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Urban Regimes, Intermediary Organization Networks, and Research Use: Patterns Across Three School Districts

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Recent advances in conceptualizing structures of influence in education policymaking have emphasized the role of nongovernmental actors working in networks to promote their agendas. These useful insights have allowed researchers to consider the evolution from “government” to “governance” in education policymaking, broadening the analytical scope for scholars to understand patterns of power and influence. However, the scholarly quest to map these actors and networks often neglects the political contexts in which these networks operate. We have found, however, from our multiyear (2011–2014), cross-case study of research use in education policymaking that analysis of the political and policy landscape is critical for developing a useful theoretical understanding of how these networks are formed, structured, and operate, and how evidence on educational policies is produced, promoted, and utilized within and across networks.

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URBAN REGIMES, INTERMEDIARY ORGANIZATION NETWORKS, AND RESEARCH USE

In this article, we extend our work on intermediary organizations (IOs) operating in advocacy networks, particularly in advocating around “incentivist” policies—that is, policies such as charter schools or merit pay for teachers that seek to capitalize on incentives to increase the effectiveness of individuals and organizations. As we will explain, IOs can take a number of forms, including think tanks, foundations, media outfits (including new media such as bloggers), and other advocacy organizations (Figure 1 shows our conception of the scope of definition of IOs). The key feature that unites these disparate organizational types is their common role in the space between research producers and users, where they often serve the function of brokering transactions around research evidence to be used (or not) in advocating for particular policy changes.

These IOs tend to operate in coalitions of which local intermediary organization networks (IONs) have become a key feature. But this finding from our work raises questions as to how these networks are constructed, situated, and related within and across different institutional and political landscapes. For instance, how might local versions of networks advocating for a particular issue connect with those at other localities, or with national or international level networks? Are there certain characteristics of IONs that might make a difference in how policymakers perceive research? And, most important, how might contextual factors such as the political landscape influence the effective operation of these networks?

To address these issues, we discuss findings from our mixed-methods study of IONs in three major metropolitan centers of incentivist reform in the United States. Drawing on nearly 200 interviews with policy actors in New York, Denver, Washington, DC, and New Orleans, we consider some of the major contextual issues that shape respondents’ positions and efforts regarding the efficacy of incentivist reforms. In particular, we focus on the research and advocacy around charter schools—publicly funded but privately managed schools that are popular with the current

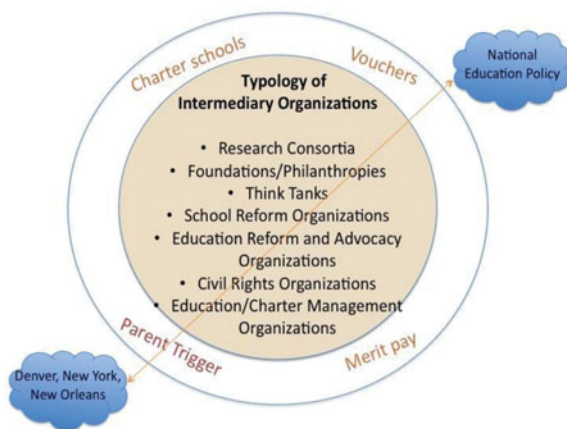


FIGURE 1 Typology of intermediaries in educational policy and politics.

wave of education reformers, but often opposed by teachers' unions and some local education authorities and grassroots advocacy groups. We find that differences in the political context in these different sites helps explain the variations in the ways IONs operate, particularly with regard to how research is treated, considered, and valued.

In the following section, we describe our conceptual framework. Our framework combines and extends insights from policy sociology and political science to understand changes in education policymaking. Next we outline our research, describing the data, cases, methods, and main findings of our work on research use in education policymaking. We identify differences in how the political context in these cases appears to influence IONs' treatment of empirical research in the policymaking process. The third section and concluding discussion considers ways that our findings offer insights not just for research use and the study of intermediary organizational networks, but also for theorizing and studying the potential impacts of these networks as they become a more central fixture on the education policy landscape.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This work is grounded in our conception of local intermediary organization networks (IONs). Where we understand IOs as the actors that function in the space between research producers and users, including organizations such as think tanks, philanthropies, the media, bloggers, and other advocacy organizations to facilitate particular policy agendas (Lubienski, Scott, & DeBray, 2011), our research has found that when these IOs function in coalitions within a given locality, they tend to form their own identifiable—if ephemeral—networks that are especially visible around specific issues such as charter schools or teacher pay-for-performance (DeBray, Scott, Lubienski, & Jabbar, 2014). Depending on the local policy context, including its recent political history and governance, we have found initial indicators that these networks behave in a variety of ways, from highly cohesive/working in close concert to acrimonious and fractured. We found that a cohesive network often had an active philanthropic sector that had encountered both political consensus about reform from the school board and state policymakers as well as the active mobilization of many local foundations in concert with the policy goals of state legislators. When IOs worked in concert and when they commissioned research, they usually did so to identify ways to improve implementation and/or expansion of reforms, especially charters.

By contrast, we found that a politically fractured sector, such as New Orleans, was characterized by an imbalance of resources between advocates for incentivist reforms and their opponents; a mutual mistrust between the proponents and opponents with respect to political intent; and above all, an environment characterized by very little interest in research on the part of policymakers, accompanied by a widespread public perception that data collected by the state was not being shared equally. However, in between these two extremes is a wide middle ground, in which citizen or parent groups mobilize to challenge a given reform plan or philanthropic strategy. The idea of IO networks draws conceptually on the work of Ball and Junemann (2012), who have written about heterarchical network governance and the “new public management” (i.e., the role that new, nongovernmental actors are playing in public policy processes), as well as on the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF, Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999), which highlights the role of nongovernmental groups and postulates that organizations work together across levels of government to achieve common policy goals.

However, the ACF, as normally construed, cannot consistently account for substantive differences in the structures of policy networks that inform the ways research evidence is used or neglected at different levels and by different organizations and the significant variation in different local contexts, depending on local regime structures (i.e., Stone, 1989). We advance the idea that the configurations of IONs, in turn, have implications for understanding how research is marketed to policymakers and, by extension, used by them (DeBray et al., 2014; Jabbar, La Londe, DeBray, Scott, & Lubienski, 2014; Scott & Jabbar, 2013). This work also extends that of Au and Ferrare (2014), who documented how coalitions of organizations supporting charter schools can function at a state level to send coherent messages to policymakers and, in the case of Washington State, successfully affect policy adoption. Previous work by political scientists on urban regimes also informs this line of research (Bulkley & Henig, 2015; Henig, 2010; Shipps, 2003; Stone, Henig, Jones, & Pierannunzi, 2001; Wohlstetter & Houston, 2015). As Henig has written, “Urban regime theory has been extended to explain the politics of coalition building for urban school reform” (2010, p. 43). Policies need the support from a broad and diverse coalition of actors, and not just elites. Extending regime theory to nonstate actors, Reckhow developed case studies of the effects of philanthropic engagement on school reform in New York and Los Angeles, and has argued that this involvement “may increase the challenges to building deep local investment and broad engagement in new policies” (2013, p. 8). It is the “policy ecology” (i.e., Weaver-Hightower, 2008) of such coalitions, both those inherent to the policy networks in a particular city, and also those branching “upward” from the local level toward national policymakers, that we analyze in our three cases.

We leverage these different conceptual insights in our study of how IOs shape policymakers’ use of research evidence in education. Research findings, from IOs and issued by universities, can shape policymakers’ perceptions, but ideology and preconceived positions can also play a strong role (Lubienski, Scott, & DeBray, 2011; Weiss, 1979). McDonnell (2004) has called attention to the “hortatory” uses of research, which may serve political purposes. We pose the following research questions:

1. With respect to the reforms of charter schools, what are the major patterns of networks of intermediary organizations within and across the cities we are studying?
2. How do local political history and configurations of governance (or “regimes”) shape these IONs?
3. Finally, what are the major similarities and differences across sites in how research is marketed to and used by policymakers? How may these patterns be related, if they are, to the configurations of IONs?

METHODS

Our three-year (2011–2014), mixed-methods approach involved an extensive review of the following: the research literature on research use and educational policymaking; in-depth interviews with informants in cities where incentivist reforms are taking hold; analytic strategies for making sense of this literature through the prism of theoretical and conceptual understandings of the role of intermediaries in the policymaking process; mapping IOs and IONs through tracking organizational websites intermediary leadership and board membership; bibliometric analysis of

research advanced by intermediaries in media reports; and research promoted by IOs. Our data collection took place in Denver, New Orleans, and New York, and we also conducted interviews with selected Washington, DC-based groups, as well as with representatives of national-level organizations. We also interviewed participants, especially university researchers and bloggers, in other regions such as Chicago and Los Angeles. To date, we have conducted nearly 200 interviews across four cities. Across all of our data, we have utilized a purposive sampling technique, aimed at garnering the insights, activities, and perspectives of the IOs, individuals, and school districts in which incentivist reforms are seeded and developed.

FINDINGS

We discovered patterns in how politics, governance, and research use are interrelated across the three urban sites we studied. New York City transitioned from an environment characterized by high-stakes accountability and an emphasis on charter schools to a different mode of governance under Mayor Bill DiBlasio and the appointed Chancellor Carmen Farina (Wohlstetter & Houston, 2015). As a result, the local school district governing boards (called Community Education Councils), whose power was substantially curbed during the Bloomberg/Klein regime due to consolidation (Reckhow, 2013), are beginning to demand more control over policy issues (field note, May 14, 2014).

In Denver, the school board was largely united in support of charters and teacher pay-for-performance (implemented since 2004 in the city schools as “ProComp”), and adversarial politics have been at a minimum. Local philanthropies have catalyzed much of the recent policy movement, and intermediary groups have responded to funding possibilities by marshaling research evidence in support of the agendas the philanthropies are promoting (Scott, Jabbar, La Londe, DeBray, & Lubienski, 2014). Foundations are often a key link between particular intermediary organizations and national, state, and local policymakers; in some cases, they explicitly seek to influence policy. In the Denver context, key foundations invested early in incentivist reforms through research advocacy and funding mandates. These foundations generally did not conduct their own research or fund research directly, but rather funded the *dissemination* of research findings. A representative from the Rose Foundation reported, for example, that their organization did not necessarily conduct its own research, but rather disseminated research evidence that it found compelling. He explained, “If we feel like this report that just came out really needs to be shared with legislators or there needs to be luncheons where they’re educated on the implications of the policy recommendations or of the research, then sometimes we step in and play that role.”

In New Orleans, governance, politics, and research use are also interconnected in a more contentious fashion. Indeed, the structure and governance of schools in New Orleans was key to understanding the emergence of oppositional networks seeking to inform policy debates on the efficacy of charter schools. For example, during the time of our research, The Louisiana Board of Elementary and Secondary Education (BESE) ran the Recovery School District (RSD), which operated charter schools almost exclusively, and the Orleans Parish School Board controlled some of the public schools.

The post-Katrina reforms gave rise to two opposing coalitions in the city: the charter advocates and the grassroots/community coalition. The proliferation of lawsuits over access to state data, teachers’ employment rights, students with disabilities, and a voucher bill highlights the

dramatic schism and climate of contention between the two sides. On the one hand, the grassroots/community schools coalitions believed that policymakers changed the state accountability system when the system was starting to show growth pre-Katrina. Many of them cited what they viewed as racism and disinvestment in the system (field note, March 12, 2013). The charter advocates, on the other hand, claim that groups such as Research on Reforms, an intermediary organization founded by civil rights attorney Barbara Ferguson to publish and disseminate research that in most cases disputes that the post-Katrina reforms have been effective, is run by defenders of the “status quo” of the past (DeBray et al., 2014).

The fact that the state has only released its data selectively to researchers has only exacerbated the tension of the debates about the reforms’ effectiveness in New Orleans. In our 2014 analysis of supply and demand relationships between policymakers and IOs in New Orleans, we found that the New Orleans ION seemed to serve three key functions: to broker research that supports the pro-charter agenda, to create an echo chamber of this research, and to reify such efforts through claims that policymakers do not value research (Jabbar et al., 2014). Local and state-level policymakers reported that they received limited, untrustworthy research, and thus made ideological claims about reforms through anecdotes and reliance on “evidence” from national blogs such as Rick Hess’s *Straight Up* or EduWonk (Jabbar et al., 2014). Furthermore, policymakers often conflated internally produced data with research.

Across our three sites, there were connections to national-level organizations, confirming that often IOs work in national-level advocacy coalitions. For example, advocacy organizations such as Democrats for Education Reform (DfER), Stand for Children, Parents Across America, and Students First have a national-level presence and state-level branches active across many states, including those in this study. Local charter school reformers are connected to national umbrella organizations such as KIPP, New Leaders for New Schools, Teach for America, and the National Alliance for Public Charter Schools. Although the local affiliates of the National Education Association (NEA), American Federation of Teachers (AFT), and National School Boards Association have generally been opposed to incentivist policies, there are some exceptions, such as the AFT in Denver signing onto the ProComp teacher pay plan. Finally, the national media has often been a very potent force in local-level IO networks, whether they play a challenging role (as Valerie Strauss did in the *Washington Post* in 2011, when she questioned the New Orleans “miracle,” as Secretary of Education Arne Duncan had characterized it), or an endorsing role, with respect to the reforms’ effectiveness. The Broad Foundation’s 2015 endowment of the *Los Angeles Times*’s coverage of educational reforms is an example of the nexus between local media and national foundations, one that has provoked allegations that the reporting will be biased (see Farhi, 2015).

A common trend across our districts was that for both formal policymakers and leaders in IOs, local research findings trumped national ones. Specifically, when we asked about the 2009 CREDO findings that found limited charter school effectiveness, we generally heard responses that indicated that national studies carried less credibility than local ones. For instance, in 2012, we asked a director of a prominent advocacy organization which sources of research he drew on most frequently, and which researchers had the most credibility. He responded (interview, May 5, 2012):

Obviously in our world, what Caroline Hoxby has done, and the work in New York City specifically, has been important to us in proving out achievement. Equally, the work that [Margaret Raymond] has done with the CREDO study is obviously now of great importance to the charter movement. Her

results for New York City are far more positive than averaging across 17 states and/or territories. So those are two that loom large in our world.

In New Orleans, another director of an advocacy organization also voiced that he placed more credence in CREDO's local study than in the aggregate national study:

We've hired researchers out of Stanford CREDO to do—I don't know if you're familiar with the first 16 states study that was—all the anti-charter folks cite that study. There are some things that I thought weren't quite perfect about that study, but just because we wanted to be so aboveboard, we hired them to do the exact study on New Orleans charters, and we tripled the effectiveness of the national study.

In Denver, the question of charter schools effectiveness is “settled,” as indicated by the words of a state-level policymaker (interview, September 14, 2012):

We have of the 8 schools that were the highest performing on the school performance growth model, 7 of the 8 are charter schools. And all of them are part of 3 CMOs: KIPP, West Denver Prep, and Denver Schools Science and Tech. So those three have 7 of the 8 highest performing schools in the city. Charters serve a poor and a more disadvantaged school population than the general school population in Denver. So the “creaming” arguments aren't entirely successful in terms of ... in metro Denver, and in other parts of the state like if you go to Fort Collins or you go to the Western Slope, you'll get more of the suburban charters that look more like the creaming charters. And there, the arguments are stronger against them. But in metro Denver, there's such high quality and such strong political support and such success, I think it's a settled question.

Another director of a state-level advocacy organization in Colorado agreed. When asked whether there were any discussions in the legislature concerning charter schools' effectiveness, she answered:

We're 22 years in. We have schools in rural areas, suburban and urban, and I think that the data that we have that is based on CDE data and is based on the assessments and testing shows that Colorado charter schools are effective in all of those different areas, so either performing as well or better We do use that data when we're going and talking to the legislature about facilities finance, when we're talking about backpack funding And so I think because of all the things that we do on the front end, and we continue to do—not to say that there are not charter schools that are ... there are charter schools that are not performing as well as they should be—but we as a membership organization, and as a sector, are doing well and going to be better policing ourselves. So we have not had that battle in the legislature.

Thus, in all three of our districts, we were told by charter school advocates that local charter schools were effective based on local research findings, or, at least, school rankings, and that they were by and large not politically contested. We attributed this commonality to what we came to term, “local exceptionalism,” a phenomenon in which national level data or research was used largely to confirm existing beliefs about the efficacy of local schools. Those more critical or skeptical of local school performance would often point to national research indicating that charter schools had higher rates of attrition and selectivity.

Relatedly, when interviewers asked whether research on charter school achievement had made a difference in policy debates, a common answer was that the net effect of that research was that it had pushed the movement to define itself more in terms of the value of choice itself. The following exchange was with a director of a New York advocacy organization (interview, May 5, 2012):

Interviewer: Can you think of a time that you found evidence that led you or the organization to a specific position on charters?

Respondent: Yeah, it was interesting at this [national] panel, I mentioned it because there was sort of a sense of well maybe the research doesn't matter that much. And I would disagree vehemently. The fact is that all of the research has had a profound effect on chartering and what it views itself as. The truth is we haven't come up with research across the board that shows that chartering in and of itself produces higher academic achievement. Once you get into methodology disputes, the effect size must be so small that even if we're on the positive side of the effect side, who gives a damn? I mean really. You've lost the war; if you're incrementally slightly better, then what does it really matter? Certainly I think that all of those studies that charters weren't getting academic achievement consistently and the act of chartering itself wasn't doing anything were profoundly influential to the movement.

Interviewer: How did they influence the movement?

Respondent: Well, it brought the movement up completely. The launch of the National Alliance [of Public Charter Schools] back in 2004 or something, after some starts with other national organizations, was all around quality. Why was it around quality? Because the results that the researchers had done showed that we weren't just getting the results. So I think it would be hard to overstate. The research has really worked. People sometimes say policymakers ignore the research, but the research has worked. Now has over time the support for charters morphed? As the, "well we can't use the academic achievement." So now it's all about choice and demand. And there the research supports us. Parents like charter schools. There's a reason that we have charter school laws in 42 states and it isn't just the malign [sic] influence of the Walton Family Foundation. Yeah, there's ideology involved, and from the right wing about competition and so forth, but I think there's also a profound understanding that upper-middle-class and middle-class families have had choice. That we have a system that is designed to allow them choice, to promote choice, and it comes through moving and district lines and restrictions on being allowed to enroll your child in a district and a federal mortgage deduction so that you can buy a home in the suburb if that's what you wish to do, and the ability therefore to self-segregate yourself. Not by race necessarily, but obviously that too, but also by income level, by cultural expectations, and by academic achievement.

Third, we find that in each district, a couple of IOs are identifiable as "high capacity" within their local networks. They tend to play a strong convening role in policy circles and have high internal capacity, that is, they have a strong and steady enough funding stream that they have been able to hire both research and advocacy staff (much as many think tanks), and often are asked to play an agenda-setting role by national organizations and/or policymakers. These IOs are often also closely connected to national-level IOs such as the National Alliance for Public Charter

TABLE 1
Descriptions of Case Cities

	Denver	New Orleans	New York
Governance	Traditional superintendent	Recovery School District and Orleans Parish School Board	Mayoral control
	Elected school board	RSD run by the state of LA; OPSB has elected school board	Appointed chancellor, appointed Panel for Education Policy
Politics	Cohesive and pro-incentives (charters and Pro Comp, teacher pay-for-performance)	Highly divisive, substantial national visibility/links to larger policy networks	Alters during study: at first, Bloomberg and Klein seek to empower “CEOs,” high-stakes accountability and charters
	Advocacy for merit pay and charters from unions, DPS leaders, and foundations	Foundations play a large role in seeding state board elections	DiBlasio and Farina, empower traditional school leaders, lessen punitive stakes, conflict with charter advocates over charter caps.
	Political alignment on school board with mayor and state leadership	Interest groups representing practitioners largely marginalized	Conflict with state political regime. Charter schools and teacher evaluation continue to be contested

Schools. In Denver, the Colorado Education Initiative (formerly the Colorado Legacy Foundation) and the Colorado League of Charter Schools fit this pattern; in New York City, the New York City Charter Schools Association; and in New Orleans, New Schools for New Orleans. These “alpha” organizations are the major nexus in the local–national advocacy coalitions with respect to charter schools. Their funding sources are mainly philanthropic, such as the CEE MindTrust and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, but, as is the case with New Schools for New Orleans, federal dollars meant to support the i3 grants or the federal Teacher Incentive Fund also flowed to many of them. As we will discuss below, the role of these new organizations as actual actors in education policymaking warrants further study.

Fourth and finally, we have found that in two of our three districts—in New York and particularly in New Orleans—there has been a demand for a credible, nonpartisan research “broker” that could be entrusted with carrying out high-quality studies. The Cowen Institute at Tulane University, established in 2007, has been publishing mainly descriptive studies and surveys about the effects of chartering policies within the Louisiana Recovery School District. Research Director Dr. Douglas Harris, an expert on value-added growth models, was hired in 2013 to expand Cowen’s research activities by creating the new Education Research Alliance out of Tulane University. At New York University, Dr. James Kemple was appointed director of the Research Alliance for New York City Schools. (Both of these local research outfits were apparently modeled after the highly respected Consortium on Chicago School Research out of the University of Chicago.) Despite its well-respected position at NYU, we heard in interviews in New York City in the spring of 2014 that the Consortium was not yet a prominent actor in school policy debates. [Tables 1 and 2](#) display the governance structures, politics, and approach to research use within IO networks across our three case study sites.

TABLE 2
Approach to Research Use

Denver	New Orleans	New York
Contingent on foundations' agenda; IOs are cohesive	Marginal and largely anecdotal when by policymakers	Mostly internal to pro-charter IOs
Strong linkages between the State Department and foundations	Data are selectively distributed	Research Alliance with New York City Schools (at NYU)
Local foundations often seeded by national ones	IOs divided in debate and function as policymakers, school operators, research producers, and research consumers	"Hub" for many national-level organizations supporting incentivist policies (The New Teacher Project, Democrats for Education Reform, etc.).
	Calls for a trusted independent broker; Cowen Center and Education Research Alliance attempt to fill this role	Opposition groups push out research evidence to city leaders

DISCUSSION

Our cross-case analysis of research use by networks of intermediary organizations provides important insights into both how patterns of these networks differ based on their local political and governance histories and how some common patterns in research use are evident across sites. In terms of differences, the local political patterns—the extent to which they are cohesive and unified around incentivist policies—affects how intermediary organizations behave in terms of forming coalitions. In the case with the least contentious politics, Denver, local philanthropies have supported intermediary organizations that not only promote the charter and teacher merit-pay reforms, but in many cases, help implement them as well. In New York and New Orleans, charter schools are a highly contested reform, but politics and governance have shaped the IO networks and research use in very different ways. In New Orleans, the control of the Recovery School District by the Board of Elementary and Secondary Education, whose members are overwhelmingly reform supporters, has created a politically divisive climate for IOs, pitting well-funded national reform groups against a nascent coalition of local, community-based opponents who interestingly have also garnered some national media attention. A recent example of the opposing coalition's influence is their successful lawsuit against the Louisiana Department of Education. In March 2015 a federal judge overturned a prior decision against Research on Reforms and held that the Department needed to release public school data to any party or organization demanding it (Ferguson, 2015). Although our current work in New York City has highlighted the use of research evidence by advocates around the expansion of charter schools in the city, the recent change in mayoral leadership has seen growing battles around charter schools, especially around issues of co-location and the payment of rent. Yet CMOs are successfully moving the debate from city hall to the state capitol in finding new political backing and strengthening existing political supports in powerful state and national allies. These shifts, we expect, will elicit new contributions from—and potential new alliances within—IONs.

The commonalities we identified across sites also provide a basis for further research on IONs. All three have intermediary organizations that are funded by both local and national philanthropies

and are often connected to national-level policy coalitions. Policymakers and prominent leaders within IOs often reported that they didn't consider national-level studies on charter schools to be particularly relevant to their local reform work and claimed that their local charters far outperformed the national averages. At times, they pointed to meaningless evidence such as average school test scores to support their claim. One interviewee suggested that the net effect of national-level longitudinal studies (showing, on average, no aggregate advantages for charter schools over regular public schools in terms of student outcomes) motivated the movement of the message of the charter movement away from achievement toward parental satisfaction and choice, particularly for non-upper-middle-class families (see also Lubienski & Weitzel, 2010). This finding indicates that, at least in our three urban sites, policymakers are aware of large-scale national studies about the lack of a charter school advantage, but are able to justify the continued expansion of chartering due to what they characterize as the unique, outstanding performance of their city's charter sector. The local IOs give them the evidence they need to do this.

We also found across sites that in each, there were a couple of "alpha" intermediary organizations, which tended to have well-funded research and policy staffs and a dominant presence in policy discussions. Quite often, these organizations were the lead IOs funded by a large philanthropy or a consortium of local and national philanthropies, which then served to coordinate much of the advocacy, and reform work within the IO network. For instance, these "alpha" IOs tended to play a leadership and convening function within their respective IO sectors. These findings are consistent with Ball and Junemann's findings about the "new public management" in education policy in the UK (2012).

CONCLUSION

These findings contribute to an understanding of how urban regime theory may be applied to some of the new dynamics of how local networks of intermediary organizations attempt to shape policy through research evidence. Networks have varying configurations that are strongly related to the history of the leadership and power arrangements in cities—the local policy "landscape." That is, within the local policy ecologies, these IONs exhibit arrangements that appear to respond to their environment, even when the IONs are largely transplanted from some other place. Our findings indicate that IOs and the networks to which they belong are not just variations of interest groups in the way researchers have typically conceptualized interest groups. Instead, we conclude that researchers need to incorporate IOs and IONs into the systematic theorizing and study of policymaking models in the future, insofar as federal, state, and local policymakers are granting them both authority and financial resources to carry out policy agendas.

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