTER	Founding member of New Beginnings Charter School
Valerio	Samantha	CHARTER	Director of Development and Fundraising for The Bronx Charter School for Better Learning (on board of Heketi Community Charter)
Evangelista	Steve	CHARTER (CO-FOUNDER)	Former Teach For America Corps Member; served as a consultant to SchoolStart, a national non-profit that provides organizational and planning support to educators, families and communities interested in launching charter schools; completed Building Excellent Schools, a national fellowship designed to train founders of new charter schools.

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Webb	Natalie	CHARTER (CO-PRINCIPAL)	
Escayg	Omigbade	CHARTER (FOUNDER)	
Acosta	Vasthi	CHARTER (PRINCIPAL)	
Bodden-White	Michelle	CHARTER (PRINCIPAL)	
Bradford	Derrell	CHARTER ADVOCACY ORG	<p>On SA-NYC Board; "...most recently, Derrell was the executive director at Better Education for Kids (B4K), a 501c4 organization supporting bipartisan education reforms in New Jersey. ...worked to secure passage of the tenure reform legislation TEACH NJ. B4K's advocacy also led to electoral victories for reform-minded candidates in Jersey City's mayoral and school board races, and in several New Jersey State Assembly races.</p> <p>Previously...spent nine years with New Jersey's Excellent Education for Everyone [where he]led strategy, operations and communications..., focusing advocacy efforts on school choice, high standards and expectations, and financial transparency. ... also served on Governor Christie's Educator Effectiveness Task Force, which gave recommendations on a new, statewide evaluation system for teachers and leaders. ... frequently contributes to education reform debates across print, online, and TV media. ... serves on several boards dedicated to putting the needs of students and families first..."</p> <p>Source: Success Academy website</p>
Marlette	Julie	CHARTER ADVOCACY ORG	50CAN, the 50-State Campaign for Achievement Now (12)
San Felice	Frank	CHARTER ADVOCACY ORG/CORPORATION-CHARTER	

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Barth	Richard	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG/CHARTER ADVOCACY ORG	On two charter boards, Roads Charter Schools I and II, as well as KIPP Foundation; 50CAN (12); Broad Center; president of the KIPP Foundation Board of Directors
Berlin	Richard	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG	On Harlem RBI and Dream Charter boards
Chaluisan	Ronald	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG	New Visions for Public Schools, Vice-President, Charter Division
Chorowsky	Jack	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG	
Duffy	Michael Thomas	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG	
Epp	Tracy	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG	Chief Academic Officer of Achievement First Public Charter Schools; on boards of two charters, Citizens of the World Charter I and II
Forsyth	Priscilla	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG	On Lighthouse Academies, Inc. CMO board
Goodyear	Julie Clark	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG	Foundation for a Greater Opportunity (9)
Herzberg	Peter	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG	On board of Boys Prep Charter and Managing Director at Public Prep Network CMO
Higgins	Maureen	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG	Talent and Recruitment Associate, Ascend Learning Charter Schools (primary board is St. Hope Leadership Academy Charter)
Howard	Jonathan	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG	Director of Talent, Democracy Prep Public Schools (on charter board of St. Hope Leadership Academy)
Jackson	Julie	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG	Managing Director, Uncommon Schools, Inc.; on board of four Uncommon charters: Leadership Prep-Bed-Stuy, Brownsville, Carnarnsie, Ocean Hill
Kurz	Nancy Lewson	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG	Board Chair and CEO of Beginning with Children
Latarte	Anne	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG	Interlocked on Metropolitan Lighthouse School charter board via Lighthouse Academies, Inc. CMO; Regional Vice President of Southwest Detroit Lighthouse Charter Academy
Ortiz-	Sonia	CHARTER	Beginning with Children Foundation

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Gulardo		MANAGEMENT ORG	(not on board)
Pawlson	Lizz	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG	Explore Schools Inc. CMO (not on board); on two Explore charter boards, Explore Exceed and Explore Excel
Ronan	Michael	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG	President and CEO of Lighthouse Academies, Inc.
Weissman	Hindie	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG	
Berman	Sara	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG & CHARTER	On Harlem Language Charter, Harlem Hebrew Language Charter boards and National Center for Hebrew Language Charter School Excellence and Development, Inc.
Peiser	Brett	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG/ FOUNDATION- CHARTER	CEO, Uncommon Schools, Inc.; interlocked with Uncommon Schools board member via WKBJ Foundation (33)
Ervin	April	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG/CONSULTING	On Lighthouse Academies CMO board; prior to her current role, Ms. Ervin served as the Executive Director of New Leaders for New Schools
Hughes	Robert L.	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG/NONPROFIT- CHARTER	President of New Visions for Public Schools and affiliated with Fund for Teachers
Starrett	Cam	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG/NONPROFIT- CHARTER	On Citizens of the World Charter (CWC) Schools CMO board, which manages 2 charters; interlocked on CoWC board via The Wonder of Reading (NP-CH); Mrs. Starrett is a lifelong literacy advocate, serving on the Reading is Fundamental Board from 1995 to 2006...also served as Board President of The Wonder of Reading.
Lehmann	Sue	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG/NONPROFIT- CHARTER/FINANCE- CHARTER	On Harlem Children's Zone CMO board; Teach for America/Teach for America New York (47); SeaChange Capital Partners (20)

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Peyser	James	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG/NONPROFIT-CHARTER/THINK TANK-CHARTER	On board of Achievement First CMO; Partner, NewSchools Venture Fund (17); New Schools for New Orleans; formerly with Success Charter Network and Uncommon Schools; chairman of the board of the National Association of Charter School Authorizers (NACSA. In June 2011, Jim was inducted into the Hall of Fame by the National Alliance for Public Charter Schools.
Wilson	Steven F.	CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG/THINK TANK-CHARTER	Former CEO of Advantage Schools, an urban school management company that educated nearly 10,000 students, and a former executive vice president of Edison Schools
Ballen	Morty	CHARTER/CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG	On Explore Schools Inc. CMO board as well as two Explore charter boards, Explore and Explore Empower Charter
Barr	Steve	CHARTER/CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG	Founder of Green Dot Public Schools
Duffy	Katie	CHARTER/CHARTER MANAGEMENT ORG	On all four Democracy Prep charter boards as well as Democracy Prep Public Schools board; named CEO of Democracy Prep Public Schools in January 2013
Alleyne	Lorna	COMMUNITY	
Bazemore	Wally	COMMUNITY	
Cortes	Yaritza	COMMUNITY	
Ingersoll	C.J.	COMMUNITY	
Julius	Nicole	COMMUNITY	Community Council President for Girls Prep of New York and Girls Prep Lower East Side Middle

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Slatkin	Laura	COMMUNITY	Autism advocate
Colon	Lytza	COMMUNITY	
Smikle	Basil, Jr.	COMMUNITY ACTIVIST	Political consultant and Harlem community activist; former advisor to Senator Hillary Clinton
Wickham	Celia	COMMUNITY ACTIVIST	Long-time Harlem community activist
Salvant-Mondesir	Marlena	COMMUNITY RES/PARENT/ INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	Born in Queens and raised in various communities in Brooklyn. She is a Kingsborough Community College graduate with a scholarship from New York University on the Community College Transfer Opportunity Program. Currently lives in Bedford Stuyvesant with her husband and daughter whose a student at Bedford Stuyvesant New Beginnings Charter School.
Morais-Weekes	Michele	COMMUNITY RESIDENT/ INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
Nesbitt	Kevin A.	COMMUNITY RESIDENT/ INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	CUNY-various colleges
Reddick	John	COMMUNITY/ CHARTER	Founding board member (transitioned to staff member, non-voting). A lifelong Harlem resident, John taught for the Chinatown Planning Council for 21 years.
Rivera Jr.	Victor	COMMUNITY/LAW	Born and raised in the Sumner Projects in the same Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn which serves as the home of Bedford Stuyvesant New Beginnings Charter School. Currently lives in Westchester
Ahuja	Kabir	CONSULTING	McKinsey & Co. (3)
Ashford	Orlando	CONSULTING	
Blacklow	Ken	CONSULTING	On Lighthouse Academy CMO board

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Brissett	Robert	CONSULTING	
Clark	Matthew	CONSULTING	On Ascend Learning, Inc. CMO board
Cole	Cali	CONSULTING	
Davis	Joyce H.	CONSULTING	
Dutton	Marvin	CONSULTING	
Herndon-Brown	Shereem	CONSULTING	
Hightower	Stacey	CONSULTING	
Kagen	James G.	CONSULTING	Interlocked on Broom Street Academy Charter with 3 other board members affiliated with The Door, non-profit (3)
Karp	Michael	CONSULTING	
Markovits	Mike	CONSULTING	
Miller	Nancye	CONSULTING	
Morales	Manny	CONSULTING	
Moses	Rondo	CONSULTING	
Nkongho	Nnena	CONSULTING	
Park	Michael	CONSULTING	On two Achievement First charter boards, AF Endeavor Elem and AF Endeavor Middle; McKinsey & Company (3)
Saia	Frank	CONSULTING	
St. Claire	Gerald	CONSULTING	On board of six Uncommon charters, Bed Stuy Collegiate, Brooklyn East Collegiate, Brownsville Collegiate, Kings Collegiate, Ocean Hill Collegiate, and Williamsburg Collegiate
Tartaglia	Matt	CONSULTING	On two Achievement First charter boards, AF East NY Elem and AF East NY Middle
Young	Christina C.	CONSULTING	Christina was a fifth grade teacher at P.S. 65 in the South Bronx.
Taylor	Elizabeth Burnett	CONSULTING (FIN)	Before becoming a consultant, Elizabeth was COO of PioneerPath Capital, a division of Citadel Investment Group
Horwitz	Belle	CONSULTING/ CORPORATION	
Wray	Gilda	CONSULTING/ FOUNDATION/NON- PROFIT	
Thompson	Suzanne	CONSULTING/NON-	

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
		PROFIT	
Caudill	Heather	CONSULTING- CHARTER	
Cooper	David	CONSULTING- CHARTER	
DeFoyd	Katherine	CONSULTING- CHARTER	On Harlem RBI CMO board; interlocked with Dream Charter board member via Growth for Good, which provides strategic planning, development, fundraising, government relations, marketing and communications expertise to charters and other clients
Ford	Jim	CONSULTING- CHARTER	Mr. Ford has been involved in more than 150 charter schools and school projects nationally in various roles, including project manager, Board member and officer, fundraiser, grantor and lender, in addition to being a frequent reviewer for charter school authorizers throughout the country
Henske	Preston	CONSULTING- CHARTER	On three charter boards, Democracy Prep-Harlem, Harlem Prep Elementary, Harlem Prep Middle; interlocked via Bain & Company (18) via Uncommon Schools, Inc. CMO board member (and E. Shy on other school boards)
Jack	C. Allison	CONSULTING- CHARTER	
Lenig	Elizabeth	CONSULTING- CHARTER	
Shy	Eileen	CONSULTING- CHARTER	Interlock via Bain & Company (18) via Uncommon Schools Inc. CMO board and 6 Uncommon charter boards on which Shy is member
Shanker	Cate	CONSULTING- CHARTER/ NONPROFIT- CHARTER	On SA-NYC Board; independent consultant focusing on education reform and specifically charter schools. She was previously a Principal at Bain and Company in New York where she focused on Financial Services and Education

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Robinson	Diane	CONSULTING-CHARTER/NON-PROFIT-CHARTER	On board of two Citizens of the World charters, CoWC I and II; consultant with experience including serving as a Race to the Top reviewer for the Federal Government and advising New Leaders for New Schools on principal evaluation practices; former president of Urban Teacher Residency United; National Director of Recruitment and Selection for the KIPP Foundation; formerly worked for Teach for America in regional and national leadership roles.
Dumont	Deborah	CONSULTING-EDUCATION	
Parkinson	Molly	CONSULTING-EDUCATION	
Rosen	Jane Ehrenberg	CONSULTING-EDUCATION	
West	Teri	CONSULTING-EDUCATION	Independent education consultant; develops and conducts training, facilitation and follow-up of instructional rounds methods and practices with high schools, colleges, and community-based education organizations
Chuang	Huey-Min	CORPORATION	Empire State Development Corporation
Clain	Joanne	CORPORATION	
Arias	Ruben	CORPORATION	Explore Schools, Inc. board
Baker	Wilder	CORPORATION	
Benerofe	Mark	CORPORATION	
Bryan	Tim	CORPORATION	
Buchesky	Stanley	CORPORATION	
Buffam	Susie Gleeson	CORPORATION	
Catterall	James	CORPORATION	On Lighthouse Academies CMO board
Childs	Kaley	CORPORATION	
Cohen	David	CORPORATION	On Harlem RBI CMO board
Combemale	Nicolas	CORPORATION	
Cook	Ian	CORPORATION	
Crespi	Kevin	CORPORATION	
Cutler	Alice	CORPORATION	

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Downey	Allison	CORPORATION	
Eagle	Terri	CORPORATION	
Field	Rachel	CORPORATION	
Fingerhut	Barry	CORPORATION	
Fisher	Kelly	CORPORATION	
Fleming	Derek	CORPORATION	
Freiman	Brandon	CORPORATION	
Froelich	David	CORPORATION	
Gennuso	Carrie	CORPORATION	
Ginsburgh	Justin	CORPORATION	Empire State Development Corporation (2)
Hall	Michael	CORPORATION	On four Leadership Prep charter boards, Bed-Stuy, Brownsville, Carnarsie, Ocean Hill
Hartman	Kimberly	CORPORATION	
Kagan	Miki L.	CORPORATION	
Katz	Donald R.	CORPORATION	
LaGuerre	Yolanda	CORPORATION	
Laraway	Anne	CORPORATION	
Linsky	Marty	CORPORATION	
Lynton	Lili	CORPORATION	On two charter boards: East Harlem Scholars I and II
Mehiel	Dennis D.	CORPORATION	
Mirsky	Lauren	CORPORATION	
Morales	Joshua	CORPORATION	
Murphy	Tara	CORPORATION	
Nath	Rajeev	CORPORATION	
Nieves	Lisette	CORPORATION	
Offutt	Ryan	CORPORATION	On Democracy Prep Public Schools CMO board
O'Rourke	Hugh	CORPORATION	Corporate management
Quirk	Kathleen	CORPORATION	On four Ascend Charter boards, Brooklyn Ascend, Brownsville Ascend, Bushwick Ascend, Carnarsie Ascend; prior to joining CLA, Quirk worked for the New York City Department of Education (NYCDOE) as special

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
			assistant to chancellor Joel Klein and later as associate director of knowledge management
Rozas	Trisha	CORPORATION	
Salmon	Phil	CORPORATION	Interlocked on Harbor Science and Arts Charter School board via Metlife
Sawers	Greg	CORPORATION	On SA-NYC board; formerly Chief Executive Officer and co-founder of Evercore Asset Management
Schumer	Mark	CORPORATION	
Simoneaux	Niki	CORPORATION	
Slous	Alexandra M.	CORPORATION	Accenture International (5); on same charter board as L. Slous below
Stenson-Desamours	Lisa	CORPORATION	Interlocked on Harbor Science and Arts Charter School board via Metlife
Straub	T.R.	CORPORATION	On two CoWC charter school boards, I and II; formerly recruitment director for Teach for America
Strauch	Charles	CORPORATION	Included in profile of Success Academy donors to Governor Cuomo's reelection campaign in advance of 2014 charter legislation and after Mayor Bill de Blasio's attempts to curb NYC charter growth; gave \$15,000 (chalkbeat.org)
Strauss	Tracey	CORPORATION	
Verma	Pallavi	CORPORATION	Accenture International (5)
Waldman	Marvin	CORPORATION	
Walker	Gregg	CORPORATION	
Weil	Laura	CORPORATION	
Wills	Sarah	CORPORATION	On two New Visions boards, Charter HS M&S and Humanities
Winther	Bryan	CORPORATION	
Kolz	Amy	CORPORATION	
Akselrad	Susan Mustokoff	CORPORATION	
Rothschild	Spencer	CORPORATION/ ASSOCIATION	
Golden-Icahn	Gail	CORPORATION/CMO/ HF	On multiple Icahn Charter boards as well as their CMO, Foundation for a Greater Opportunity; interlocked with

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
			spouse Carl Icahn via Icahn Associates on CMO/multiple charter boards
Scully	Reginal Kulik	CORPORATION/ NONPROFIT- CHARTER	Interlocked on Success Academy Network CMO board with her husband and fellow board member via Making Waves Academy/Making Waves Education Program: "Both Ms. Scully and her husband, John Scully, have demonstrated their commitment to expanding access to quality education by launching and overseeing the California charter network Making Waves Academy and Making Waves Education Program."
Caputo	Lisa	CORPORATION/ THINK TANK/MEDIA	Interlocked with six other New Visions for New Schools board members via the Council on Foreign Relations (46); Sesame Workshop (11)
Kriegel	Jay L.	CORPORATION/ THINK TANK/PRIVATE SCHOOL/NONPROFIT -CHARTER	New Visions for Public Schools CMO; interlocked with six other New Visions for New Schools board members via the Council on Foreign Relations (46); Prep for Prep (11), leadership development program that offers promising students of color access to a private school education and life changing opportunities
Kavanagh	Justena	CORPORATION- ARTS	
Adland	Joshua	CORPORATION- CHARTER	Kaplan (2)
Cerf	Chris	CORPORATION- CHARTER	On Ascend Learning, Inc. CMO board; Amplify Education (20)
Genko-ji Lugoviña	Francisco	CORPORATION- CHARTER	On two charter boards: Family Life Academy Charters I and II. Founder and President of Hunter Group, LLC., a company focused on charter schools, under-performing companies, and social entrepreneurship
Ginsberg	Dan	CORPORATION- CHARTER	Interlocked on Launch Expeditionary Learning Charter School board via Schoolnet-Pearson (2)
Harber	Jonathan	CORPORATION-	Interlocked on Launch Expeditionary

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
		CHARTER	Learning Charter School board via Schoolnet-Pearson (2)
Joerg	Michele	CORPORATION-CHARTER	
Manley	Anthony	CORPORATION-CHARTER	On three Democracy Prep charter boards: Democracy Prep-Harlem, Harlem Prep Charter Elementary, HPC Middle
Moser	Rob	CORPORATION-CHARTER	Amplify Education (20)
Walker	David F. A.	CORPORATION-CHARTER	On East Harlem Tutorial Program (EHTP) CMO board
Chou	Luyen	CORPORATION-CHARTER/CHARTER	Co-founder of Brooklyn Prospect Charter School
Hamilton	Scott	CORPORATION-CHARTER/PRIVATE SCHOOL	Interlocked on Brilla College Preparatory Charter School board via Seton Education Partners
Teixeira	Mark	CORP-SPORTS	
Biancamano	Lori	FACILITIES	Interlocked with Bronx Charter School for the Arts board member via GreenOak Real Estate Advisors, LP
Briggs	David	FACILITIES	On board of four New Visions charter schools in Brooklyn
Burton	Robert	FACILITIES	
Campbell Leggett	Jessica	FACILITIES	On two charter boards, Democracy Prep Charter Middle and High Schools
Cleary	Shelly	FACILITIES	
Cuba	Stephanie	FACILITIES	
Dumas	Brandilyn	FACILITIES	Formerly worked for Teach for America
Ellsworth	James	FACILITIES	
Finkelstein	Lisa Lippman	FACILITIES	
Fortune	Roger	FACILITIES	
Frazier	Beth	FACILITIES	Pricewaterhousecoopers LLP (5)
Giles	Douglas	FACILITIES	
Goldban	David	FACILITIES	
Guadagnolo	Charles	FACILITIES	
Haga	Sarah	FACILITIES	
Higgins	William F.	FACILITIES	On two charter boards, South Bronx Classical I and II
Holland	Elizabeth	FACILITIES	

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Keuber	Deborah	FACILITIES	
Koffman	Aaron	FACILITIES	The Hudson Companies/The Related Companies, Inc. (4)
Lathen	Kathy	FACILITIES	
Lee	Kenneth	FACILITIES	
Leonardos	Nikolaos	FACILITIES	
Levine	Richard	FACILITIES	
Plummer	Linda S.	FACILITIES	
Reinertsen	Robert	FACILITIES	
Rudin	Ophelia	FACILITIES	
Serafino	James N.	FACILITIES	
Wharton	Philip	FACILITIES	
Wong	Julie	FACILITIES	Interlocked on Bronx Charter School for the Arts via GreenOak Real Estate Advisors, LP, real estate focused principal investing firm
Zwiebel	David	FACILITIES/ NONPROFIT/ ACTIVIST/CORP- INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY	On board of two charters, Harlem Village Academy and HVA Leadership; human rights activist; co-Chairman of the PTA Special Education Committee; co-founder and Managing Director of University Ventures, a leading higher education focused investment fund with approximately \$300M under management that invests in entrepreneurs and institutions that are reimagining the future of higher education and creating new pathways from education to employment
Cross	Jay	FACILITIES- CHARTER	The Hudson Companies/The Related Companies, Inc./Hudson Yards (4)
Dills	Ashley	FACILITIES- CHARTER	Vice President, Business Development and Finance, Civic Builders
Gordon	Stephen	FACILITIES- CHARTER	Serves on two charter boards, Democracy Prep-Harlem Middle and DP-Harlem High
Howard	Angela	FACILITIES- CHARTER	
Kraus	Chris	FACILITIES- CHARTER	Jones Lang LaSalle (4)

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Schiattarella	Carlo	FACILITIES-CHARTER	April 1, 2013 article: "Charter School Development Corporation is developing the school. Carlo Schiattarella, a project manager for the group, said the decision to completely demolish the warehouse was made because the extent of rehab work that would have been required to make sure the remaining portions of the warehouse met seismic requirements." Read more: http://www.lowellsun.com/breakingnews/ci_22916366/lowell-charter-school-has-new-plans#ixzz2wEqkFyfn
Schlendorf	Christine	FACILITIES-CHARTER	On four Ascend Charter boards, Brooklyn Ascend, Brownsville Ascend, Bushwick Ascend, Carnarsie Ascend
Schmerin	Jonathan E.	FACILITIES-CHARTER	Sits on the Board of Governors of the Harmonie Club of New York City, one of New York's oldest and most prestigious private clubs
Guadalupe-Sharp	Maria	FACILITIES-CHARTER/ALUM	Harlem RBI alum
Forman	Christopher	FACILITIES-CHARTER/NON-PROFIT-CHARTER	On Citizens of the World Charter (CWC) Schools CMO board; interlocked on CoWC board via The Wonder of Reading (NP-CH)
Austria	Ruben	FAITHBASED	
Bordignon	Paolo	FAITHBASED	Interlocked with other VOICE Charter School of New York board members via St. Bartholomew's Church
Brawley	Rev. David K.	FAITHBASED	
Carrion	Michael	FAITHBASED	
Findlayter	Orlando	FAITHBASED	
Walrond	Michael, Rev.	FAITHBASED	

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Bernard	A.R.	FAITHBASED/ CHARTER	Founded one of four religious-affiliated charters that opened in 2010; "Rev. A. R. Bernard is a rather more unusual figure. A former Muslim, now a charismatic Christian preacher and published author, a black conservative... As a pastor, he had to navigate the initial skepticism of some congregants when he helped establish the Cultural Arts Academy charter school. 'It's a little touchy, because we have a congregation of 33,000 members, so we have over 460 educators in the congregation, and they were supportive of the unions, and were a little tense about opening a charter school.' But that turmoil has been outweighed by the advantages. 'We used the influence of the faith-based environment to bring a value to education. Value was lost somewhere, and somehow wealth was disconnected from education, and attached to sports and entertainment. We had to reorient the children to understand that true wealth is portable. It's education.' Improving education, for Bernard, entails changing the culture." Source: http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052748703650604575313353972327426
Mullings	Rev. Dr. Les	FAITHBASED/ NONPROFIT- CHARTER	
Troderman	Diane	FAITHBASED/ NONPROFIT- CHARTER	On National Center for Hebrew Language Charter School Excellence and Development, Inc. board
Kearns	Kevin	FAITHBASED- CHARTER	Interlocked on Family Life Academy Charter board via Latino Pastoral Action Center
Rivera	Raymond, Dr. Rev.	FAITHBASED- CHARTER	Interlocked on Family Life Academy Charter board via Latino Pastoral Action Center

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Alderman	John	FINANCE	On two New Visions Schools charter boards: Math & Science III and Humanities III
Aldridge	Frank	FINANCE	
Altman	Roger C.	FINANCE	New Visions for Public Schools CMO board; interlocked with two other New Visions board members via Brookings Institution and The Hamilton Project as well as two via Evercore Partners, Inc.
Amedee	Rubens	FINANCE	Goldman Sachs (55)
Amoo	Franklin	FINANCE	
Anbinder	Steve	FINANCE	
Augusta	Nadine	FINANCE	On four Leadership Prep boards, Bed-Stuy, Brownsville, Carnarsie, Ocean Hill
Banker	Howard	FINANCE	
Barnes	Khary	FINANCE	
Bayles	Richard L.	FINANCE	Interlocked with two Voice Charter board members via St. Bartholomew Church
Berkley	William R.	FINANCE	On Achievement First Inc. CMO board and Aspire Charter board
Beubel	Felicia	FINANCE	
Bhakoo	Girish	FINANCE	
Binder	Bryan	FINANCE	On SA-NYC Board; formerly, “was a Partner and Portfolio Manager at Caxton Associates, LLC, a \$13 billion global macro hedge fund based in New York, NY and was also a Portfolio Manager at SAC Capital, LLC a \$14 billion hedge fund based in Stamford, CT.” Included in profile of Success Academy donors to Governor Cuomo’s reelection campaign in advance of 2014 charter legislation and after Mayor Bill de Blasio’s attempts to curb NYC charter growth; gave \$15,000 (chalkbeat.org).
Braddock	Carrie	FINANCE	Interlocked with Roads Charter School I board member via Centerbridge Partners
Broder	Jason	FINANCE	Goldman Sachs (55)

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Brown	Melissa	FINANCE	On two charter boards, South Bronx Classical Charters I and II; Barclays Capital (16)
Brown	Kevin	FINANCE	
Builione	Todd	FINANCE	On Harlem RBI CMO board; Kohlberg Kravis Roberts (4)
Camp	Elizabeth Varley	FINANCE	
Campagna	Janet	FINANCE	
Campbell	Thomas	FINANCE	
Canton	Craig	FINANCE	
Carbone	Tony	FINANCE	
Cardone	Tara Goodwin	FINANCE	
Carnegie	Kimesha	FINANCE	On two charter boards, Explore Charter School and Explore Empower Charter School
Casella	Mark	FINANCE	On East Harlem Tutorial Program (EHTP) CMO board; Pricewaterhousecoopers LLP (5)
Casner	Matthew	FINANCE	On two charter boards, Democracy Prep Middle Charter and Dem Prep High School Charter
Chainani	Sandeep	FINANCE	Morgan Stanley (37)
Chao	Grace	FINANCE	Riverside Risk Advisors LLC (4)
Coburn	Theodore J.	FINANCE	On five Ascend Charter boards, Brooklyn, Brownsville, Bushwick, Carnarsie, Williamsburg
Coffey	Kelly	FINANCE	
Cohen	Justin	FINANCE	On three Achievement First Charter boards, AF Endeavor Elem and Middle and AF Univ Prep
Cohen	Marc	FINANCE	
Cohn	Gary	FINANCE	On two charter boards, HCZ Promise Academy Charters I and II
Cornwell	K. Don	FINANCE	On East Harlem Tutorial Program CMO board
Crosswell	Sonya	FINANCE	
Cruz	Zoe	FINANCE	On two charter boards, HCZ Promise Academy Charter I and II
Dalal	Ankur	FINANCE	
Davidson	Jon	FINANCE	

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Davis	Cary	FINANCE	
de Nicola	Anthony J.	FINANCE	
DeLuise	Lawrence	FINANCE	
Dumas	Tadashi "Todd"	FINANCE	
Eckholdt	Eric	FINANCE	Credit Suisse (17)
Ellman	Larry	FINANCE	
Epps	Jamal	FINANCE	On three Democracy Prep Charter School boards
Fassler	Matt	FINANCE	Goldman Sachs (55)
Flynn	Deirdre	FINANCE	Interlocked with two members of Bronx Charter School for Excellence (BCSE) board via Riverside Risk Advisors LLC (4)
Foley	Jake	FINANCE	In his new role, Mr. Foley covers large-capitalization hedge funds, private equity firms, and select asset management companies.
Fraser	Stuart A.	FINANCE	Interlocks between Fraser on Explore Schools Inc. board and two Explore Charter School boards via Cantor Fitzgerald (8)
Frost	Joyce	FINANCE	Interlocked with two members of Bronx Charter School for Excellence (BCSE) board via Riverside Risk Advisors LLC (4)
Gaffney	Edmund	FINANCE	On two charter boards, New Visions HS M&S II and Humanities II
Geisenheimer	Susan	FINANCE	
Genirs	Kevin	FINANCE	Interlocked on Beginning with Children Foundation, Inc. CMO board via Barclays Capital (16)
Gibbons	Stacy	FINANCE	
Gibbons	Trevor	FINANCE	On board of three charters: Democracy Prep-Harlem Elem., Harlem Prep Elem, and Harlem Prep Middle
Glenn	Dylan	FINANCE	
Goldfarb	Deborah	FINANCE	Interlocked on Beginning with Children Foundation, Inc. CMO board via Barclays Capital (16)

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Grassey	Richard R., Jr.	FINANCE	
Gray	Kristen	FINANCE	
Greenberg	Ira	FINANCE	On two charter boards, Manhattan Charter I and II
Greenwald	Bruce M.	FINANCE	
Gurvich	Alex	FINANCE	
Hartman	Benjamin	FINANCE	
Hatfield	Jay	FINANCE	
Hickman	R. Trent	FINANCE	
Hoffman	Eric	FINANCE	On Beginning with Children Foundation, Inc. CMO board; Centerbridge Partners, L.P. (8)
Hubbard	Andy	FINANCE	
Hutcher	Andy	FINANCE	
Iacono	Frank	FINANCE	Interlocked with two members of Bronx Charter School for Excellence (BCSE) board via Riverside Risk Advisors LLC (4)
Jaros	Natalie Deak	FINANCE	Partner in Ernst & Young's Financial Services Office based in New York. She provides assurance and advisory services to the financial services industry, focusing on hedge funds and private equity funds.
Johnson	Hank	FINANCE	Barclays Capital (16)
Jorgensen	Steven	FINANCE	
Karangelen	Michael	FINANCE	Towerbrook Capital Partners (21); sits on two Preparatory Network charter boards: Girls Prep of New York and Lower East Side Middle as well as board of Friends of Girls Prep Charter
Katz	Michal	FINANCE	On Public Preparatory Network CMO board; Barclays Capital (16)
Kearney	Tom	FINANCE	On three charter boards: Democracy Prep-Harlem, Harlem Prep Elementary and Harlem Prep Middle
Kerrey	Bob	FINANCE	Harlem RBI CMO board
Kiggen	Jamie	FINANCE	The Riverside Company: interlocks between East Harlem Tutorial Program (EHTP) board member and Kiggen, who serves on its two charter school boards: East Harlem Scholars I and II

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Kim	John	FINANCE	On four Uncommon Schools charter boards: Leadership Prep Bed-Stuy, Brownsville, Carnarsie, Ocean Hill
Kirkbride	Michael	FINANCE	Was a charter member of Teach for America
Klinsky	Steven	FINANCE	Interlocked on Great Oaks Foundation board via New Mountain Capital; led the creation of New York State's first ever charter school (the Sisulu-Walker Charter School of Harlem)
LaRoche-Morris	Renee	FINANCE	
Lawrence	Bryan R.	FINANCE	
Leach	Nicole Rodriguez	FINANCE	
Lee	Grace	FINANCE	
Leonhard	Denise	FINANCE	American Express (12)
Lockhart	JB	FINANCE	
Ludlum	Robert	FINANCE	JP Morgan Chase (26)
Lunat	Suleman	FINANCE	
Macleod	Kristen	FINANCE	Goldman Sachs (55)
Martin	Ragde J.	FINANCE	Barclays Capital (16)
Mass	Alison	FINANCE	On two charter boards, Excellence Boys of Bed-Stuy and Excellence Girls
Mitchell	Floyd	FINANCE	
Moszkowski	Neal	FINANCE	Uncommon Schools CMO board - interlocked on multiple Uncommon charter boards via Towerbrook Capital Partners (19)
Narcisse	Colbert	FINANCE	On Harlem RBI CMO board
Nwabuzor	Ekwutozia U.	FINANCE	JP Morgan Chase (26); On board of six Uncommon Collegiate Charters, Bed Stuy, Brooklyn East, Brownsville, Kings, Ocean Hill, Williamsburg
Officer	Graham	FINANCE	On SA-NYC board; Goldman Sachs (55)
Palo	Dawn	FINANCE	On board of two KIPP charters, KIPP Academy and KIPP NYC Washington Heights
Pasquariello	Tony	FINANCE	On two Uncommon Schools charter boards, Excellence Boys of Bed-Stuy and Excellence Girls Charter Goldman

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
			Sachs (55)
Pena	Carine	FINANCE	Citigroup (11)
Pianko	Daniel	FINANCE	On two charter boards, Harlem Village Academy and Harlem Village Academy Leadership
Pinnock	Blondel	FINANCE	On two Democracy Prep charter boards, DP-Harlem Middle and DP-Harlem High; Carver Community Development Corporation/Carver Federal Savings Bank (3)
Pristaw	Josh	FINANCE	
Pzena	Richard S.	FINANCE	Interlocked with Steven Galbraith on Success Academy Network board via Pzena Investment Management
Rana	Vishaal	FINANCE	Goldman Sachs (55)
Rapp	Jason	FINANCE	
Robinson	Claire	FINANCE	On two Achievement First charter boards, AF Endeavor Elem and AF Endeavor Middle
Robinson	Cicily	FINANCE	American Express (12)
Ross	Nicole Pullen	FINANCE	Goldman Sachs (55)
Sacks	Ian	FINANCE	Towerbrook Capital Partners (21); sits on six Uncommon Schools charters and is interlocked through their CMO, Uncommon Schools, Inc. board via that Towerbrook connection.
Samberg	Jeff	FINANCE	
Samuels	Amy Arthur	FINANCE	JP Morgan Chase (26)
Sanchez	Alex	FINANCE	
Sandoval	Julio	FINANCE	Citigroup (11)
Schlosstein	Ralph L.	FINANCE	Interlocked with two other New Visions board members via Evercore Partners, Inc. and two New Visions board members via The Hamilton Project at the Brookings Institution
Sharp	Shannon	FINANCE	
Shaughnessy	Peggy	FINANCE	Great Oaks Foundation CMO board; Kohlberg Kravis Roberts (4)

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Shropshire	Anthony	FINANCE	On two Democracy Prep boards, DP-Harlem Middle and DP-Harlem High
Sobotka	David	FINANCE	Harlem RBI CMO board; Bank of America (3)
Squeri	Stephen	FINANCE	On HCZ and Promise Academy I and II boards; American Express (12);
Steadly	David M.	FINANCE	Citigroup (11)
Strasser	Scott	FINANCE	
Suria	Ravi	FINANCE	
Suzman	Andrew	FINANCE	
Taylor	Tim	FINANCE	On Explores Schools Inc. CMO board and two Explore charter schools, Explore Charter and Explore Empower Charter; Cantor Fitzgerald (8)
Truesdale	Don	FINANCE	On Harlem RBI CMO board; Goldman Sachs (55)
Tucker	Andrew	FINANCE	
Utterman	Alexandra Hallen	FINANCE	On Beginning with Children Foundation, Inc. CMO board
Vermilyen	Paul A., Jr.	FINANCE	On Public Preparatory Network CMO board and on Prep charter, Boys Prep of NY
Wachowicz	Kelly	FINANCE	
Waldman	Andrew	FINANCE	
Weber	Chad	FINANCE	
Weinstein	Adam	FINANCE	
White	Kevin	FINANCE	
Whitworth	Scott	FINANCE	
Wigley	Toye	FINANCE	JP Morgan Chase (26)
Wildermuth	David	FINANCE	On two East Harlem Scholars charter boards, I and II; Goldman Sachs (55)
Williams	Chrystal Stokes	FINANCE	On two Uncommon Schools charter boards, Excellence Boys of Bed-Stuy and Excellence Girls Charter as well as one Achievement First charter board, Brownsville; American Express (12)
Windsor	Sean	FINANCE	On two Democracy Prep boards, DP-Harlem Middle and DP-Harlem High; Houlihan Lokey (5)
Wolfe	Josh	FINANCE	
Wood	Alastair	FINANCE	On two charter boards, Democracy Prep Middle and DP High

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Wooden	Ambrose, Jr.	FINANCE	Goldman Sachs (55)
Yaeger	Steven	FINANCE	
Yang	Arun	FINANCE	American Express (12)
Zeiler	John S.	FINANCE	
Mannix	Hank	FINANCE	On four Explore charter boards, Explore, Explore Empower, Explore Exceed and Explore Excel
Garcia	Jerry E.	FINANCE	On New Visions for Public Schools CMO board
Jain	Robert	FINANCE	On Uncommon Schools CMO board and Bronx Community Charter School board
Highsmith	Carlton L.	FINANCE/CHARTER	On Achievement First Aspire and Achievement First CMO boards; also on board of Amistad Academy Charter School
Stainman	Art	FINANCE/CORP	
Langone	Kenneth G.	FINANCE/CORP/ MEDICAL	Interlocked on HCZ and HCZ charter boards via Geeknet, Inc.
Scully	John H.	FINANCE/CORP/ NONPROFIT- CHARTER/ INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY	Interlocked on Success Academy Network CMO board with his wife and fellow board member via Making Waves Academy/Making Waves Education Program: "Both Ms. Scully and her husband, John Scully, have demonstrated their commitment to expanding access to quality education by launching and overseeing the California charter network Making Waves Academy and Making Waves Education Program."
Elish	Harold	FINANCE/ CORPORATION- CHARTER	Kaplan Educational Foundation (2)
Olson	Steve	FINANCE/ FOUNDATION- CHARTER	Individual investor and operator of small businesses; formerly the Treasurer and Chief Financial Officer of Tiger Management LLC; Trustee of the Tiger Foundation
Tisch	Thomas J.	FINANCE/ FOUNDATION- CHARTER	

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Hughes, Jr.	Jefferson	FINANCE/HF	Consultant and Advisor to the Olayan Group; Partner and Director of Capital Formation Group, Boston- based financial planning firm); Board Member of Family Capital Trust Company (Boston based trust bank); Board Member of Merrill Lynch Ventures LLC; Board Member of KECALP Inc. (ML Private Equity Funds); Partner of NewSmith Capital Partners
Witten	Richard E.	FINANCE/INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	On Harlem Children's Zone CMO board and its two charter boards, Promise Academy I and II; Goldman Sachs (55)
Bahena	Isela	FINANCE/NONPROFIT-CHARTER	On board of The Tapestry Project, which is “creating charter schools that reflect the best of New York City. The focus of our efforts is Northern Brooklyn, a rapidly changing neighborhood that epitomizes New York’s dynamic diversity.” Eric Grannis, Moskowitz’s husband, is Executive Director of Tapestry.
Gallogly	Mark	FINANCE/NONPROFIT-CHARTER/THINK TANK	Interlocked on Roads Charter School I board via Centerbridge Partners (Cofounder and Managing Principal) a private equity and credit investment firm; member of the Council on Foreign Relations (46); board of Partnership for New York City; serves on the advisory council of the Brookings Institution’s Hamilton Project
Effron	Blair W.	FINANCE/THINK TANK	On New Visions for Public Schools CMO board; interlocked with two other New Visions board members via Brookings Institution/The Hamilton Project (26); interlocked with six other New Visions for New Schools board members via the Council on Foreign Relations (46)

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Orszag	Peter R.	FINANCE/THINK TANK/THINK TANK	On New Visions for Public Schools CMO board; Citigroup (11); interlocked with six other New Visions for New Schools board members via the Council on Foreign Relations (46)
Annenberg	Wallis	FOUNDATION	On HCA CMO board and its two charter boards, Harlem Promise Academy Charter I and II
Harris	Charles	FOUNDATION	On Uncommon Schools CMO board
Lampert	Kinga	FOUNDATION	
Leff	Noah	FOUNDATION	
Simons	Marilyn	FOUNDATION	On East Harlem Tutorial Program (EHTP) CMO board
Sypher	Eleanor K.	FOUNDATION	
Tananbaum	Dorothy	FOUNDATION	On National Center for Hewbrew Language CMO board
Travier	Damian	FOUNDATION	On two Democracy Prep charters, DP Charter Middle and DP Charter High
Campbell	A. Nicole	FOUNDATION	On two charter boards, Democracy Prep-Harlem Middle and High Schools
Abrahamson	Carrie	FOUNDATION-CHARTER	On four Leadership Prep Charter School boards - Bed-Stuy, Brownsville, Carnarsie, Ocean Hill
Bernhardt	William	FOUNDATION-CHARTER	CUNY-various colleges
Braufman	Jill	FOUNDATION-CHARTER	On Success Academy Network CMO Board; married to Daniel Nir, fellow Success board member and founder of hedge fund Gracie Capital
Carson	Cecily	FOUNDATION-CHARTER	On two charter boards, Excellence Boys of Bed-Stuy and Excellence Girls Charter Schools
Fisher	Wendy	FOUNDATION-CHARTER	
Gedzelman	Rabbi David	FOUNDATION-CHARTER	
Grant	Christina	FOUNDATION-CHARTER	On two charter boards and one CMO board: Democracy Prep Endurance, Great Oaks Charter, and Great Oaks Foundation
Howitt	Robert	FOUNDATION-CHARTER	Interlocked with Brett Peiser, CEO of Uncommon Schools, Inc., and Norman Atkins, Uncommon board members,

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
			who are also on WKBJ Foundation board. Howitt is also affiliated with Excellence Academies, Inc., which supports the charitable purposes of the supported organization, Uncommon Schools, Inc.
Jordan	Kristin Kearns	FOUNDATION-CHARTER	
Klein	Matthew	FOUNDATION-CHARTER	On four Leadership Prep boards: Bed-Stuy, Brownsville, Carnarsie and Ocean Hill; Blue Ridge Foundation (11)
Kovner	Suzie	FOUNDATION-CHARTER	The Foundation partners, including Achievement First, Success Academy Charter Schools, and Uncommon Charter Schools, are realizing extraordinary success on metrics ranging from test scores to graduation rates, college enrollment and completion.
Lief	Beth J.	FOUNDATION-CHARTER	New Visions for New Schools CMO board; also on Community Roots Charter School
Saltzman	David	FOUNDATION-CHARTER	On board of two Excellence charters, Excellence Boys of Bed-Stuy and Excellence Girls; prior to joining The Robin Hood Foundation (31), Mr. Saltzman served as the Special Assistant to the President of the Board of Education of the City of New York for three years.
Stern	Michael	FOUNDATION-CHARTER	
Turner	Caroline	FOUNDATION-CHARTER	On HCZ board and HCZ charter boards, Promise Academy I and II
Weingartner	Eric	FOUNDATION-CHARTER	The Robin Hood Foundation (31); Eric is a former Teach for America corps member, having taught eighth grade English in the South Bronx, and also worked as Executive Director of Teach for America following his school placement

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Welles	Richard	FOUNDATION-CHARTER	Interlocked on Academy of the City Charter via the OWN Foundation; currently program consultant at Our World Neighborhood Charter School (OWNCS); previously he was assistant principal at the school and was regional vice president for program and operations of OWNCS's former management company, Mosaica Education.
Zimmerman	Steven	FOUNDATION-CHARTER	Interlocked on Academy of the City Charter via The OWN Foundation; was a founder of Our World Neighborhood Charter School and served for five years as the Chairman of the Board of Trustees.
Zeldin	Claudia	FOUNDATION-CHARTER (2)	Interlocked with Harlem RBI CMO board member via Growth for Good (CONS-CH)
Sackler	Jon D.	FOUNDATION-CHARTER/CAO/NON PROFIT-CHARTER/HF/FIN	50CAN (12)
Griffin	Amy	FOUNDATION-CHARTER/FOUNDAT ION-CHARTER	On two KIPP charter boards - KIPP Academy Charter and KIPP NYC Washington Heights Academy Charter - as well as KIPP NYC LLC board
Levin	David	FOUNDATION-CHARTER/INSTITUTI ON OF HIGHER EDUCATION-CHARTER	KIPP Foundation (17); Relay GSE (35)
Samberg	Laura	FOUNDATION-CHARTER/NP	On Harlem Children's Zone CMO board and its two charter boards, Promise Academy I and II
Robbins	Amy L.	FOUNDATION-CHARTER/NP/HF/PS/ NONPROFIT-CHARTER	Interlocks between spouse Larry Robbins on KIPP NYC, LLC CMO board via Glenview Capital
Atkeson	Jon	HEDGE FUND	On two charter boards, Achievement First East NY Elem and AF Middle
Austin	Rudolph	HEDGE FUND	
Barrera	Rich	HEDGE FUND	Roystone (19) & Success Academy Network board

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Barrett	Jonathan	HEDGE FUND	
Beirne	Colin	HEDGE FUND	On three Democracy Prep charter boards, Democracy Prep-Harlem, Harlem Prep Elementary and Harlem Prep Middle Charter
Blitzer	David S.	HEDGE FUND	Interlocked with Harlem RBI board member via Blackstone Group
Chefer	Natalie	HEDGE FUND	
Coad	Brian	HEDGE FUND	On Explore Schools, Inc. CMO board
Cook	Stephen	HEDGE FUND	On Explore Schools, Inc. CMO board
Cozza	Keith	HEDGE FUND	
Craft	Amanda	HEDGE FUND	On five Ascend Charter boards, Brooklyn, Brownsville, Bushwick, Carnarsie, Williamsburg
Curry	R. Boykin, IV	HEDGE FUND	Multiple pro-charter affiliations: Alliance for School Choice, a national school choice leader; American Federation for Children, the nation's voice for educational choice (similar board and mission to Alliance for School Choice); New American Foundation, a nonprofit, nonpartisan public policy institute that invests in new thinkers and new ideas to address the next generation of challenges facing the United States.
Daneker	Peter	HEDGE FUND	
Daykin	Graeme	HEDGE FUND	On four charter boards, Explore Charter, Explore Empower, Explore Exceed, Explore Excel
Diker	Mark	HEDGE FUND	
Doshi	Ashish	HEDGE FUND	
Druckenmiller	Stanley F.	HEDGE FUND	On HCZ CMO board and its two charter boards, HCZ Promise Academy I and II; net worth of 3.1 billion; number 540 on Forbes list of billionaires
Frank	Lauren	HEDGE FUND	On two charter boards, Girls Prep Bronx and Girls Prep Lower East Side
Galbraith	Steven M.	HEDGE FUND	Interlocked with Success Academy network board member via Board of Directors of Pzena Investment Management

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Gaulin	Chris	HEDGE FUND	Maverick Capital (4)
Gavin	Brian	HEDGE FUND	On two charter boards, East Harlem Scholars I and II; interlocked on East Harlem Tutorial Program (EHTP) board via Blackstone Group
Gerson	Rick	HEDGE FUND	
Gill	Godfrey	HEDGE FUND	Interlocked on Coney Island Preparatory Public Charter School (Middle and High School) board via Karsch Capital Management
Gillman	Ted	HEDGE FUND	Explore Schools CMO
Gray	Jonathan	HEDGE FUND/PRIVATE SCHOOL	Blackstone Group (10); Trinity School (4)
Greenblatt	Joel	HEDGE FUND	On Success Academy Network board
Higgins	Brian J.	HEDGE FUND	On two charter boards, HCZ Promise Academy Charter I and II
Hubbard	Edward	HEDGE FUND	
Jackson	Chris	HEDGE FUND	On three Democracy Prep charter boards: Democracy Prep-Harlem, Harlem Prep Charter Elementary, HPC Middle
Kapadia	Gaurav	HEDGE FUND	On Uncommon Schools CMO board; Soroban Capital (32)
Kingdon	Mark	HEDGE FUND	On two HCZ Promise Academy charter boards, HCZ Promise Academy Charter 1 and II
Knox	Jamie	HEDGE FUND	
Krishnamurthy	Arvind	HEDGE FUND	On four charter boards: Leadership Prep Bed-Stuy, Brownsville, Carnarsie and Ocean Hill
Lau	Vivian	HEDGE FUND	On two charter boards, Achievement First Crown Heights Elem and Middle
Leonard	Chris	HEDGE FUND	
Loeb	Daniel S.	HEDGE FUND	Interlocked on Success Academy Network board (with Moskowitz) via StudentsFirst NY; founding chair of three Success Academy schools in Brooklyn; funder of NY for a Balanced Albany (gave \$1.025 million), a SuperPac registered by StudentsFirst NY, which spent \$4.3 million into six

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			Senate races in the lead-up to Cuomo’s 2014 education reform bill (Joseph, 2015); included in profile of Success Academy donors to Governor Cuomo’s reelection campaign in advance of 2014 charter legislation and after Mayor Bill de Blasio’s attempts to curb NYC charter growth; he and his wife gave \$29,367 (chalkbeat.org).
Maher	James	HEDGE FUND	
McKeown	Kirk	HEDGE FUND	On Harlem RBI CMO board
McNamara	Jay	HEDGE FUND	
Nir	Daniel	HEDGE FUND	On Success Academy Network CMO board; Daniel L. Nir and Jill. E Braufman Family Foundation (18)
Palepu	Sita Chandrika	HEDGE FUND	
Paul	Andrew S.	HEDGE FUND	Tudor Investment Corporation ("Tudor Group") (20)
Petry	John	HEDGE FUND	...Has been active in a variety of education reform causes; was a “co-founder of Democrats for Education Reform and served as past Chairman of Education Reform Now, organizations that are dedicated to reforming education policy both nationally and locally.”
Porter	Donald	HEDGE FUND	
Posner	Jarrett	HEDGE FUND	On SA-NYC board; included in profile of Success Academy donors to Governor Cuomo’s reelection campaign in advance of 2014 charter legislation and after Mayor Bill de Blasio’s attempts to curb NYC charter growth; gave \$2,500 (chalkbeat.org)
Rangwalla	Jaimin	HEDGE FUND	
Rapp	Todd	HEDGE FUND	Interlocked on Coney Island Preparatory Public Charter School (Middle and High School) board via Karsch Capital Management
Robbins	Larry	HEDGE FUND	Interlocked on KIPP Infinity Charter board with Glenview Capital as well as via KIPP NYC, LLC CMO with spouse

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			Amy L. Robbins, also affiliated with Glenview
Snyder	Douglas	HEDGE FUND	
Solotar	Joan	HEDGE FUND	On two East Harlem Scholars charter boards, I and II; interlocked on East Harlem Tutorial Program (EHTP) CMO board via Blackstone Group (10)
Taft	Richard	HEDGE FUND	Interlocked on KIPP Infinity Charter via Glenview Capital (10)
Talpins	Jeffrey	HEDGE FUND	On HCZ CMO and HCZ Promise Academy I and II boards
Tilson	Whitney	HEDGE FUND	Two KIPP boards, KIPP Academy and KIPP NYC Washington Heights; Tilson is part of wealthy circle promoting charter schools: http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/10/nyregion/10charter.html?pagewanted=all .
Viglucchi	Nicole	HEDGE FUND	
Weiller	Ken	HEDGE FUND	On two Democracy Prep charter boards, DP Charter Middle and DP Charter High
Zesch	Kellie	HEDGE FUND	On three charter boards, Democracy Prep-Harlem Elem, Harlem Prep Elem and Harlem Prep Middle; Chilton Investment Company Forms Chilton Trust Management, LLC, a Private Wealth Management Firm, for Ultra High Net Worth Individuals. Chilton also announced that, as part of the formation of Chilton Trust Management, it will integrate family office services into this venture, under the leadership of Lisa Czachor, Director, and Kellie Zesch, Vice President. Ms. Zesch assists with the investment strategy for the Chilton family office, and is a Chartered Financial Analyst.
Sawhney	Vik	HEDGE FUND	Interlocked with Harlem RBI board member via Blackstone Group
Icahn	Carl C.	HEDGE FUND/	Interlocked with spouse on Icahn

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		CORP/ICT	Charter's CMO as well as on multiple Icahn charter boards via Icahn Associates
Lieberman	Gary	HEDGE FUND/FINANCE/FOUNDATION	
DiMenna	Joseph	HEDGE FUND/FOUNDATION-CHARTER	On HCZ CMO board and its two charter school boards, HCZ Promise Academy Charters I and II
Karr	Robert	HEDGE FUND/FOUNDATION-CHARTER	
Schwartz	Gabriel	HEDGE FUND/FOUNDATION-CHARTER	On three Achievement First Charter boards: AF Crown Heights Elem & Middle and AF Univ Prep
Zied	Brian	HEDGE FUND/NONPROFIT-CHARTER	Education Reform Now (20); Maverick Capital (4)
Mayer	Rafael	HEDGE FUND/PS/NP	
Schreiber	Zachary J.	HEDGE FUND/THINK TANK	On board of HCZ and its two charters, Promise Academy I and II
Curry	Caroline	HEDGE FUND/THINK TANK/NONPROFIT-CHARTER/NON-PROFIT CHARTER/NON-PROFIT-CHARTER	On four charter boards, Leadership Prep-Bed-Stuy, Brownsville, Carnarsie, and Ocean Hill; spouse of R. Boykin, IV; managing Director of Eagle Capital and on board of Leadership Prep Bedford-Stuyvesant Charter School
Aks	Daniel	INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY	
Aloi	Carl	INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY	
Arora	Nikesh	INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY	On HCA CMO board and its two charter boards, Harlem Promise Academy Charter I and II
Cole	Samuel (Sam)	INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY	On Success Academy Network CMO board
Coons	Theodore	INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY	On two charter boards, Achievement First Endeavor Elem and Middle
Dircks	Ken	INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION	

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		TECHNOLOGY	
Dixon	Joe	INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY	
Greenstein	John	INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY	On six Uncommon charter boards, Bed Stuy Collegiate, Brooklyn East Collegiate, Brownsville Collegiate, Kings Collegiate, Ocean Hill Collegiate, Williamsburg Collegiate
Growney	Chris	INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY	On three Achievement First charter boards, Endeavor Elem. Middle and University Prep
Novak	Peter	INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY	
Pascal	Andre	INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY	
Rosenberg	Dan	INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY	On two charter Democracy Prep boards, DP Charter Middle and DP Charter High
Vega	Edna	INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY	On two New Visions boards, HS Math & Science II and Humanities II
Berner	Mary G.	INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY	On Success Academy Network Board board
Stern	Charles	INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY/ CHARTER	Founded Amani Public Charter School in Mount Vernon, New York
Olson	Candice	INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY/ MEDIA	
Adams	Jacqueline	INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY/ THINK TANK	Council on Foreign Relations (46)
Bajaj	Rajeev	INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY- CHARTER	On two charter boards, Citizens of the World Charters I & II

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Stein	Gideon	INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY-CHARTER/NON-PROFIT-CHARTER	Interlocked on University Prep Charter HS board via Future is Now; New Classrooms Innovation Partners (10);
Brazier	Mark C.	INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY-FIN	
Allen	Hilary	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	Affiliated with Math for America (MfA), which was founded in NYC by a group of business leaders, mathematicians and educators and led by Jim Simons, president of Euclidean Capital and chair of Renaissance Technologies, a private investment firm that uses innovative mathematical methods to make investment decisions.
Allen	William	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
Alter	Mark	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
Andrews	Martha	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
August	Andrew	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION-CHARTER	On 2 charter boards: Harlem Village Academy and Harlem Village Academy Leadership; co-Founder and President of Relay Graduate School of Education (formerly known as Teacher U) (35)
Barron	Krista	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
Blau	Robert	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
Brabeck	Mary M.	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	On CMO Great Oaks Foundation board
Butts, III	Calvin O.	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	On New Visions for Public Schools CMO board
Casey	B.J.	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	On four New Visions for New Schools Charter School boards
Corpus	Ben	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
Darrow	Katharine	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	

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Esner	Ben	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	On four charter boards, Leadership Pre-Bed-Stuy, Brownsville, Carnarsie, and Ocean Hill
Haber	Jessica	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
Hanton	Gregory	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	CUNY-various colleges
Harris	Renee	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
Hayes	Kaiko	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
Heleniak	Kathryn Moore	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	On two charter boards, South Bronx Classical and Classical II
Hoffman	David	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
Holcombe	Elizabeth	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
Kono	Takako	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
Kurzweil	Martin	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
Latouf	Christina	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	CUNY-various colleges
Lauterbach	Mark	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	CUNY-various colleges
Leitner	Jessica	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	On two charter boards, Manhattan Charter I and II; CUNY-various colleges
Lekas	Effie	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	CUNY-various colleges
Logan	Ernest	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	Interlocked with two New Visions board members via Research Alliance for NYC Public Schools at NYU; was part of Education Equality Project, founded by the Rev. Al Sharpton and NYC Schools Chancellor Joel Klein
Looney	JoAnn	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
Macchiarola	Frank	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
Maggie	Martinez DeLuca	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	

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Maye	Marilyn	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	Formerly, Assistant Commissioner in New York City's Department of Information Technology and Telecommunications and in the city's Computer and Data Communications Services Agency
Mayers	Gregorio	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	CUNY-various colleges
McGowan	Eileen	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
More	Fred	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	Bioethics, research
Ozawa	Eric	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	On two Democracy Prep Charter boards, DP-Harlem Middle and DP-Harlem High
Robinson	Kenney	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	On East Harlem Tutorial Program (EHTP) CMO board
Romero	Manuel	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	On two charter boards, Manhattan Charter I and II; CUNY-various colleges
Roza	Marguerite	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
Sacks	Burt(on)	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	On two charter boards, UFT Charter and University Prep Charter HS; CUNY-various colleges
Saintil	Katy	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
Schott	Elaine	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
Shanley	Deborah	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	On two Achievement First charter boards, Bushwick Elem and Bushwick Middle; CUNY-various colleges
Short	William	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
Simpson	James Cecil	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	CUNY-various colleges
Strom	Carolyn	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	Reading Specialist & Education Consultant
Theodoratu	Liana	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
Wasow	Omar	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
Wilson	Sasha	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	

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Wilson	Aileen	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
Mone	Kathy	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION/ CHARTER	CUNY-various colleges; founded Charter School Business Fellows to recruit and mentor young talent for charter school operations management
Tinagero	David	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION/ CHARTER	Was the Founding Principal for Mott Hall Bronx High School
McDonald	Joe	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION/ COMMUNITY RESIDENT	
Russo	Cecelia Mary	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION/ COMMUNITY RESIDENT	“A native of Brooklyn, not far from Bedford Stuyvesant New Beginnings Charter School, is one of its founding members and is currently Chair of the Education Sub-Committee...During her thirty years in the field of education, she has taught at the elementary, junior high and college levels, concentrating mostly on the Language Arts area.”
Kane	Pearl Rock	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION/MEDIA	On Uncommon Schools CMO board; Brooklyn Prospect Charter School
Sciame	Joseph	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION/ MUNICIPAL-GOVERNMENT	
Kupferstein	Kyla	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION/ NONPROFIT	
Garvey	Nancy	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION/ NONPROFIT-ARTS	
Podhurst	Robert	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION/	

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		PRIVATE SCHOOL	
Atkins	Norman	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION-CHARTER	On CMO board Uncommon Schools Inc.; Relay Graduate School of Education (35); interlocked with Brett Peiser, CEO of Uncommon Schools, Inc., and Howitt via WKBJ Foundation board.
Salmacia	Kaycee	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION-CHARTER	Relay Graduate School of Education (35); prior to her work at Relay, Mrs. Salmacia was a Managing Director of Program at Teach For America
Anderson	Ralph	LAW	
Anker	Kent K.	LAW	
Aristondo	Linda	LAW	
Asche	Richard	LAW	
Bata	Robert C.	LAW	
Berger	Steven	LAW	
Capetanakis	Charles	LAW	On two un-related charter boards: Hebrew Language Academy Charter School and Hellenic Classical Charter School
Castillo	Epifanio	LAW	
Ceres	Rudyard	LAW	
Cheng-de Castro	Pei Pei	LAW	
de la Torre	Monica	LAW	Interlocked on Broome Street Academy Charter High School via The Door (3); public interest attorney who previously served as Director of The Door's Legal Services Center
Dolan	Kavita	LAW	
Doyle	Christopher	LAW	
Dunst	Lee	LAW	Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP (5)
Dycus	Sabrina	LAW	On two charter boards, Excellence Boys of Bed-Stuy and Excellence Girls Charters
Fixler	Herbert	LAW	
Gelston	Philip	LAW	Cravath, Swaine & Moore LLP (2)
Jenkins	Judith	LAW	On two Achievement First charter boards: Achievement First Crown Heights Elementary and middle

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Jimenez	Jessica	LAW	
Karikari	Gerald	LAW	
Kelly	Kimberly	LAW	
King	Marshall	LAW	Beginning with Children Foundation, Inc.; Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP (5)
Knight	Douglas	LAW	
La Lande	Rashida	LAW	Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher (5)
Latimer	Jonathan	LAW	
Leon	Betty	LAW	
Mann III	Linton	LAW	On six Uncommon charter boards: Brooklyn East Collegiate Charter; Bedford Stuyvesant Collegiate Charter School; Brownsville Collegiate Charter School; Kings Collegiate Charter School; Ocean Hill Collegiate Charter School; Williamsburg Collegiate Charter School
Mathias	Sam	LAW	On two Democracy Prep Public Schools charter boards: Democracy Prep-Harlem Middle and High School
McArdle	Jennifer Philbrick	LAW	
Morales	Carlos	LAW	On two charter boards, East Harlem Scholars I and II
Morrow	Kiisha	LAW	Cravath, Swaine & Moore LLP (2)
Nannery	Greg	LAW	
Noel	Rochelle	LAW	
O'Reilly	Benet	LAW	
Ortiz	Angela	LAW	
Panas	Marion	LAW	Simpson Thacher & Bartlett LLP (16)
Pantel	Jenna	LAW	Currently an associate at a New York City education law firm where she represents parents of students with disabilities
Pizzi	Rosa	LAW	Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett LLP (16); on two charter boards, Excellence Boys of Bed-stuy and Excellence Girls Charter
Rabinowitz	Stephen	LAW	Greenberg Traurig and Hoffman LLP (6)
Reynolds	Zarifa Brown	LAW	Greenberg Traurig and Hoffman LLP (6)

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Rosh	Kenneth	LAW	Harlem RBI CMO board; Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson LLP (4)
Scalettar	Lilli	LAW	
Schechter	Mardi	LAW	
Schulte	Dominique	LAW	On Public Preparatory Network CMO board
Sessions	Brittany	LAW	A lawyer who specializes in economic development of city-owned properties
Slous	Laurence	LAW	On same charter board as A. Slous above
Stecher	Jamie B.W.	LAW	
Steingart	Bonnie	LAW	Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson LLP (4)
Stolper	Michael	LAW	
Thomas	Angelica	LAW	On two Explore charter boards, Explore Charter and Explore Empower Charter
Vernon	Donald P.	LAW	
Wayland	Joseph F.	LAW	Interlocked on two Uncommon Schools charter boards, Excellence Boys of Bed-Stuy and Excellence Girls, via Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett LLP (16)
Weindling	Francesca	LAW	
Weiss	Larry H.	LAW	
Weston	Gregory	LAW	Pillsbury Law (5); governor appointee to the Real Estate Board of the State of New York; State Senate appointee to the New York State Procurement Council
Zalkind	Ella	LAW	
Barnes, Sr.	Jefferyson	LAW	
Cusack	Clare	LAW	
Jeffries	Shavar D.	LAW/CHARTER	Lowenstein Sandler (18); founding Board President of TEAM Academy Charter School
McGovern	Kate	LAW/NP	
Zurndorfer	David	LAW/NP	
Ortoli	Richard	LAW/NP-ARTS	
Beattie	Richard I.	LAW/THINK TANK/THINK TANK	Interlocked with two Achievement First board members via Evercore Partners and six via Council on Foreign Relations. Flex-nets: Simpson Thacher

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			& Bartlett (16) and Carnegie Corporation of New York (10)
Bannon	Eileen	LAW-CHARTER	
Brandes	Philip O.	LAW-CHARTER	On Public Prep Network CMO board
Brown	Katherine M.	LAW-CHARTER	
Brown	David W.	LAW-CHARTER	
Clark	Brooks S.	LAW-CHARTER	
Grandis	Michael	LAW-CHARTER	
Grannis	Eric	LAW-CHARTER	On CMO board Public Preparatory Network and Boys Preparatory Charter School board
Jacques, Esq.	Kristi	LAW-CHARTER	On two charter boards, South Bronx Classical Charter I and II
Kwon	Abraham J.	LAW-CHARTER	Willkie has an extensive background in the area of education, representing numerous colleges, universities, charter schools and other educational providers
Lee	Diana	LAW-CHARTER	
Manley, Esq.	Linda	LAW-CHARTER	
Mathews	Nikiforos	LAW-CHARTER	
O'Neill	Paul T.	LAW-CHARTER	On board of two charters, Manhattan Charter School I and II. Attorney who focuses his practice and scholarship on education law; President and Founder of Tugboat Education (CORP-CH); serves as Senior Fellow at the Edison Schools Learning Institute (CORP-CH); founding board member of Manhattan Charter School II. Additionally, Mr. O'Neill is an adjunct faculty of Teachers College, Columbia University.
Polechronis	Ralia	LAW-CHARTER	Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP (3)
Rahm	William D.	LAW-CHARTER	
Sheehan	Robert	LAW-CHARTER	On Harlem RBI CMO board

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Swann	Eliza	LAW-CHARTER	
Synnott	Aidan	LAW-CHARTER	Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP (3), the law firm that won Victory for Charter Schools in New York State Supreme Court in April 2013 (judge dismissed group of parents of public school students' claims for \$100 M in rent for public school facilities use.
Yalowitz	Kent A.	LAW-CHARTER	Mr. Yalowitz successfully defended Success Academy Charter School – Cobble Hill ... in a teacher's union-driven litigation seeking to prevent the school from opening.
Mackintosh	Mary W.	LAW-ED	Self-employed education attorney; East Harlem Tutorial Program (EHTP) CMO board
Berg	Roger	LAW-FIN	
Hamilton	Brian	LAW-FIN	
Leydier	Marion C.	LAW-FIN	Interlocked on Unity Preparatory Charter School of Brooklyn board via Sullivan & Cromwell LLP
Pollack	Richard A.	LAW-FIN	Interlocked on Unity Preparatory Charter School of Brooklyn board via Sullivan & Cromwell LLP
Swayne	Jennifer	LAW-NONPROFIT	Staff Attorney in the Health Justice Program at the non-profit civil rights law firm New York Lawyers for the Public Interest
Armstrong	Yvette	LAW-RE	One two New Visions for Public Schools charter school boards, Math & Science II and Humanities II
Coar	Sean A.	MEDIA	
Collins	Joy	MEDIA	
Epstein	Joshua	MEDIA	
Faber	David	MEDIA	On two charter boards, New Visions Charter HS M&SII and Humanities II
Frey	Christina	MEDIA	On two charter boards: Achievement First Bushwick Elem. and Achievement First Bushwick Middle
Geist	Willie	MEDIA	

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Graff	David	MEDIA	
Kettler	C.J.	MEDIA	On two Democracy Prep Public Schools charter boards: Democracy Prep Charter Middle and High School
Lewis	Adward	MEDIA	Essence Communications Inc. (6)
Mayer	Margery	MEDIA	Scholastic, Inc. (3); On Public Preparatory Network CMO board
Ng	Rany	MEDIA	
Patrick	Alvin	MEDIA	
Ramirez	Richard	MEDIA	
Trager	Katherine J.	MEDIA	On New Visions for Public Schools CMO board
Yagoda	Ken	MEDIA	
Zimmerman	Chana	MEDIA	On Beginning with Children Foundation, Inc. CMO board
Zucker	Jon	MEDIA	
Ginsberg	Gary	MEDIA/ICT/CMO/ THINK TANK	On four charter boards, New Visions Charter HS Math&Sci I and II and Humanities I and II, as well as New Visions for Public Schools CMO board; interlocked with six other New Visions for New Schools board members via the Council on Foreign Relations (46); Synacor (ICT)
Stephney	Bill	MEDIA/NONPROFIT	Current member and former chairman of United States Commission of Civil Rights' advisory committee for the state of New Jersey
Traub	James	MEDIA-JOURNALIST/ NONPROFIT	Runs a tutoring program which brings professional writers to New York City high schools
Agosto	Rosa	MEDICAL	Interlocked on Richard Izquierdo Health & Science Charter board via Urban Health Plan (3)
Bryant	Derrick	MEDICAL	On two charter school boards, Democracy Prep-Harlem Middle and High Schools
Diaz	Angela	MEDICAL	
Frommer	Ross	MEDICAL	
Gause	Lee	MEDICAL	
Hernandez	Paloma	MEDICAL	
Kilpatrick	Holly	MEDICAL	

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Mandelbaum	Karen	MEDICAL	On board of multiple Icahn Charter Schools
North	Robert	MEDICAL	On board of four Democracy Prep Charters, DP Charter Middle, Charter High, DP-Harlem Middle and DP-Harlem High
Randall	J.R.	MEDICAL	On two charter boards, Explore Exceed and Explore Excel
Sancho	Robert	MEDICAL	On Icahn Charter boards 1-5
Siegel	Jim	MEDICAL	
Critelli	Mike	MEDICAL	
de Luna	Robert	MEDICAL	
North	Robert	MEDICAL (DDS)	
Izquierdo	Richard, MD	MEDICAL/CHARTER	Interlocked on Richard Izquierdo Health and Science Charter board via Urban Health Plan (Founder)
Blank	Matthew C.	MEDICAL/CORP	On HCZ CMO board and HCZ charters, Promise Academy I and II, boards and interlocked on all three via Geeknet, Inc.
Kerr	Gregory	MEDICAL/ NONPROFIT	
Vasquez	Lourdes	MEDICAL/PARENT	
Solinsky	Steven	MEDICAL- NONPROFIT	
Wicks	Joan	MISC-HR	
Ryan	Virginia	MISC-PUBLIC ADVOCACY	
Needle	Nancy	MISC-SPECIAL EDUCATION	
Kneisley	Whitney	MISC-VOLUNTEER	
Garrett	Ashley	MISC-YOUNG ADULT PROGRAMMING	
Alleyne	Kay	MUNICIPAL- GOVERNMENT	
Billings-Burford	Diahann	MUNICIPAL- GOVERNMENT	
Burgos	Uriel	MUNICIPAL- GOVERNMENT	

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Camara	Rev. Assemblyman Karim	MUNICIPAL-GOVERNMENT	On CMO board, National Center for Hebrew Language, and its charter school board, Hebrew Language Academy
Cohen	Daniel Marks	MUNICIPAL-GOVERNMENT	
Graham	Hammad	MUNICIPAL-GOVERNMENT	
Guzman	Dean	MUNICIPAL-GOVERNMENT	
Hall	L. Priscilla	MUNICIPAL-GOVERNMENT	
Hirsch	Larry	MUNICIPAL-GOVERNMENT	On two charter boards, South Bronx Classical Charter I and II
Joffe	Lucy	MUNICIPAL-GOVERNMENT	
Massey	David	MUNICIPAL-GOVERNMENT	On five KIPP charter boards: Academy, AMP, Infinity, NYC Washington Heights, STAR
Owens	Chris	MUNICIPAL-GOVERNMENT	
Sarkissian	George	MUNICIPAL-GOVERNMENT	
Schnirman	Jack	MUNICIPAL-GOVERNMENT	On board of two Achievement First charters, Bushwick Elem and Middle
Shobowale	Tokumbo	MUNICIPAL-GOVERNMENT	On six Uncommon Schools Charter boards; Chief Business Operations Officer for Mayor Bloomberg in New York City
Weinstein	Tali Farhadian	MUNICIPAL-GOVERNMENT	On board of Success Academy Network
Benjamin-Van Lierop	Tracie	MUNICIPAL-GOVERNMENT	
French	William Jr.	MUNICIPAL-GOVERNMENT	
Eisenpress	Sherri Lee	MUNICIPAL-GOVERNMENT (JUDGE)	
Winter	Leslie	MUNICIPAL-GOVERNMENT/ INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION/ FACILITIES	involved in commercial real estate in NYC and chairperson of two economic development not-for-profits and sits on the Boards of two others.

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Riley-Lowery	Jacqueline M.	MUNICIPAL-GOVERNMENT/NON PROFIT	
Theodore-Greene	Leticia	MUNICIPAL-GOVERNMENT/NON PROFIT	.."has three brothers and proudly resides with her husband Winston and their two daughters in beautiful Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn."
Barron	Krista	MUNICIPAL-GOVERNMENT-CHARTER	NYC DOE Office of New Schools
Sobel	Kate	MUNICIPAL-GOVERNMENT-ED	On two CoWC, I and II; NYC DOE - Lead Talent Coach, New York Performance Management Team; former principal and Teach for America Corps member; former Principal of Camino Nuevo, Harvard K-8 Campus
Beard	Rachel	NONPROFIT	
Behr	Ariel	NONPROFIT	
Betancourt	Jeannette	NONPROFIT	Sesame Workshop (11)
Brown	Tyese	NONPROFIT	
Citrin	Ann Jeffries	NONPROFIT	
Clark	Kevin	NONPROFIT	
Duke	Luly	NONPROFIT	
Gelernt	Lee	NONPROFIT	
Gold	Thomas	NONPROFIT	
Graham	Rahsaan	NONPROFIT	
Greicius	Greg	NONPROFIT	Interlocked on Heketi Community Charter School board via Turnaround for Children (4)
Hargan	Linda	NONPROFIT	
Holtz	Amy	NONPROFIT	On National Center for Hebrew Language Charter School Excellence and Development, Inc. CMO board
Johnson	Travis	NONPROFIT	Interlocked on Broom Street Academy Charter with 3 other board members affiliated with The Door, non-profit (3)
Justice	Luke	NONPROFIT	
Lejniaks	Carlos	NONPROFIT	
Lobo-Jost	Greg	NONPROFIT	
Lume	Josephine	NONPROFIT	

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Mackay	Meghan	NONPROFIT	
Mahoney	Matt	NONPROFIT	
Ming	H. Melvin	NONPROFIT	Seasame Workshop (11)
Mitchell	Denise	NONPROFIT	
Mullan	Melanie	NONPROFIT	Turnaround for Children, Inc. (4)
Nisbett	Claudia	NONPROFIT	
Oplustil	Joanne M.	NONPROFIT	
Ostrov	Rebecca	NONPROFIT	The College Board (2)
Park	Susanna	NONPROFIT	On two Democracy Prep charter boards, DP Charter Middle and DP Charter High
Rashid	Adam	NONPROFIT	Former financial analyst in the alternative investment industry
Rosario	Cynthia	NONPROFIT	Interlocked on Heketi Community Charter board via Turnaround for Children (4)
Rubio	Raul	NONPROFIT	
Sanchez	John	NONPROFIT	On four New Visions charter boards, HS Math&Science, HS Humanities, Math&Science III, HS Humanities III
Scanlin	Nicole	NONPROFIT	
Souidi	Samir	NONPROFIT	
Soussloff	Patricia	NONPROFIT	Former corporate lawyer who also has experience working with disadvantaged families to help them get access to special education
Starr	Jason	NONPROFIT	Executive Director of the Nassau County Chapter of the New York Civil Liberties Union
Tambar	Udai	NONPROFIT	
Tavormina	Laura	NONPROFIT	
Turner	Jennifer Smith	NONPROFIT	
Webber	Tom	NONPROFIT	On East Harlem Tutorial Program (EHTP) CMO board and two EHTP charters, East Harlem Scholars I and II
Weiss	Natalie	NONPROFIT	
Wilson	Donna	NONPROFIT	
Wilson	Jane	NONPROFIT	Co-Founder and CEO of The Reset Foundation, a non-profit organization creating a new prison model of prison focused entirely on education, reentry,

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
			and empowering incarcerated young adults to succeed
Winkfield	Blonka	NONPROFIT	On four Leadership Prep boards, Bed-Stuy, Brownsville, Carnarsie, Ocean Hill
Zardoya	Irma	NONPROFIT	NYC Leadership Academy (3); formerly, consultant to the New York City Department of Education (NYCDOE) in the role of Executive Director of the Office of Achievement Resources; Superintendent of the former Region One in the Bronx; Deputy Superintendent of Community School District One on the Lower East Side; principal of Community School 211, The Bilingual School, for nine years and, before that, the Executive Assistant to the Superintendent of Community School District 12
Baccaglini	William F.	NONPROFIT	
Chen	Iris	NONPROFIT	On five charter boards, Achievement First Bushwick Elem and Middle, Achievement First Univ. Prep and East Harlem Scholars I and II
Vasconcelos	Silvana	NONPROFIT (LIBRARY)	
Kaplan	Herbert M.	NONPROFIT/ (FORMER) PARENT	
Frazier	Cliff	NONPROFIT/ CHARTER	Charter school co-founder
Wiener	Ann	NONPROFIT/CONS	NYC Leadership Academy (3); in addition, she works with the Office of New Schools to select and train prospective new principals of new schools, and as a consultant to networks and other educational entities.
Pemberton	Cheryl A.	NONPROFIT/CORP	
Allen	Rey	NONPROFIT/ INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	
Lerner	Janet	NONPROFIT/ INSTITUTION OF	

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
		HIGHER EDUCATION	
Calderon	Sarah	NONPROFIT/MEDIA	
Tanner	Brooks	NONPROFIT/ PRIVATE SCHOOL	Former investment banker
McGee	Julie	NONPROFIT/ RETIRED	Retired executive with significant management experience in educational publishing in both print and digital formats
Cogut	Ellen	NONPROFIT-ARTS	
Davidson	Joan	NONPROFIT-ARTS	
Grossman	Nancy	NONPROFIT-ARTS	On two New Visions charter boards, New Visions Charter HS M&S II and Humanities II
Smith	Kate Rodgers	NONPROFIT-ARTS	
Wilt	Jessica	NONPROFIT-ARTS	
Zurofsky	Ariel	NONPROFIT-ARTS	On board of two New Visions charters, HS Math&Science and HS Humanities
Ahdoot	Erica	NONPROFIT- CHARTER	
Baker	Gwen	NONPROFIT- CHARTER	
Barran	Alana	NONPROFIT- CHARTER	
Beard	Elisa Villanueva	NONPROFIT- CHARTER	On Achievement First, Inc. and Achievement First Aspire boards
Bhatia	Reena	NONPROFIT- CHARTER	On Explore Exceed and Explore Excel Charter boards; LISC(3)
Bonne-Annee	Christina	NONPROFIT- CHARTER	
Borchard	Doug	NONPROFIT- CHARTER	On Achievement First, Inc. and Achievement First Aspire boards; iMentor (14)
Brown	Campbell	NONPROFIT- CHARTER	On Success Academy Network board
Brown	Jack, III	NONPROFIT- CHARTER	
Clay	Denise	NONPROFIT- CHARTER	
Cohen	Beth	NONPROFIT- CHARTER	On two charter boards, Explore Charter and Explore Empower Charter Schools

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Cunningham	Katie	NONPROFIT-CHARTER	
Drezner	Karen	NONPROFIT-CHARTER	Founder/CEO at Leveraging Leaders, which supports the success and sustainability of charter school leaders by providing customized coaching and capacity-building services.
Fong	Justin	NONPROFIT-CHARTER	
Gelb	Emily Stone	NONPROFIT-CHARTER	Teach for America (47)
Giddins	Laurie J.	NONPROFIT-CHARTER	Partnership for New York City (5)
Guinan	Michael	NONPROFIT-CHARTER	On two charter boards, La Cima and Lefferts Gardens
Hall	Kevin	NONPROFIT-CHARTER	On Success Academy Network CMO board; President and CEO of Charter School Growth Fund a “non-profit that invests philanthropic capital in the nation's highest performing charter school operators,” which shares an affiliation with Explore Schools, Inc.
Harmon	Crystal	NONPROFIT-CHARTER	TNTP - The New Teachers Project (13)
Hedaa	Maryann	NONPROFIT-CHARTER	
Kennedy	Caroline	NONPROFIT-CHARTER	On two charter boards, New Visions Charter HS Math & Science and Humanities; The Fund for Public Schools
Kurz	Mitch	NONPROFIT-CHARTER	On Harlem Children's Zone CMO board; Teach for America (47); New Visions for Public Schools (18)
Lewis	Michael	NONPROFIT-CHARTER	Senior Managing Director at Teach For America (47)
McGriff	Deborah	NONPROFIT-CHARTER	On Explore Schools CMO board; NewSchools Venture Fund (17)
Newman	Harvey	NONPROFIT-CHARTER	Center for Education Innovation and Public Education Association (CEI-PEA) (12)
Olsen	Kathryn	NONPROFIT-CHARTER	LISC (3)
Oyola	Nilza	NONPROFIT-CHARTER	Interlocked on NYC Montessori Charter School board via South Bronx

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
			Overall Development Corporation (SoBRO)
Powell	Jeri	NONPROFIT-CHARTER	StudentsFirst/StudentsFirst NY (23)
Rozman	Ariela	NONPROFIT-CHARTER	TNTP - The New Teachers Project (13)
Santiago	Helen	NONPROFIT-CHARTER	
Sinckler	Dyrnest	NONPROFIT-CHARTER	On four Leadership Prep boards: Bed-Stuy, Brownsville, Carnarsie and Ocean Hill
Sorich	Annie	NONPROFIT-CHARTER	On Explores Schools Inc. CMO board; Charter School Growth Fund (24)
Waxman	Ben	NONPROFIT-CHARTER	Center for Education Innovation and Public Education Association (CEI-PEA) (12)
Wetzler	Jeffrey	NONPROFIT-CHARTER	On four Leadership Prep charters, Bed-Stuy, Brownsville, Carnarsie and Ocean Hill
Whittaker	Khori	NONPROFIT-CHARTER	
Fliegel	Seymour	NONPROFIT-CHARTER/CMO	Interlocked with two Icahn Charter School board members via Foundation for a Greater Opportunity; on John V. Lindsay Wildcat Academy Charter School board; Center for Educational Innovation-Public Education Association (12)
Akyere	Agatha	PARENT	
Allen	Weenia	PARENT	
Alwood	Tom	PARENT	Serves as parent on two charter boards: Manhattan Charters I & II; also noted as working in financial communications industry
Arzu-Brown	Sulma	PARENT	
Calvache	Gina	PARENT	
Cambell	Chester	PARENT	
Capper	Alan	PARENT	
Carvajal	Marcela	PARENT	
Carter	Sharan	PARENT	
Chavez	Mireya (?)	PARENT	
Chigas	Chas	PARENT	
Crespo	Angel	PARENT	

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Delgado	Tamara	PARENT	
Glasgow	Shirley A.	PARENT	
Hall	Arlene	PARENT	
Hicks	Chester	PARENT	
Iannotto	Alma N.	PARENT	
Jackson	Sheryl	PARENT	
Jackson	Dana	PARENT	
Jones	Shakima	PARENT	Parent rep on Excellence Boys of Bed-Stuy and Excellence Girls Charter Schools
Lopez	Ernesto	PARENT	
Louiseau	Adrienne	PARENT	Parent rep on two charter boards: Achievement First Bushwick Elem and Middle
Morales	Lisette	PARENT	
Patterson	Sandra	PARENT	
Pena	Miguel	PARENT	
Pickel	Khadijah	PARENT	
Ramroop	Anna	PARENT	
Robinson	Barbara	PARENT	
Rodriguez	Mirian	PARENT	
Rodulfo	Jessica	PARENT	
Santiago	Edna	PARENT	
Smith	Lisa	PARENT	Parent rep on four Ascend charters, Brooklyn, Brownsville, Bushwick, Carnarsie
Tucker	Angela	PARENT	Parent rep on two Achievement First charters, AF East NY Elem and AF East NY Middle
Valdes	Michelle	PARENT	
Vallejo	Jacqueline	PARENT	
Walker	Catherine	PARENT	
Weekes	Karin	PARENT	
Williams	Robin	PARENT	
Williams	Amanda A.	PARENT	
Williams	Eric	PARENT	
Paupaw	Kimberly	PARENT (PTO PRESIDENT)	
Ouedraogo	Yasmine	PARENT (PTO PRESIDENT)	

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Grub	GeraldAnn	PARENT/CHARTER	Parent and Achievement First Aspire (teacher in residence program)
Smith	Francine	PARENT/CHARTER	School Aide, Founding Parent, The Renaissance Charter School
Gomes	Renata	PARENT/CHARTER (CO-FOUNDER)	
Booth	Nakia	PARENT/INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY	
Melendez	Jeanette	PARENT/MEDICAL	
Fitzgerald	Maura	PARENT/NONPROFIT	
Santiago	Carol	PARENT/NONPROFIT	
Shaakir-Ansari	Zakiyah	PARENT/NONPROFIT	
Torres	Wanda	PARENT/NONPROFIT	
Chin	Melissa	PRE-K	
Amouzegar	Jaleh	PRIVATE SCHOOL	
Beydoun	Shereen	PRIVATE SCHOOL	
Blankfein	Laura	PRIVATE SCHOOL	On two charter boards, Excellence Boys of Bed-Stuy and Excellence Girls Charter Schools
Brousal	Gail	PRIVATE SCHOOL	Founding member of the Board of Trustees at Leadership Prep Charter School
Burns	Anne	PRIVATE SCHOOL	
Carty	Brian	PRIVATE SCHOOL	
Childs, Esq	Louisa	PRIVATE SCHOOL	On two charter boards, South Bronx Classical Charter and South Bronx Classical Charter II
Chung	Renee	PRIVATE SCHOOL	Interlocked on Invictus Prep Charter board via Prep for Prep (11)
Etess	Susan	PRIVATE SCHOOL	
Flanagan	Lee	PRIVATE SCHOOL	
Fontaine	Amy	PRIVATE SCHOOL	
Gordon	Edwin P.	PRIVATE SCHOOL	
Guerrero	Charles	PRIVATE SCHOOL	Interlocked on Invictus Prep Charter board via Prep for Prep (11); trustee of the Ethical Culture Fieldston School (5)
Lauren	Stacey	PRIVATE SCHOOL	
Love	John	PRIVATE SCHOOL	

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Maltese	Serphin R.	PRIVATE SCHOOL	Former NYS Senator; Chairman of Christ the King High School
McTaggart	Phillip	PRIVATE SCHOOL	On two KIPP charter boards - KIPP Academy Charter and KIPP NYC Washington Heights Academy Charter - as well as KIPP NYC LLC board
Milliman	Rosemary	PRIVATE SCHOOL	Trinity School (4)
Nelson	Scott	PRIVATE SCHOOL	
Osorio	Eric	PRIVATE SCHOOL	Packer Collegiate Institute (2)
Schoberl	Chris	PRIVATE SCHOOL	Trinity School (4)
Schubart	Richard D.	PRIVATE SCHOOL	
Schulhof	Carol	PRIVATE SCHOOL	Packer Collegiate (2)
Schulman	Nancy	PRIVATE SCHOOL	
Thompson	James	PRIVATE SCHOOL	On two Harlem Village Academy charter boards; Ethical Culture Fieldston School (5)
Zimmerman	Maria	PRIVATE SCHOOL	
Sander	James	PRIVATE SCHOOL	
Shanahan	Edward	PRIVATE SCHOOL/CMO	Interlocked on Icahn charter school board via Foundation for a Greater Opportunity
de García	Stephanie Saroki	PRIVATE SCHOOL/FOUNDATION-CHARTER	Interlocked on Brilla College Prep board with another board member via Seton Education Partners; Teach for America alum and Philanthropy Roundtable director
Ryan	Mary Claire	PRIVATE SCHOOL/NONPROFIT-CHARTER	On two charter boards, Girls Prep of New York and Girls Prep Lower East Side Middle
DeGenarro	Rosemary	PUBLIC SCHOOL	
Larson	Kirsten	PUBLIC SCHOOL	
Tom	Edward	PUBLIC SCHOOL	
Ford	Randolph A.	PUBLIC SCHOOL (NYC DOE PRINCIPAL)	
Leach	Carlyle G.	PUBLIC SCHOOL/FIN	Currently involved in the private equity market
Bakst	Ellen	RETIRED	
Bramwell	Patricia	RETIRED	
Bravo	Brenda	RETIRED	
Gailliard-	Barbara	RETIRED	

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Nowell			
Hall	Hugh Robert	RETIRED	
Scope	Ellis	RETIRED	
Thompson	Natalie	RETIRED	Former Vice President of Human Capital Management at Goldman Sachs
Blaney	John R.	RETIRED	On East Harlem Tutorial Program CMO
Cecere	Lorraine	RETIRED	Retired Leadership Coach Specialist with New Leaders for New Schools
Van Pelt	David	RETIRED (CITIGROUP)	On East Harlem Tutorial Program (EHTP) CMO board
Siminerio	Elyssa	RETIRED (DOE)	Former Chief of Staff, NYC DOE
Sills	Nancy	RETIRED (FROM LAW)	
Day	John	RETIRED (FROM PFIZER)	
Ognibene	Margaret	RETIRED EDUCATOR	
O'Gorman	Laura	RETIRED EDUCATOR	
Shields	Dorothy	RETIRED EDUCATOR	Life long resident of Red Hook, serving as President of the Red Hook East Tenants Association for 33 years and Community Aide for the NYC Housing Authority for 20+ years.
Sadoff	Arthur	RETIRED EDUCATOR/ CHARTER	After retirement, Dr. Sadoff joined the NYC Charter Center as their special education consultant and was instrumental in helping charter schools set up their special education programs. One of the outcomes of his work at the Charter Center was the establishment of the NYC Special Education Collaborative, which is a membership organization and provides ongoing special education support to the member charter schools.
Meyler	Ruth	RETIRED/CHARTER	Ruth has been involved with charter schools for fifteen years. She was Chief of Staff at Gateway High School, the first charter high school in California, and was one of the founding trustees of Leadership Prep Charter School in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Evangelakos	Deborah	RETIRED/CHARTER	Also sits on Friends of Bronx Prep Charter School board
Carry	Peter	RETIRED/ COMMUNITY	
Nadel	Marlene	RETIRED/FAITH- BASED	
Schneider	Bernard	RETIRED/PRIVATE SCHOOL	Was an instructor in economics, and worked as an economist for the Federal Reserve Bank of New York after receiving his M.A. in economics from Princeton University. He then received a J.D. from New York University Law School practiced corporate law in New York City for 25 years. Following his retirement from law, he received an M.S. from Bridgeport University in Education, and taught high school mathematics in Norwalk, CT. Mr. Schneider served as a member of the Dobbs Ferry, NY school board for 9 years, including 5 years as its President. His combination of experience in education, law and economics is a valuable contribution to the board.
Scull	Suellyn	RETIRED/PRIVATE SCHOOL/ CONSULTING- EDUCATION	On two charter boards, Explore Charter and Explore Empower Charter
Chase	Reid	SELF EMPLOYED	Entrepreneurial Food and Consumer Products Executive
Baldwin, Esq.	C. Stephen	SELF EMPLOYED	On two charter boards, South Bronx Classical and South Bronx Classical II
Baum	Mitchell	SELF EMPLOYED	
Cardinale	Bianna	SELF EMPLOYED	
Daley	Joy Elaine	SELF EMPLOYED	On two charter boards, Manhattan Charter School I and II
Lainer	Ilene	SELF EMPLOYED	
Rapley	Judith	SELF EMPLOYED	Personal, Family & Corporate Life Coach
Reid	Brooke	SELF EMPLOYED	

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Rogers	Roo	SELF EMPLOYED	Serial entrepreneur with five successful startups currently in the marketplace. He has a combination of operational and venture capital expertise and works across multiple consumer sectors including media, transportation, and beverages
Weitzman	Joshua	SELF EMPLOYED	
Popper	Andrew J.	SELF EMPLOYED-	Photojournalist and photo editor
Kramer	Cheryl	SELF EMPLOYED	
Stutt	David S.	SELF EMPLOYED/ CHARTER	On two charter boards, Beginning with Children Charter II and Community Partnership Charter; retired from Goldman Sachs; self-employed
Pusch	Gretchen	SELF EMPLOYED- ARTS	
Kim-Grant	Yuliana	SELF EMPLOYED- AUTHOR	
Sherry	Maureen	SELF EMPLOYED- AUTHOR	On Great Oaks Foundation CMO board
Breen	Benjamin	SELF-EMPLOYED (ARTIST)	On two charter boards, Manhattan Charter I and II
Legend	John	SELF-EMPLOYED (ARTIST)	
Alvarado	Maricruz	TEACHER	
Corcoran	Francis W.	TEACHER	
Flowers	Xiomara	TEACHER	
Hurt	Ann- Marie	TEACHER	
LaFontaine	Desiree	TEACHER	
Murphy	Kevin	TEACHER	On two charter boards, South Bronx Classical I and II
Watson	Wanda	TEACHER	Educator currently pursuing a Doctorate in Education in Curriculum and Teaching from Teachers College, Columbia University
Koziolkows ky	Luba	TEACHER (AT CHARTER)	
McCann	Kathleen	TEACHER (AT CHARTER)	Fourth grade teacher at Amber Charter and is the teacher representative to the Board
Nowlin	Kelly	TEACHER (AT	

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
		CHARTER)	
Zumaeta	Helen	TEACHER (AT CHARTER)	
Salomon	Alexandra	TEACHER (AT CHARTER)	
Failla	Seth	TEACHER (STAFF REP)	
Casey	Leo	THINK TANK-CHARTER	On two charter boards, New American Academy Charter and UFT Charter Schools
Nittoli	Janice	THINK TANK-CHARTER; NONPROFIT	The Century Foundation, which looks at ways to integrate public schools by economic status through public school choice; The Door (4)
Levenberg	Valerie	UNKNOWN	On two charter boards, Manhattan Charter I and II ...many years of varied education experience. Following her career as executive editor with a major textbook publisher, Ms. Levenberg served as senior vice president in charge of curriculum and instruction for a national school management organization where she was responsible for all academic areas, teacher professional development, and new curriculum product development
Philips	Ethel	UNKNOWN	
Alexander	Kevin	UNKNOWN	
Alford	Tonya	UNKNOWN	
Allen	William A.	UNKNOWN	
Angelakos	Dean	UNKNOWN	
Anglin	Marcia	UNKNOWN	
Applebaum	Lisa	UNKNOWN	
Ashley	Denise	UNKNOWN	
Atkinson	Stefan	UNKNOWN	
Avellaneda	Marco	UNKNOWN	
Aviles	David	UNKNOWN	
Barnes	Andrew	UNKNOWN	
Barone	Elvira "Vera"	UNKNOWN	
Bell	Aisha	UNKNOWN	

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Bello	Akil	UNKNOWN	
Berger	Brian	UNKNOWN	
Betaudier	Anthony	UNKNOWN	
Boakye	Kevin	UNKNOWN	
Bogle	Richard	UNKNOWN	
Bolling	David A.	UNKNOWN	
Brecher	Denise	UNKNOWN	
Brian	Matthew	UNKNOWN	
Brown	Andolyn	UNKNOWN	
Castro	Evelyn	UNKNOWN	
Catlyn	Michael	UNKNOWN	
Chance	Julia	UNKNOWN	
Chapman	H. Devore	UNKNOWN	
Charles	Tamara	UNKNOWN	
Charriez	Angel	UNKNOWN	
Chen	Janice	UNKNOWN	
Choi	Vincent	UNKNOWN	
Ciccone	Renee	UNKNOWN	
Cirincion	John	UNKNOWN	
Clouden	Henry J., III	UNKNOWN	
Cobb	Vicky	UNKNOWN	
Cohen	Rory	UNKNOWN	
Coleman	Delois	UNKNOWN	
Constantine	Julian	UNKNOWN	
Cox	Xenia	UNKNOWN	
Culver	Peggy	UNKNOWN	
Davidson	Karen	UNKNOWN	
Davis	Kip	UNKNOWN	
De Gonzalez	Evelyn	UNKNOWN	
Deer	John	UNKNOWN	
DeLeon	Samuel	UNKNOWN	
DeLong	Michelle	UNKNOWN	
Delucchi	Giovanna	UNKNOWN	
DeWese-Bowens	Jerima	UNKNOWN	
Diaz	Soccoro	UNKNOWN	
Doar	Sara	UNKNOWN	
Dunbar	Marlon	UNKNOWN	

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Edwards	Angela	UNKNOWN	
Engles	Jeanette	UNKNOWN	
Espanol	Sara	UNKNOWN	
Fairclough-Leslie	Silvia	UNKNOWN	
Falk	Beverly	UNKNOWN	
Febus	Luis	UNKNOWN	
Feldman	Stacie	UNKNOWN	
Ferina	Kimberly	UNKNOWN	
Fox	Susan V.	UNKNOWN	
Franklin	Malik	UNKNOWN	
Garcia	Lillian	UNKNOWN	
Goka	Minnie	UNKNOWN	
Gonzalez	John Paul	UNKNOWN	
Goodman	Marvin	UNKNOWN	
Gorczynski	Brenda	UNKNOWN	
Green	Norman	UNKNOWN	
Green	Linda	UNKNOWN	
Greenwald	Caroline	UNKNOWN	On boards of National Center for Hebrew Language and Hebrew Language Charter
Guzman	Jairo	UNKNOWN	
Hamer	Lillian	UNKNOWN	
Hamerschlag	Judith Turner	UNKNOWN	On two charter boards, Harlem Village Academy & Harlem Village Academy Leadership
Harris	Jeremy	UNKNOWN	
Harrison	Tara	UNKNOWN	
Hawthorne	Mary Ann	UNKNOWN	
Hooker	Kate	UNKNOWN	
Houston	Carmen	UNKNOWN	
Hunter	Bonita	UNKNOWN	
James	Jessica	UNKNOWN	
Jarvis	Dianne	UNKNOWN	
Jefferson	Monique	UNKNOWN	
Johnson	Marcenia	UNKNOWN	
Karia	Sona	UNKNOWN	
Keil	Allison	UNKNOWN	
Kennedy	Jannette	UNKNOWN	

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Kesten	Marshall	UNKNOWN	
Kiffin	Angela	UNKNOWN	
King	Deborah	UNKNOWN	
Kittrell	LaToya	UNKNOWN	
Klem	Abigail	UNKNOWN	
Ko	Paul	UNKNOWN	
Kurtz	John	UNKNOWN	
Lambert	Henry	UNKNOWN	
Leit	Michael	UNKNOWN	
Lema	James	UNKNOWN	
Leon	Susan Rivera	UNKNOWN	
Lide	Allison	UNKNOWN	
Lloyd- Abdou	Nicole	UNKNOWN	
Lopez	Michael	UNKNOWN	
Lugo	Madelyn	UNKNOWN	
Lyman	Bambi	UNKNOWN	
Mallory	Mason	UNKNOWN	
Mannion	Mark	UNKNOWN	
Martin	Corey	UNKNOWN	
Massey	Latoya	UNKNOWN	
McFadden	Doretha	UNKNOWN	
McFarland	Karon	UNKNOWN	
McGee	Mildred	UNKNOWN	
McGhie	Troy	UNKNOWN	
McNickle	Nick	UNKNOWN	
McRay	Kenneth	UNKNOWN	
Meyer	Milca	UNKNOWN	
Mitic	Ninoslav	UNKNOWN	
Montanez	Paula	UNKNOWN	
Moore	Eugene	UNKNOWN	
Moore	Martez	UNKNOWN	
Moreno	Nubia	UNKNOWN	
Mueller	Jeff	UNKNOWN	
Muss	Jason	UNKNOWN	
Nieves	Michael D.	UNKNOWN	Hailed by many as one of the top Latino political operatives in New York
Novoa-	Nydia	UNKNOWN	

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Sancho			
O'Donnell	Katherine	UNKNOWN	
Okonkwo	Sylvester	UNKNOWN	
Oller	Duarna	UNKNOWN	
O'Neill	Katherine	UNKNOWN	
Pallone	Philip	UNKNOWN	
Patterson	Chrysetta	UNKNOWN	
Peralta	Dalia	UNKNOWN	
Perry	Monica	UNKNOWN	
Phillips-Kong	Keisha	UNKNOWN	
Pilgrim	Chaka	UNKNOWN	
Pratt	Tim	UNKNOWN	
Precious	Sean	UNKNOWN	
Pritchard	Arthur	UNKNOWN	
Ramirez	Maria	UNKNOWN	
Remeneski	Shirley Rodriguez	UNKNOWN	
Reynolds	Daniel	UNKNOWN	
Riff	Stephen Falla	UNKNOWN	
Rivera	Samuel M.	UNKNOWN	
Rivera-Putz	Lourdes	UNKNOWN	Williamsburg Charter High School, which opened in 2004, is one of three schools operated by the Believe High School Network. It had been under investigation by the office of Attorney General Eric T. Schneiderman of New York for several months because of questions about its financial management.... as a result of that investigation, the Department of Education sent a letter to Lourdes Rivera-Putz, chairman of Williamsburg Charter's board of trustees, saying the school was being put on probation for violating state law, as well as its own charter.
Robinson	Rob	UNKNOWN	
Rodriguez	Victoria	UNKNOWN	
Rogers	Cynthia	UNKNOWN	

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Roman	David	UNKNOWN	
Rosen	Diane	UNKNOWN	
Russo	Carol	UNKNOWN	
Sajor	Leanne	UNKNOWN	
Saltz	Ronald	UNKNOWN	
Samuels	Lupe	UNKNOWN	
Sanchez	Hilda	UNKNOWN	
Santos	Carmen	UNKNOWN	
Schwartz	Jerry	UNKNOWN	
Scott	Willie	UNKNOWN	
Scotto	Michele	UNKNOWN	
Shea	Robert J.	UNKNOWN	
Shuman	Kate	UNKNOWN	
Sierra	Lydia	UNKNOWN	
Simes	Jeffrey Alan	UNKNOWN	
Simmons	Harry III	UNKNOWN	
Smith	June	UNKNOWN	
Smolyar	Adam	UNKNOWN	
Smook	Mavis	UNKNOWN	
Solon	Neal	UNKNOWN	
Stanislaus	Gregory	UNKNOWN	
Stone	Sara	UNKNOWN	
Strong	Hillary	UNKNOWN	
Swain	Gregg	UNKNOWN	Both Swains listed on Bronx Charter School for Better Learning board; nothing available for either
Swain	Woody	UNKNOWN	Both Swains listed on Bronx Charter School for Better Learning board; nothing available for either
Terence	Joseph	UNKNOWN	
Thomas	Raymond	UNKNOWN	
Thomson	Karen	UNKNOWN	
Tishuk	Nicholas	UNKNOWN	Both Tishuks on board of Renaissance Charter High
Tishuk	Rita	UNKNOWN	Both Tishuks on board of Renaissance Charter High
Titus	Marc A.	UNKNOWN	
Torres	Pablo	UNKNOWN	
Torres	Doris	UNKNOWN	
Towns-	Marilyn	UNKNOWN	

Last	First	Affiliation(s)	Interlocks/Flex-nets/Affiliations of Note
Jones			
Verona	Meredith	UNKNOWN	
Waal	Jacqueline Burton	UNKNOWN	
Watson	Gordon	UNKNOWN	
Webber- Bey	Sonja	UNKNOWN	
Weitzman	Philip	UNKNOWN	
White	Charles	UNKNOWN	
White	Monica	UNKNOWN	
Williams	Chene	UNKNOWN	
Wollensack	Rebecca	UNKNOWN	
Wolpoff	Florence	UNKNOWN	
Woods	John	UNKNOWN	
Zampella	Michael	UNKNOWN	
Zellner	Robert	UNKNOWN	

Appendix 5: Detailed Description of Eva Moskowitz’s Flex-net

Green cells are hedge funds and other financial firms. Affiliations with pro-charter organizations or political activities are highlighted in orange.

Primary Affiliation ⁵⁷	Additional Information / Charter Advocacy Efforts / Org. Affiliations
<i>Networked with Moskowitz via Success Academy Network Board</i>	
Daniel Loeb , CEO of Third Point LLC, a hedge fund & Chair of Network Board of Directors	StudentsFirst NY board (interlocked with Moskowitz on boards) Founding chair of three Success Academy schools in Brooklyn Funder of NY for a Balanced Albany (gave \$1.025 million), a SuperPac registered by StudentsFirst NY, which spent \$4.3 million into six Senate races in the lead-up to Cuomo’s 2014 education reform bill (Joseph, 2015). Included in profile of Success Academy donors to Governor Cuomo’s reelection campaign in advance of 2014 charter legislation and after Mayor Bill de Blasio’s attempts to curb NYC charter growth; he and his wife gave \$29,367 (chalkbeat.org)
Mary Berner , President and CEO of Cumulus Media, Inc.	In 2014, affiliated with ITC company Springboard Enterprises, Media and Technology Council. “Springboard is a highly-vetted expert network of innovators, investors and influencers who are dedicated to building high-growth technology-oriented companies led by women.”
Jill Braufman , Chair of the Board of the Center for Arts Education	Married to Daniel Nir, Success board member and founder of hedge fund Gracie Capital Included in profile of Success Academy donors to Governor Cuomo’s reelection campaign in advance of 2014 charter legislation and after Mayor Bill de Blasio’s attempts to curb NYC charter growth; gave \$57,500 (chalkbeat.org) Daniel L. Nir and Jill. E Braufman Family Foundation has donated to Teach for America (TFA)

⁵⁷ Unless otherwise noted, direct quotes are from the Success Academy website at <http://www.successacademies.org/about/#leaders>, retrieved in 2016. Additional information and affiliations are from the respective organizational websites or Tax Form 990s.

Primary Affiliation ⁵⁷	Additional Information / Charter Advocacy Efforts / Org. Affiliations
<p>Campbell Brown, Founder of Partnership for Educational Justice and journalist; PEJ was behind a lawsuit to end teacher tenure in New York.</p>	<p>website)</p> <p>“Through her writing and reporting on education issues, Brown became a passionate advocate for school choice and education reform. Brown’s focus has been challenging teacher tenure and special dismissal protections that make it almost impossible to remove grossly ineffective and even abusive teachers from the classroom. Along with PEJ, Brown is also the founder of the Parents’ Transparency Project, a watchdog group that investigates and reports on failure and inequity in the public education system.”</p> <p>Formerly on board of Turnaround for Children: “Turnaround’s team is working at the vanguard of education reform, helping fulfill the promise of public education for every child. We are a rapidly growing organization made up of world-class educators, social workers and researchers, as well as operations, communications, development and finance professionals drawn from the public and private sectors.”</p>
<p>Steve Galbraith, Herring Creek Capital, a hedge fund, and former Partner at Maverick Capital</p>	<p>Interlocked with Richard Pzena on Pzena Investment Management board</p>
<p>Joel Greenblatt, Managing Partner of Gotham Capital, a hedge fund</p>	<p>Formerly on board of Democrats for Education Reform, a pro-charter advocacy organization</p> <p>Formerly on board of Pzena Investment Management and Say Yes to Education.</p> <p>Gave \$250,000 to NY for a Balanced Albany, a SuperPac registered by StudentsFirst NY, which spent \$4.3 million into six Senate races in the lead-up to Cuomo’s 2014 education reform bill (Joseph, 2015).</p> <p>Included in profile of Success Academy donors to Governor Cuomo’s reelection campaign in advance of 2014 charter legislation and after Mayor Bill de Blasio’s attempts to curb NYC charter growth; he and his wife gave \$75,000 (chalkbeat.org)</p>
<p>Kevin Hall, President and CEO of the Charter School Growth Fund a “non-profit that invests philanthropic capital in the nation's highest performing charter school operators” CSGF</p>	<p>Served as CEO of The Broad Foundation “where he led various aspects of the Foundation’s grant investment strategy and work.”</p> <p>Prior to Broad, “co-founder and ran business development for Chancellor Beacon Academies, a</p>

Primary Affiliation ⁵⁷	Additional Information / Charter Advocacy Efforts / Org. Affiliations
website)	manager of charter and private schools across the U.S.”
Shavar D. Jeffries , partner at law firm Lowenstein Sandler	Founding Board President of TEAM Academy Charter School
Suzie Kovner , founder and vice president of Kovner Foundation, “which promotes social change by supporting and strengthening organizations and initiatives that advance education, entrepreneurship, justice, and the arts.”	“The Kovner Foundation promotes excellence in public and private education by supporting public charter schools that make measurable improvements in children’s lives and supporting educational choice and competition through vouchers, scholarships and other initiatives that give parents and students options. The Foundation partners, including Achievement First, Success Academy Charter Schools, and Uncommon Charter Schools, are realizing extraordinary success on metrics ranging from test scores to graduation rates, college enrollment and completion. These organizations are closing the achievement gap for children in under-served communities that suffer because of inadequate traditional public schools.”
Daniel Nir , founder and former Managing Partner of Gracie Capital, a hedge fund	“He has also been deeply involved with the Success Charter Network. He served as a director of Success Academy Harlem 3, and subsequently was the Chairman of the board of Success Academy Upper West.” Included in profile of Success Academy donors to Governor Cuomo’s reelection campaign in advance of 2014 charter legislation and after Mayor Bill de Blasio’s attempts to curb NYC charter growth; gave \$35,000 (chalkbeat.org)
John Petry , founder and managing principal at Sessa Capital, a hedge fund	“John has been active in a variety of education reform causes. He was a co-founder of Democrats for Education Reform and served as past Chairman of Education Reform Now, organizations that are dedicated to reforming education policy both nationally and locally.” Formerly affiliated with Democrats for Education Reform and Education Reform Now, which “works to transform the struggling education system through three central strategies - coalition building, policy and media.” Additional affiliations: Founding member of boards of Success Academy Harlem 1 and Success

Primary Affiliation ⁵⁷	Additional Information / Charter Advocacy Efforts / Org. Affiliations
	Academy Harlem 4 Included in profile of Success Academy donors to Governor Cuomo’s reelection campaign in advance of 2014 charter legislation and after Mayor Bill de Blasio’s attempts to curb NYC charter growth; gave \$35,000 (chalkbeat.org)
Richard S. Pzena , Founder, Co-Chief Investment Officer, and member of the Executive Committee of Pzena Investment Management, a global investment firm	Board for the Harlem Success Academy Charter School 2 and the Success Charter Network. Interlocked with Steven Galbraith via Board of Directors of Pzena Investment Management
John Scully , founding partner of SPO Partners & Co., a private investment firm that manages \$10 billion in assets, director of Plum Creek Timber Company, and chairman of board of Advent Software	“Both Mr. Scully and his wife, Regina Scully, have demonstrated their commitment to expanding access to quality education by launching and overseeing the California charter network Making Waves Academy and Making Waves Education Program.”
Regina Kulik Scully , founder of Rpr Marketing Communications	“Both Ms. Scully and her husband, John Scully, have demonstrated their commitment to expanding access to quality education by launching and overseeing the California charter network Making Waves Academy.”
Charles Strauch , owns GA Services LLC, GAS Finance LLC and Steadfast Marine Construction LLC	Included in profile of Success Academy donors to Governor Cuomo’s reelection campaign in advance of 2014 charter legislation and after Mayor Bill de Blasio’s attempts to curb NYC charter growth; gave \$15,000 (chalkbeat.org)
Tali Farhadian Weinstein , Assistant US Attorney in Eastern District of New York	
Kent A. Yalowitz , litigation partner at Arnold & Porter LLP	“Mr. Yalowitz successfully defended Success Academy Charter School – Cobble Hill ... in a teacher’s union-driven litigation seeking to prevent the school from opening.”
<i>Networked with Moskowitz via SA-NYC Board</i>	
Samuel (Sam) Cole , Co-Founder and President/COO of Phigital, Inc., early stage technology company	Board of JerseyCAN, which has 2015 goals that include “strengthening the charter school law to grow the number of high-quality schools” Included in profile of Success Academy donors to Governor Cuomo’s reelection campaign in advance of 2014 charter legislation and after Mayor Bill de

Primary Affiliation ⁵⁷	Additional Information / Charter Advocacy Efforts / Org. Affiliations
	Blasio’s attempts to curb NYC charter growth; gave \$30,000 (chalkbeat.org)
Isela Bahena , Senior Director at TIAA-CREF	Board of The Tapestry Project, which is “creating charter schools that reflect the best of New York City. The focus of our efforts is Northern Brooklyn, a rapidly changing neighborhood that epitomizes New York’s dynamic diversity.” Eric Grannis, Moskowitz’s husband, is Executive Director of Tapestry.
Rich Barrera , Founder and Portfolio Manager of Roystone Capital, New York based hedge fund	
Bryan Binder , Chief Executive Officer of CastleLine Holdings. CastleLine and its subsidiaries, provide an array of financial products and services to parties involved in the origination, underwriting, purchase and securitization of residential mortgages.	Formerly, “was a Partner and Portfolio Manager at Caxton Associates, LLC, a \$13 billion global macro hedge fund based in New York, NY and was also a Portfolio Manager at SAC Capital, LLC a \$14 billion hedge fund based in Stamford, CT.” Included in profile of Success Academy donors to Governor Cuomo’s reelection campaign in advance of 2014 charter legislation and after Mayor Bill de Blasio’s attempts to curb NYC charter growth; gave \$15,000 (chalkbeat.org)
Derrell Bradford , executive director of the New York Campaign for Achievement Now (NYCAN) and has more than 12 years of experience successfully building and shaping education reform dialogue in New Jersey and other states across the country.	“Most recently, Derrell was the executive director at Better Education for Kids, a 501c4 organization supporting bipartisan education reforms in New Jersey. ... worked to secure passage of the tenure reform legislation TEACH NJ. This landmark bill tied the acquisition of tenure to teacher effectiveness and student outcomes, shortened the process necessary to remove an ineffective teacher, and provided systems and support for teachers who needed improvement. B4K’s advocacy also led to electoral victories for reform-minded candidates in Jersey City’s mayoral and school board races, and in several New Jersey State Assembly races. Previously...spent nine years with New Jersey’s Excellent Education for Everyone [where he] led strategy, operations and communications..., focusing advocacy efforts on school choice, high standards and expectations, and financial transparency. ... also served on Governor Christie’s Educator Effectiveness Task Force, which gave recommendations on a new, statewide evaluation system for teachers and leaders.

Primary Affiliation ⁵⁷	Additional Information / Charter Advocacy Efforts / Org. Affiliations
	... frequently contributes to education reform debates across print, online, and TV media. ... serves on several boards dedicated to putting the needs of students and families first, including the Partnership for Educational Justice, We Can Do Better New Jersey and St. Anthony High School in Jersey City.”
Sandeep Chainani , Managing Director at Morgan Stanley Asset Management	
Scott Friedman , Co-Founding Partner at Soroban Capital Partners, multi-billion dollar global investment firm, and Head of Trading and Risk Management	
Brian Levine , co-head of Global Equities Trading and Execution Services, Goldman Sachs & Co.	
Suleman Lunat , Senior Principal and Portfolio Manager in the Capital Markets division of Apollo Global Management focused on special situation credit and equity investments in public and private markets	Chair of Success Academy Brooklyn 2-4
Graham Officer , Managing Director at Goldman Sachs, & Co.	
Khadijah Pickel , mother of two SCN students enrolled in Success Academy Harlem North Central; serves on parent council and “has been an active participant in Success Academy space hearings, rallies and advocacy efforts”	
Jarrett Posner , partner and the COO at Argonaut Capital, a NYC based Global macro hedge fund	Included in profile of Success Academy donors to Governor Cuomo’s reelection campaign in advance of 2014 charter legislation and after Mayor Bill de Blasio’s attempts to curb NYC charter growth; gave \$2,500 (chalkbeat.org)
Greg Sawers , Chief Executive Officer of Assura Group of New York; formerly Chief Executive Officer and co-founder of Evercore Asset Management	
Cate Shanker , “independent consultant focusing on education reform and specifically charter schools. She was previously a Principal at Bain and	Founding member of Success Academy Brooklyn Boards and leads Academics, Culture & Talent committee for the Success Academy NYC Board

Primary Affiliation ⁵⁷	Additional Information / Charter Advocacy Efforts / Org. Affiliations
Company in New York where she focused on Financial Services and Education.”	
Lorenzo Smith III , Private Banker at J.P. Morgan Private Bank, responsible for managing relationships with ultra high net worth individuals and families with a specific focus on hedge fund principals	Founding member of Success Academy Upper West and continues to serve on the Success Academy Leadership Council
Andrew Stone , Managing Partner and Chief Executive Officer of Petra Capital Management, a hedge fund that invests in real estate debt	Included in profile of Success Academy donors to Governor Cuomo’s reelection campaign in advance of 2014 charter legislation and after Mayor Bill de Blasio’s attempts to curb NYC charter growth; he and his wife gave \$75,000 (chalkbeat.org)
<i>Linked to Moskowitz via StudentsFirstNY</i>	
Mikael Andren , President of the Jones Family Office (listed on StudentsFirst NY website as “Foundation”), a family office that manages the assets of Paul Tudor Jones	Formerly a private equity professional with MMC Capital “Paul Tudor Jones has been diversifying beyond his Tudor Investment Corp. since the late 1980s. His Jones Family Office, with locations in Greenwich, Connecticut, and Palm Beach, Florida, is run by Mikael Andren, who previously worked in private equity.a growing number of prominent hedge funders are also quietly cordoning off private enclaves for themselves, often within their big-name firms. ... created what are known as single family offices ...Single family offices are even more loosely regulated than hedge funds, and there are few requirements about what they must disclose publicly.... Family offices have been around since the days of John D. Rockefeller. But the business has exploded in an era of hyper-wealth on Wall Street, in Silicon Valley and beyond. Private equity titans such as Leon Black and David Bonderman have set them up, too. The firms handle all sorts of affairs, from taxes to philanthropy to maintaining homes” (Source: http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-09-16/inside-these-hedge-funds-quiet-family-affairs-for-the-boss)
Joel Klein , former NYC DOE Chancellor and current CEO of Amplify, News Corporation	

Primary Affiliation ⁵⁷	Additional Information / Charter Advocacy Efforts / Org. Affiliations
<p>Douglas J. Band, President of Teneo Holdings, a global consulting firm with close ties to the Clintons and William J. Clinton Foundation</p>	<p>“Doug served as President Clinton’s chief advisor from 2002 until 2012, advising him as the Counselor to the President, and was the key architect of Clinton’s post-Presidency. He created and built the Clinton Global Initiative, which to date has raised 69 billion dollars for 2,100 philanthropic initiatives around the world and impacted over 400 million people in 180 countries. ... He has assisted in the rebuilding of nations and regions after some of the worst natural disasters in the past two decades, including New Orleans, Haiti, Southeast Asia, and Gujarat, India. Doug has advised several heads of state, governors and mayors transition out of public office into private life. He was part of the negotiation team that handled all aspects of Hillary Clinton’s becoming Secretary of State. He continues to serve his country in assisting various domestic agencies and advising foreign governments on nation-building, infrastructure creation and democratic governance structure” (Source: http://www.teneoholdings.com/bios/doug-band/).</p>
<p>David Boies, Chairman of Boies, Schiller, and Flexner LLP, a law firm with offices in New York, Washington D.C., California, Florida, Nevada, and New Hampshire</p>	
<p>Tiffany Dufu, Chief Leadership Officer of Levo League, a professional network for millennials</p>	
<p>Dan Senor, Senior Advisor at Elliott Management, a hedge fund and author of <i>Start-Up Nation: The Story of Israel’s Economic Miracle</i> and</p>	<p>Formerly, senior advisor to VP nominee Paul Ryan and foreign policy advisory to Governor Romney on 2012 and 2008 presidential campaigns. On board of Paul E. Singer Foundation, “focused on supporting research and scholars in the areas of free-market economics, the rule of law, U.S. national security, and the future of Israel, as well as LGBT equality efforts and health-care delivery innovation. Paul Singer is the founder and president of Elliott Management Corporation, a hedge fund. The foundation has supported Harlem Children’s Zone, Harlem Village Academies and pro-charter organizations such as Teach for America and Prep for Prep and the East Harlem Tutorial Program. “Some</p>

Primary Affiliation ⁵⁷	Additional Information / Charter Advocacy Efforts / Org. Affiliations
	of Singer's largest sums in this area, however, have gone to Success Charter Network” (Source: http://www.insidephilanthropy.com/fundraising-in-new-york-city/paul-e-singer-foundation-new-york-city-grants.html#).
<p>Michael Sullivan, Managing Director at Point72 Asset Management, a family office, which manages the assets of Steven Cohen. Point72 is the successor to SAC Capital, which pleaded guilty to federal insider trading charges and paid a \$1.2 billion fine.</p>	<p>Formerly worked “as a senior aide to a United States Senator, focusing on telecom, technology, and finance issues. Before serving in the U.S. Senate, Mr. Sullivan worked for a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives who sat on the Energy and Commerce Committee. Mr. Sullivan was the Director of Planning and Strategy for the United States Telecom Association before working on Capitol Hill” (Source: https://www.point72.com/leadership/michael-sullivan/)</p> <p>Member of the National Council of the American Enterprise Institute</p> <p>Board member, ConnCAN, an education reform nonprofit</p>
<p>Paul Tudor Jones, hedge fund billionaire</p>	<p>Founder of the Robin Hood Foundation, which has directly supported Success Academy Charters and shores up the charter movement through direct grants to other charters and charter networks such as Achievement First, DREAM Charter School, East Harlem Scholars Academy and Uncommon Schools as well as pro-charter organizations such as Educators 4 Excellence (“helps reform-minded members of the teachers union gain influence over union policies and positions) and Education Reform Now (a now defunct pro-charter advocacy group to which the foundation gave \$1 million to help its campaign to lift the NY state charter cap in the May 2010 budget (Sources: Foundation website and Joseph, 2015.)</p> <p>Founding member of StudentsFirst NY;</p> <p>Organizer and funder of NY for a Balanced Albany, a SuperPac registered by StudentsFirst NY, which spent \$4.3 million into six Senate races in the lead-up to Cuomo’s 2014 education reform bill (Joseph, 2015).</p>

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