



2024 ANNUAL REPORT

Empowering States,
Unlocking Potential

PIONEER
INSTITUTE

Mission

Pioneer Institute empowers Americans with choices and opportunities to live free and thrive.

Through expert research, educational initiatives, legal action, and coalition-building, we advance human potential in four critical areas: K-12 Education, Health, Economic Opportunity and American Civic Values.

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Located in Boston and Washington, D.C., and founded in 1988, Pioneer Institute is a nonpartisan, tax-exempt 501(c)3 organization. To ensure its independence, Pioneer is privately funded and does not accept government grants.

2024

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By the Numbers

327K
Digital Followers

5.6B
Total Media Reach

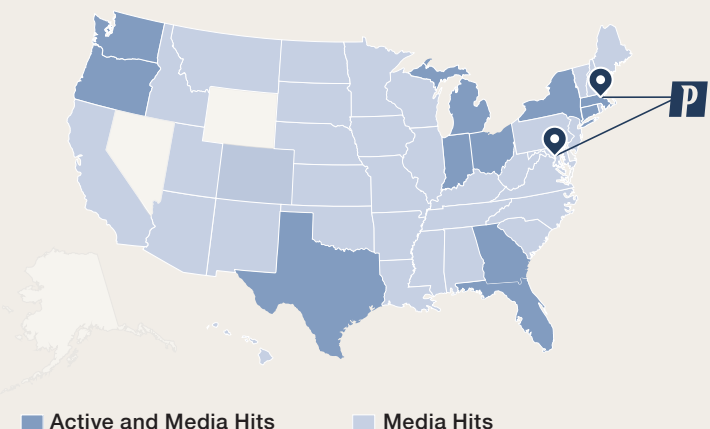
76
Publications

26
Events

1,848
Media Hits

\$5.7M
Revenue

Pioneer Influence: Policy & Media



Empowering States, Unlocking Potential

Pioneer is unique.

Unlike national think tanks that spread resources across dozens of issues and focus on Washington, D.C., Pioneer zeroes in on four core drivers of human potential—educational choice, healthcare innovation, economic growth, and the renewal of American citizenship.

We've built partnerships across the country to advance state-level solutions in our priority areas. To expand our impact in hyper-progressive Massachusetts, we've launched a respected law firm and co-founded a coalition representing thousands of businesses.

sounded the alarm on high housing, healthcare and tax costs. State leaders embraced Pioneer's call to legalize accessory dwelling units. The Law Center defended property rights against unconstitutional municipal seizures and supported the MBTA Communities Act to expand housing supply.

Undergirding all our work is a commitment to *American Citizenship* and effective government. We supported efforts to audit the Massachusetts Legislature. Nationwide, we published books on civic education and federalism, and prepared for the 2025 launch of U.S. Data Labs, which will let users compare government

“Today, Pioneer stands out through its focus on four key issues, its commitment to state policy innovation and high-quality intellectual work, and its strategic partnerships and legal action.”

None of this would be possible without your support. We're proud to share the progress your generosity made possible in 2024:

We believe families—not bureaucracies—choose the best *educational* options for their children. In Massachusetts, we championed vocational schools and, partnering with the Institute for Justice, challenged the legality of discriminatory policies against special needs students in private schools. Pioneer's Law Center secured rights for public virtual students and forced Boston Public Schools to release bullying data. Across the country, we continue work with partners to expand school choice policies and produced podcasts targeting education policymakers and growing homeschool communities.

Working in a dozen states and Washington, D.C., our *life sciences* team helped expand access to life-saving treatments, reverse federal restrictions on co-pay assistance, secure FDA approval for expanded gene therapies, and expose pharmacy benefit managers that limit patient access. We helped block QALY-based rationing in federal programs and supported the passage of the *Lower Costs, More Transparency Act* in the U.S. House.

Focusing on the exodus of talent and capital from Massachusetts, our *economic opportunity team*

performance across all 50 states.

As we enter the final year of our *Pioneer2025* strategic plan, we thank you for your support and for allowing us, in four short years, to transform and position Pioneer to shape future debates. We've built new assets to fight for Massachusetts' competitiveness, attracted remarkable talent and laid the foundation to impact debates across the country in education, medical innovation, and housing.

To our longtime supporters, we're deeply grateful for your friendship, generosity, and the opportunity to do this work. To new friends, we invite you to join us in helping all Americans reach their full potential.

With sincere gratitude,



Adam Portnoy
Chair of the Board



James Stergios
Executive Director

Parental Choices

Educational Equality of Opportunity

In 2024, building on its longstanding research and promotion of public and private school choice, Pioneer published policy papers, hosted events, and produced podcasts on the role of educational pluralism in strengthening K–12 performance nationwide. We envision a portfolio of options to match student needs, including public vocational, charter, and virtual schools, as well as private and religiously affiliated schools, and homeschooling.

Massachusetts' Nation-Leading Voc-Techs

Massachusetts' vocational-technical schools are a national model, outperforming traditional public high schools despite serving diverse students, and maintaining low dropout rates. With specialized curricula and strong business ties, they have thousands on waitlists. The Institute educates policymakers on the benefits of expanding enrollment and increasing access for seventh and eighth graders.

- Pioneer led a business coalition to **preserve voc-tech admissions policies** and expand enrollments. Through op-eds, videos, policy papers, such as *Hands Off Voc-Techs' Success*, and advocacy on Beacon Hill, Pioneer helped defeat ill-guided changes, ensuring Massachusetts remains a leader in occupational education.
- Partnering with the Massachusetts Association of Vocational Administrators (MAVA), Pioneer hosted four webinars on the history of vocational schools, their leadership in urban education reform, regional business partnerships, and the risks created by proposals to institute lottery-based admissions.

“ Rather than changes to the admissions process, let's give vocational-technical administrators the chance to inform area eighth-graders about the opportunities their high schools offer.”

— Charles Chieppo & Jamie Gass in *The Boston Globe*

- MAVA **honored Pioneer** as a voc-tech champion, recognizing our 18-year partnership.

“ Pioneer recognizes that the graduates of high quality vocational-technical and agricultural education programs help to drive the Massachusetts economy. MAVA is indebted to Pioneer for their incredible support.”

— MAVA's Communications Coordinator David Ferreira

Litigating Educational Freedom

- ✎ In 2024, Pioneer's Public Interest Law Center **litigated to protect the rights of 4,000 students** enrolled in Massachusetts public virtual schools. A greater strategic goal of the Law Center is to leverage Pioneer's research to expand private school choice.
- ✎ Massachusetts remains among the few states not given relief by two recent landmark U.S. Supreme Court decisions, *Espinoza v. Montana Department of Revenue* and *Carson v. Makin*, which struck down barriers to private and religious school choice. Building on 20 years of legal work and partnerships, the Law Center is **challenging Massachusetts' Blaine Amendments**, which bar public funds from private schools.
- Pioneer's 2018 and 2021 reports on the Individuals with Disabilities Act (IDEA) had **nationwide impact** and, in 2024, these debates came to fruition in the Ninth Circuit's *Loffman v. California Department of Education* decision, which found that California unlawfully discriminated against religious parents and schools in special-education programs.
- On *The Learning Curve*, Eric Rassbach of the Becket Fund discussed *Loffman*, California's misinterpretation of the IDEA, and the impact of three SCOTUS rulings—*Trinity Lutheran*, *Espinoza*, and *Carson*—on Blaine Amendments and school choice.

Pioneer promoted a policy toolkit and partnered with allies to advance school choice initiatives in key states. Today, one in three U.S. students has access to a choice program. By year's end, more states will adopt Education Savings Accounts (ESAs), which fund private school tuition, tutoring, technology, and educational enrichment.

- Pioneer launched *Homeschooling Journeys with Curious Mike*, hosted by Mike Goldstein, to explore how families are using ESAs, usually ranging from \$5,000 to \$9,000 annually, to enhance learning.

Homeschooling Journeys Podcast

Showcases stories of parents like Daniella in Arizona and Mariana in Florida, as well as innovative educators like Toni and Uli of Surf Skate Science. It captures the evolving ESA landscape and its impact on educational choice.



Fighting Illegal Strikes & Mismanagement

The Massachusetts Teachers' Association led Newton teachers into an illegal strike, cancelling classes for 11 days and prompting court action, judicial fines, and controversy. Through media efforts, engagement with state leaders, and legal strategies, Pioneer worked to end the strike, enforce state law, and return students to the classroom. The state legislature also deferred action on a teacher union-backed bill that would advance the legality of such strikes.



✦ With the support of The Law Center, Pioneer has been able to take concrete steps to **push back against mismanagement** in our public schools. The Law Center won victories to force the Boston Public Schools to release school bullying data and to stop electoral politicking in the Brookline Public Schools.

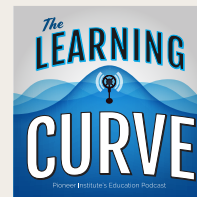
“The Massachusetts Legislature and courts do not grant teachers and public safety officials the right to strike for a specific reason: They have been granted a near monopoly on their services.”

—Jim Stergios in *The Boston Globe*

Teacher Quality & Academic Excellence

Pioneer champions both parental choice in education and academic excellence, which is crucial to the development of children's skills, curiosity, and self-discipline so that they can be lifelong learners.

- In *Learning Loss: From Crisis to Opportunity*, Dr. Daniel Hamlin warns of severe pandemic learning loss, with NAEP scores at 2003 levels, a decade-long recovery, and dwindling relief funds. He calls for urgent action, including differentiated pay to attract top teachers, career and technical education, and early college programs.
- In *Engineering a Solution: Elevating STEM Teacher Quality*, Dr. Cara Candal and Gerard Robinson highlight Massachusetts' worsening STEM teacher shortage and propose funding high school STEM chairs, “experts in residence” programs, and flexible training for career changers.



PODCAST

Pioneer's flagship podcast boasts thousands of nationwide followers and hosts weekly conversations with outstanding scholars, civic leaders, and school founders on the importance of educational excellence and choice. In 2024, we engaged in conversations with Nobel Prize-winning MIT economist Josh Angrist; Denisha Allen, founder of the American Federation for Children and Black Minds Matter; New Hampshire Gov. Chris Sununu; and Eric Rassbach of the Becket Fund on litigating educational freedom.



Nobel Prize-winning MIT economist
Josh Angrist

The Learning Curve interviewed New Hampshire Governor Christopher Sununu. Gov. Sununu discussed his upbringing in a well-known political family and how the influence of his father, a former governor and White House chief of staff, and his brother, a former U.S. senator, has shaped his public service. He described his efforts to support school choice within New Hampshire's strong K–12 public education system; and the importance of empowering communities, parents, and state leaders to drive education reforms and create more equitable school options for students.



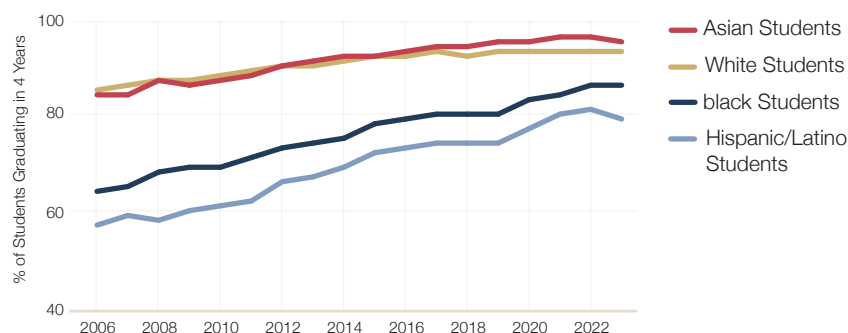
New Hampshire Governor
Christopher Sununu

Defending MCAS

Since 2008, the Massachusetts Teachers Association and the American Federation of Teachers have worked to weaken the 1993 Education Reform Act, opposing charter schools, academic standards, and district accountability. This has contributed to a decade-long decline on MCAS and national test scores. Despite MCAS underpinning Massachusetts' historic K–12 success, unions led a 2024 ballot campaign to eliminate its graduation requirement. Backed by \$12 million from the MTA, voters approved Question 2, ending the requirement for the class of 2025 and beyond.

- Pioneer partnered with teachers, Democrats for Education Reform, the Massachusetts Business Alliance for Education, and business leaders to defend MCAS.
- ✂ The Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court sided with The Law Center, rejecting a union attempt to introduce misleading wording into the MCAS ballot question. In three studies, Pioneer demonstrated that the MCAS, a key element of the 1993 Education Reform Act, drove Massachusetts' national and international student achievement.
- In *MCAS & Student Achievement*, economist Ken Ardon showed how higher MCAS scores correlate with lower dropout rates and increased college completion.
- In *MCAS, NAEP, and Educational Accountability*, Dr. Cara Candal highlighted the MCAS' role in narrowing achievement gaps, particularly for low-income students. Finally, *From MCAS to College* revealed significant improvements in MCAS scores and postsecondary outcomes from 2001 to 2018, especially among low-income, black, and Hispanic students.

MA Math Proficiency by Race/Ethnicity, Grade 10



“Eliminating the MCAS graduation requirement would turn the clock back more than 30 years and return Massachusetts to a time when many students graduated without the skills to be successful.”

—Jim Stergios in *The Boston Globe*

Upcoming in 2025

Nationally, the team will release two books, *The Lost Decade* to make an urgent call for charter and other public schools to recommit to academic excellence, and *Virtual School, Actual Learning* to promote the most effective strategies to advance digital learning. We will also undertake research on the quality of various school choice programs. In Florida, we will make recommendations to improve academic achievement in its public schools. In Massachusetts, we will develop proposals to ensure accountability for results.

Education Team



Jamie Gass
Director,
PioneerEducation



Albert Cheng
Senior Fellow, Host of
The Learning Curve



Mike Goldstein
Education Innovation,
Podcast Host



Alisha Searcy
Senior Fellow, Host of
The Learning Curve



Steven Wilson
Senior Education
Fellow

American Constitutionalism

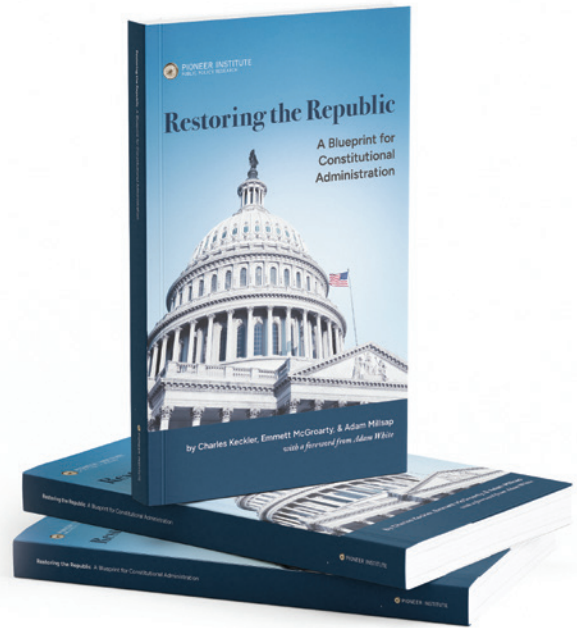
Reforming Government, Advancing Federalism

In the fall of 2024, Pioneer released *Restoring the Republic: A Blueprint for Constitutional Administration*, a new book co-authored by Emmett McGroarty, Charles Keckler and Adam Millsap, who led a two-year study group comprising of attorneys, academics, policymakers and veterans of state and federal government.

This timely blueprint outlines detailed, actionable reforms to realign federal agencies with the U.S. Constitution, increase their responsiveness to American citizens, and protect individual liberties, with a focus on enhancing:

- Congressional oversight of Executive Branch activities.
- Presidential oversight of the federal bureaucracy.
- The Constitution's clear grant of power to the states—and state policy innovation.

The *Restoring the Republic* campaign garnered 18 interviews and media hits, including nine media hits in national outlets and Pioneer's target states of Florida, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Texas. Our audience exceeded 10.8 million.



Learning of Liberty for Self-Government

Pioneer promoted its book *Restoring the City on a Hill: U.S. History and Civics in America's Schools*, detailing the decline in civics knowledge and offering state and local solutions. The Institute hosted a series of teacher-led webinars and podcast conversations on teaching U.S. history and civics.

Civic Virtue & the Language of Democracy

📺 *Virtual Briefing*: A discussion on civics education moderated by Mariam Memarsadeghi (Cyrus Forum) featuring Dr. Jocelyn Chadwick (Harvard), Roger Desrosiers (Massachusetts Center for Civic Education), and civics teachers Kelley Brown (MA) and Natalie O'Brien (RI).

What the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists Can Teach Us Today

📺 *Virtual Briefing*: Timothy Moore (University of Wisconsin) moderated a discussion about the modern relevance of the Federalists and Anti-Federalists debate, featuring teachers engaged in the "We the People" curriculum: Kelley Brown (MA), Chris Cavanaugh (ND), Shayne Klein (NC), and Stacey Sklar (CA).

NYT Bestseller Jonathan Eig on Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

🎧 *The Learning Curve*: For MLK Day, Jonathan Eig,

“When America was founded, states were viewed as the most powerful unit of government. How times have changed.”

— Adam Millsap in *Forbes*

Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *King: A Life*, explored MLK's spiritual leadership, influences, marriage, activism in Birmingham, AL, and Chicago, the March on Washington, the Poor People's Campaign, and his assassination. Eig reflected on MLK's legacy and its civic lessons for today.

Cheryl Brown Henderson on *Brown v. Board of Education*

🎧 *The Learning Curve*: Marking the 70th anniversary of *Brown v. Board of Education*, Cheryl Brown Henderson, daughter of the lead plaintiff, discussed her family's role, the NAACP's legal strategy, the Civil Rights Movement's religious roots, and the ongoing need for education reform to address racial disparities.



Cheryl Brown-Henderson

Advancing Government Transparency

The Massachusetts Legislature failed in its constitutional duty to be accountable to the people “at all times,” by exempting itself from public records and open meeting laws, refusing an audit by the State Auditor, failing to revise out-of-date financial disclosure laws and limiting access to those disclosures through onerous public access requirements. That’s not the way it works in the vast majority of states.

Bills impacting the Bay State’s seven million residents are largely crafted behind closed doors. The state constitution declares that it is the right of the people to give instructions to their representatives. But how can we do so when we don’t know what our representatives are doing—or not doing? Pioneer is working to reverse this dismal performance.

“The Legislature has exempted itself from the Commonwealth’s public records and open meeting laws. That’s not the way it works in the vast majority of states—not even other one-party states.”

– Mary Connaughton in *The Boston Globe*

Transparency Advocacy & Legal Wins

- **Sunshine Week 2024**—Pioneer pushed to eliminate the governor’s executive order privilege, subject the Legislature to transparency laws, support a legislative audit, and reform financial disclosure policies to allow anonymous online requests.
- **Legislative Audit Push**—For nearly a decade, Pioneer has advocated for auditing the Legislature. In March, Government Transparency Director Mary Connaughton argued the case in *The Boston Globe* and later debated the issue on WGBH.
- **Public Support for Transparency**—A Pioneer-commissioned Emerson College poll found 80 percent of voters favor eliminating the Legislature’s public records exemption.
- **Public Interest Law Center Wins**
 - ✍ Secured a ruling against Brookline for withholding records on election law violations involving municipal resources.
 - ✍ Forced Boston Public Schools to release investigative summaries on school violence after legal action under the Public Records Law.

“A single courageous state may, if its citizens choose, serve as a laboratory; and try novel social and economic experiments without risk to the rest of the country.”

– SCOTUS Justice Louis Brandeis

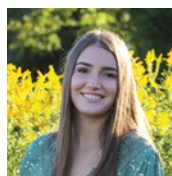
Next Generation Transparency Advocates

To inspire future transparency advocates, we engage Roger Perry Interns to write blogs and drive news stories using our suite of transparency tools.



Matt Mulvey

Analyzed New England’s pre-COVID academic decline using MassReportCards



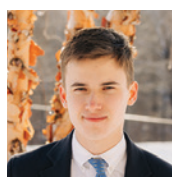
Dana Dichiro

Used IRS Discovery to track where former Massachusetts residents migrated



Axel Portnoy

Identified employment trends with Labor Analytics



Raif Boit

Examined rising pension costs via MassOpenBooks

“What is the one thing businesses, climate advocates, and lobbyists can agree on? The need to overhaul the state’s broken legislative process.”

– Jim Stergios in *Commonwealth Beacon*

An Investment in the Future



Empower future civic leaders through the Roger Perry Internship Program. Your gift equips talented students with hands-on experience and skills to drive change in government, business, and their local communities. Invest in tomorrow’s changemakers today!

Upcoming in 2025

We will explore how five blue, red, and purple states can leverage state autonomy to reform governance, education, healthcare and transportation. We will also convene a working group of scholars and legal experts to develop a model curriculum re-centering legal education on American constitutional jurisprudence. Also, after 18 months of development, Pioneer will release U.S. Data Labs—a comprehensive, national platform offering easily searchable data on how state governments perform in nine crucial policy areas.

Citizenship Team



Mary Connaughton
Director, Transparency



Jamie Gass
Director,
PioneerEducation



Michael Walker
Data Made Useful

U.S. Data Labs

An Educated Citizen is a Good Citizen. While pundits focus on the federal government, real innovation happens at the state level. That's why we created **U.S. Data Labs**—an easy-to-use platform combining 62 databases to compare state performance across key policy areas: Government, Economy, Education, Population, Energy, Infrastructure, Justice, Taxation, and Health. To showcase its power, below we compare two states—Massachusetts and Florida—that are competing for talent and wealth.

Q: 4th grade reading scores

A: Massachusetts #1, Florida #2

Q: 8th grade reading scores

A: Massachusetts #1, Florida #41

Q: Per pupil public school expenditure

A: Massachusetts #6 (\$26,050), Florida #44 (\$12,713)

Q: Net (private and public sector) jobs created

A: Massachusetts #39, Florida #13

Q: Net domestic in-migration

Q: Cost of utilities (lower is better)

A: Massachusetts #2, Florida #20

Q: Energy generated by renewable sources

A: Massachusetts #31, Florida #14

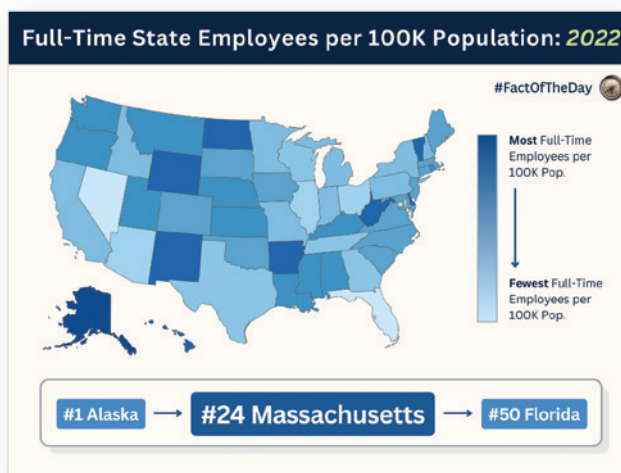
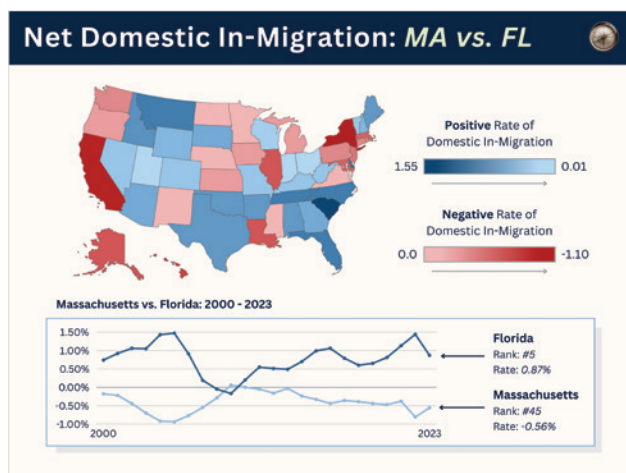
Q: Percent of roads in acceptable condition

A: Massachusetts #40, Florida #1

Q: Violent crime rate (lower is better)

A: Massachusetts #28, Florida #23

Q: State government employees per capita



The goal of U.S. Data Labs is to empower citizens across the U.S. to challenge the status quo; ask informed, data driven questions of public leaders; and hold policymakers accountable. Using U.S. Data Labs, Floridians can confront their leaders on the precipitous drop in student performance between 4th and 8th grade, and the crime rate. Massachusetts residents can demand that their leaders address the overgrown size of government, the state's weak job growth, the high cost of utilities, and poor roadway conditions.

Advancing Innovation & Transparency in Healthcare

Like education and civic engagement, healthcare is crucial to well-being, individual opportunity, and economic success. Pioneer's healthcare work focuses on advancing innovation and expanding access to new therapies, while promoting price and quality transparency across the industry.

Innovative Care & The Life Sciences

Advancements in medical devices and drug development have transformed care delivery. Consider this: In the 1970s, the U.S. had 1.7 million hospital beds—today, that number is 900,000, largely due to the rise of outpatient care, which is enabled by device and drug innovation.

Massachusetts leads the world in life sciences, with top-tier research institutions, universities, nonprofits, and hospitals. Recognizing the sector's importance to Americans nationwide, Pioneer Institute launched the Pioneer Life Sciences Initiative (PLSI) to drive policy reforms that sustain U.S. leadership in innovation and patient access. Pioneer's team, under the direction of Dr. William Smith, has engaged with policymakers in 19 states over the past two years—in addition to Washington, D.C., where Pioneer now has an office. In just seven years, PLSI has built a well-earned national reputation for its expertise.

Recent successes include:

- **Lowering Co-Pays**—After PLSI's report on co-pay accumulator programs, the Biden administration reversed its stance, dropping a lawsuit that would have blocked patient financial assistance from counting toward out-of-pocket obligations.
- **Protecting Patient Access**—After the release of Pioneer's book, *Rationing Medicine*, the U.S. House voted to ban the use of QALY (Quality-Adjusted Life Years) in all federal programs, marking a significant policy shift that prevents discriminatory models from restricting access to breakthrough therapies for vulnerable patients.
- **Advancing Gene Therapies**—Pioneer's research on gene therapy contributed to the FDA's expanded approval of Sarepta's Duchenne Muscular Dystrophy treatment, highlighting the unique challenges of pricing and manufacturing these promising therapies.
- **Improving Healthcare Affordability**—The U.S. House passed the *Lower Costs, More Transparency Act*, a crucial step in improving healthcare affordability, particularly important now that the control of the Senate has shifted.

340B Drug Pricing Program

Originally designed to help safety-net hospitals serve low-income patients, the 340B program has expanded into the second-largest federal drug program, often benefiting hospital profits more than patients. Pioneer has led efforts to reform this **\$90 billion** program across the country.

- **Providing Congressional Testimony**—Bill Smith testified at a U.S. House Energy and Commerce Committee hearing on the 340B program, advocating for greater transparency in its operations.
- **Driving State-Level Reform**—Pioneer's research and public education campaigns resulted in Minnesota and Maine implementing new transparency requirements, while Connecticut and Indiana passed legislation mandating transparency in 340B spending and charity care practices.
- **Preventing Misguided Expansion**—Pioneer successfully opposed further expansion of the dysfunctional 340B program, and our research led lawmakers in Michigan, New York and Oregon to abandon proposed expansion bills.

“A program intended to serve the uninsured and those in need now serves many affluent communities... Will Washington do anything to help needy patients or continue to force American taxpayers to foot the bill for hospitals?”

— Bill Smith & Robert Popovian in *The Detroit News*

Life Sciences Team



William Smith
Director, Life
Sciences Initiative



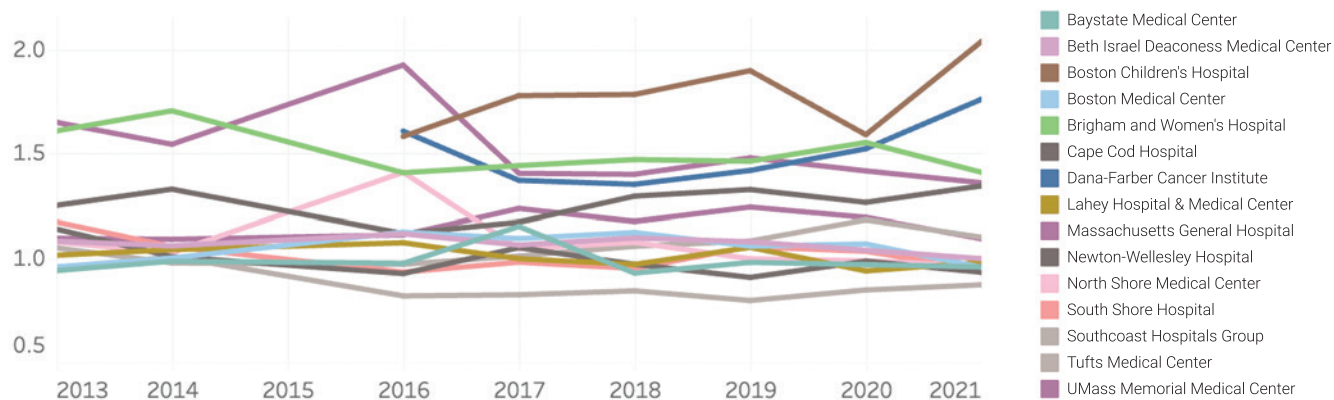
Robert Popovian
Senior Visiting Health
Policy Fellow



Gauri Binoy
Researcher, Life
Sciences Initiative

Relative Prices, Top 15 MA Hospitals

Net Patient Commercial Revenue



Price Transparency and Telehealth

PioneerHealth promotes consumer healthcare transparency through price comparison tools and telehealth policy research.

- Unmasking Hospital Price Variations and Revenue Components—** Senior Fellow Barbara Anthony launched two transparency web tools. The first disclosed the major hospitals that consistently charge higher relative prices for services than other hospitals in the state (see above). Boston Children's, Dana-Farber, Brigham & Women's, Mass General, and Cape Cod Hospital were the leaders. The other revealed the disparity in commercial v. non commercial patient revenue among the state's hospitals.
- Encouraging Telehealth Innovation—** Partnering with the Cicero Institute and the Reason Foundation, Senior Fellow Josh Archambault co-authored the 2024 State Policy Agenda for Healthcare Innovation, which found widespread state failures in telehealth policy. Recommendations for Massachusetts included: (a) eliminating barriers to interstate telehealth and (b) allowing greater flexibility for the formation of independent practices by removing the two-year experience requirement to prescribe medication.
- Demanding Healthcare Oversight Reform—** Pioneer closely monitored Steward Health Care's financial collapse and the state's inadequate oversight. In her April blog, *Why the Secrecy?*, Barbara Anthony criticized the Department of Public Health (DPH) for its failure to act transparently and lack of action even though it was watching Steward closely. As Anthony noted, "The time for secrecy around Steward has long passed and serves no public benefit."

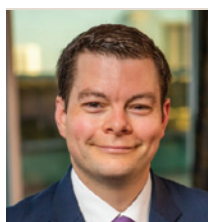


Partnering with the Cicero Institute and the Reason Foundation, Senior Fellow Josh Archambault co-authored the 2024 State Policy Agenda for Healthcare Innovation, which found widespread state failures in telehealth policy.

Health Team



Barbara Anthony
Senior Fellow



Josh Archambault
Senior Fellow



David Bernstein
Senior Fellow

Upcoming in 2025

Pioneer is developing a tool to assess whether the Inflation Reduction Act's government price controls on Medicare drugs improve patient access or, due to reduced manufacturer rebates, lead Pharmacy Benefit Managers to raise out-of-pocket costs and impose administrative barriers steering patients toward alternative drugs.

Impact on Economic Opportunity

Our **Economic Opportunity** team is focused on Massachusetts' loss of competitiveness and resulting outflow of capital and talent due to housing scarcity, healthcare costs, and taxes. In 2024, we developed proposals to fix the state's \$2.5 billion workforce development programs, gained incremental wins on housing policy, and led the public debate on outmigration patterns. We also focused attention on immigrant entrepreneurs and leveraged The Law Center to drive impact.

Building Talent & Competitiveness

Massachusetts relies on highly educated, skilled workers to fuel innovation and growth. Building on Pioneer's efforts with vocational-technical schools, the Opportunity team works to strengthen the state's workforce development system.

- Pioneer published *An Overview of the Massachusetts Workforce Development System*, highlighting the system's fragmentation, and lack of clear leadership and accountability for results. To address these challenges, the Institute convened business leaders to develop strategies for improving efficiency, oversight, and outcomes.
- Pioneer's analysis of Massachusetts labor force trends highlighted persistent shortages in key industries, an aging workforce, and increased reliance on immigrants for growth. The report outlined strategies to expand the skilled workforce.

“Massachusetts has become a difficult place for businesses of all sizes to thrive. For the last nine months of available data, there were more business deaths than new births in the commonwealth.”

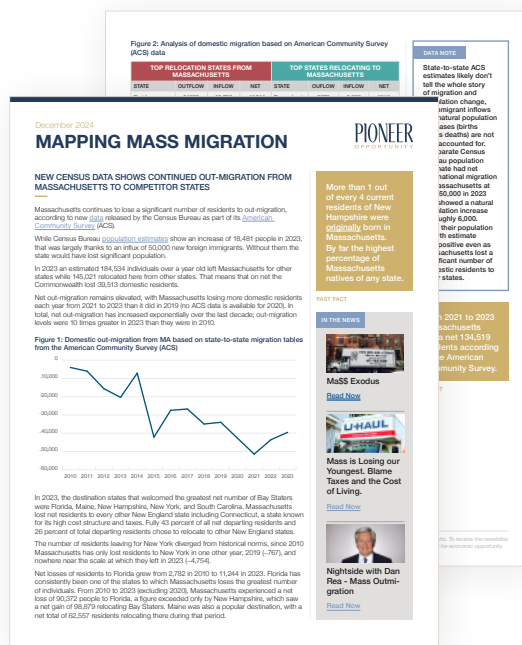
– Chris Anderson, Jay Ash and Jim Stergios in *Boston Business Journal*

The exodus of Massachusetts residents over the past decade threatens the state's economic and fiscal stability. With highly educated young professionals (ages 26–34) and high-income earners with adjusted gross incomes over \$200,000 leaving, Pioneer promotes policy reforms to address the uncompetitive tax environment and the high cost of living.

- In June, Pioneer analyzed newly released 2022 IRS data and published a detailed brief on the demographics and key factors behind outmigration. The findings, which highlighted the loss of talent and wealth, received widespread media coverage, including in *Contrarian Boston*, *Banker & Tradesman*, and *Nightside with Dan Rea*.

- Pioneer collaborated with a team of Boston University analysts led by Professor Mark Williams on a year-long study examining the causes, scale, and trends of outmigration. The findings were presented to broad audiences and business groups via webinars, and in-person events, gaining national and local media attention, including coverage by *Bloomberg*, *Fox Business*, and *The Boston Globe*.

To track ongoing trends, Pioneer launched *Mapping Mass Migration*, a monthly newsletter presenting the latest survey data and insights on who is leaving and why. This project regularly breaks news and informs policymakers on critical challenges.



“International students are a tremendous resource, and we’re not really doing all we can do to facilitate their impact or attract them to the U.S.”

– Aidan Enright on *WBUR*

Housing

Housing prices and supply shape economic opportunity and mobility. With growing housing costs, talented young workers in their prime family formation years are leaving Massachusetts. Retaining talent and growing the economy require regulatory and permitting reforms to speed up housing development—particularly low-cost typologies like accessory dwelling units (ADUs) and projects in transit-rich and commercial areas, where new housing faces fewer political hurdles.

- The legislature expanded housing options by legalizing ADUs statewide, drawing on a decade of Pioneer’s work promoting ADUs as a flexible solution to meet seniors’ needs and help young and moderate-income families establish themselves in desirable communities.
- ✂ The Law Center filed an action in the Supreme Judicial Court to prevent the City of Springfield from proceeding with a tax equity foreclosure and, later, in partnership with Morgan Lewis, challenged the constitutionality of the state’s tax lien statute. Springfield withdrew its motion to foreclose on Ashley Mills’ interest in her family home.
- ✂ The legislature enacted legislation protecting homeowners’ private property rights from unconstitutional municipal seizures.
- So far, 117 communities have adopted MBTA Communities Act zoning. Pioneer continues to educate the public on its benefits, including connecting residents to economic opportunities, increasing affordability, minimizing environmental impact, and optimizing public infrastructure use.
- ✂ The Law Center successfully advocated for the MBTA Communities Act in court, supporting housing growth.



Opportunity Team



Eileen McAnneny
Senior Fellow
Pioneer Opportunity



Aidan Enright
Economic Research
Associate



Andrew Mikula
Senior Fellow
on Housing in
Residence

Immigrant Entrepreneurship

Legal immigrants in New England start businesses at twice the rate of U.S.-born residents, fueling economic growth and innovation. Their success demonstrates the power of ambition and free markets. From launching major companies to local businesses, immigrant entrepreneurs play a vital role in the economy but often face significant barriers. Pioneer highlights challenges faced by immigrant entrepreneurs and advances policies that support all entrepreneurs, especially those from disadvantaged backgrounds.

- Pioneer examined hurdles faced by international students and skilled immigrants due to outdated immigration policies. We found that delays in business formation cost the U.S. billions in lost economic output and jobs. Coverage included *Politico*, *Commonwealth Beacon*, and *WBUR*.
- Senior Fellow Josh Bedi analyzed the link between large immigrant populations and higher business registration rates in New England, identifying key regulatory barriers to new business formation.

“Facilitating housing development through more efficient use of existing infrastructure is more fiscally responsible, environmentally friendly, and immediately actionable than expanding infrastructure.”

– Andrew Mikula in *Banker & Tradesman*

Upcoming in 2025

To strengthen Massachusetts’ competitiveness, Pioneer will publish monthly updates on talent retention and capital movement. We will advance solutions to the housing shortage by recommending state and local reforms to streamline permitting, lower construction costs, and boost accessory dwelling unit (ADU) production. Additionally, we will monitor the implementation of the MBTA Communities Act.

Our research will also examine the impact of occupational licensing on immigrant businesses, strategies for supporting entrepreneurship through adult English language programs, and the U.S.’s ability to attract and retain global talent.

Advancing Justice & The Rule of Law

In a nation founded on the rule of law, justice remains out of reach for too many individuals and families who lack the resources, knowledge, or connections to secure powerful legal advocacy. Pioneer Public Interest Law Center (PPILC) was established to defend educational opportunity, promote transparent and limited government, and protect free markets—for all. We are proud of our success in winning major legal cases.

Equal Access to Educational Opportunities

- **Access to School Sports:** Public virtual schools provide a vital option for students facing unique challenges, including those recovering from serious health issues, experiencing anxiety due to bullying, or pursuing careers in the arts. Until 2022, virtual school students in Massachusetts were allowed to participate in their hometown school sports teams. That year, the Massachusetts Interscholastic Athletic Association (MIAA) changed its policy, effectively banning these students from school sports. After the Law Center took up the students' cause, MIAA reversed its decision, restoring their right to compete alongside their friends and represent their hometowns.
- **Fighting Discrimination Against Private School Students:** Massachusetts law guarantees access to special education services for all students, regardless of the school they attend. However, a state regulation has effectively blocked private school students from receiving these services—despite being funded by state and local tax dollars. The Law Center, in partnership with the Institute for Justice, is challenging the requirement that private school students receive services only at state-approved “neutral” sites, which excludes the private schools they attend.

- **Transparency About Violence in Schools:** With school violence on the rise, transparency is more critical than ever. When our client sought access to 457 investigative summaries related to violent incidents in Boston Public Schools (BPS), the district refused to release them. The Law Center took legal action under the Massachusetts Public Records Law, and the Suffolk Superior Court ordered BPS to produce the vast majority of the records. As Pioneer Attorney John LaLiberte stated, “No learning can occur when children do not feel safe in the school building. We owe more to our children.”
- **Equal Access to Enrichment Programs:** In 2023, the City of Boston launched “BPS Sundays,” a program offering students free access to museums and attractions on select Sundays. However, the program excluded students from charter public schools and the METCO program, despite them being Boston residents. The Law Center challenged this exclusion and filed repeated records requests, which BPS initially ignored. Ultimately, the district complied, producing the requested records and reimbursing Pioneer for legal costs and attorneys' fees. Later that year, the city expanded the program to include charter and METCO students, ensuring equal access for all public school students.



Pioneer Law Center Wins Forcing the Boston Public Schools to Reveal Data on Violence

Pioneer Law Center and the Institute for Justice Launch Constitutional Challenge To Regulation That Bars Children From Needs Services

METCO and Boston Charter Students Get Closer to Participation in BPS Sundays Program



Free Markets

- **Ending Home Equity Theft:** For too long, Massachusetts homeowners risked losing fully paid-off homes over property tax debts that were just a fraction of the home's value. Ashley Mills, a disabled single mother, faced losing her \$230,000 Springfield home over a \$22,000 tax debt, despite having paid off her mortgage. Under Massachusetts law, municipalities—or private entities they sell tax liens to—could foreclose on a home, sell it, collect the tax debt, and keep all proceeds, denying homeowners the remaining equity. The Law Center, alongside Greater Boston Legal Services, intervened and saved Ashley's home. More importantly, they secured a ruling that the Massachusetts tax lien statute violates both the state and federal constitutions, restoring property rights to homeowners across the state.



“Municipalities are on message now. They're on notice that what they're doing is unconstitutional.”

– Frank Bailey on *Channel 5*

Limited Government

- **Enforcing the Right to a Jury Trial:** Hedge fund manager George Jarkesy was found guilty of securities fraud, fined over \$1 million, and banned from the securities industry under a provision of the Dodd-Frank Act that allowed the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) to pursue enforcement actions before an in-house administrative law judge

(ALJ). When the SEC affirmed the fraud findings, rejecting constitutional challenges, Jarkesy appealed. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that this system—allowing the SEC to act as both prosecutor and judge—violated Jarkesy's constitutional right to a jury trial.

The Law Center, partnering with King & Spalding, LLP, filed a brief in the U.S. Supreme Court, arguing that fraud charges should be adjudicated before a federal judge rather than an ALJ employed by the SEC. The Supreme Court ultimately struck down these provisions of Dodd-Frank, restoring constitutional protections for those accused of fraud.

“Our hope is for an eventual SJC ruling that Chapter 60 is unconstitutional,” he said. “That would completely do away with equity theft in Massachusetts.”

– Frank Bailey in *The Boston Globe*

Upcoming in 2025

In November 2024, Massachusetts voters overwhelmingly supported a petition that empowers the state Auditor to audit the state legislature. After stalled efforts to reach an agreement on an audit, PPILC is preparing to act, including litigation, if Ballot Question 1 is not enforced. In other news, Pioneer Legal is exploring a challenge to the Economic Development Bill which allows for Project Labor Agreements in municipal construction contracts. PLAs are bad for minority contractors, and we will pursue the challenge on discriminatory grounds.

Legal Team



Frank J. Bailey
PPILC President



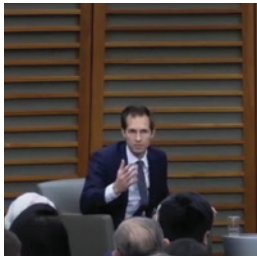
Thomas Gorman
Staff Attorney



John La Liberte
Staff Attorney

Challenging Ideas & Building Bridges Through Civil Discourse

In this time of deep political division, Pioneer remains committed to thoughtful dialogue and rigorous debate. In 2024, we convened distinguished speakers and experts for landmark lectures and policy discussions on healthcare reform, educational choice, constitutional rights, and economic mobility.



Hewitt Healthcare Lecture

Prescribing Change to Pharmacy Benefit Managers & Drug Price Transparency

Congressman Jake Auchincloss joined the Institute as the Hewitt Healthcare Lecturer to discuss his efforts to increase price transparency and lower prescription drug prices through the *Lower Costs, More Transparency Act*.

“Pharmacy Benefit Managers pervert the purpose of health insurance, which is not just a financial contract but a social contract,” Auchincloss stated in conversation with **Dr. Robert Popovian**, Pioneer’s Senior Visiting Health Policy Fellow. “They are hooked on the power of being in the middle between manufacturers and pharmacies... leaving patients and pharmacists out to dry.”



Denniston Rule of Law Lecture

Chaos on Campus: The Battle Over Free Speech

Pioneer’s Law Center launched its inaugural Brackett B. Denniston, III Lecture with **Paul D. Clement**, the 43rd U.S. Solicitor General, addressing the evolving jurisprudence around free speech on college campuses.

“Universities have to respect the free speech and academic freedom rights of everyone and fight against cancel culture,” Clement urged. “What worries me most is that the commitment to free speech—which used to be a universal shared value—has become another left-right issue. We can’t sustain this experiment if we don’t fix that problem.”



Annual Dinner & Peters Lecture

Can Capitalism Drive Social Mobility?

Roland Fryer, Jr., Harvard Professor of Economics and co-founder of Equal Opportunity Ventures, delivered the 2024 Peters Lecturer on how capitalism can drive social change. A MacArthur “Genius” Fellow and recipient of the John Bates Clark Medal, Fryer spoke on education’s role in social mobility and how

entrepreneurs can harness innovative free-market approaches to drive social change.

“The number one predictor of exiting poverty and social mobility in America is education,” Fryer explained. “The reason I think capitalism is going to drive us is that there are entrepreneurs out there with amazing spirits, amazing energy, phenomenal ideas.”

Pioneer Across the Nation

Nationwide, Pioneer convened strategic gatherings with experts, activists, industry and policy leaders to shape national conversations on education and healthcare issues.

- Washington, D.C.: Pioneer Fellows Bill Smith and Robert Popovian convened a panel with healthcare experts Peter Pitts and Dr. Anne Sydor to examine challenges in the biopharmaceutical sector, including tactics to reduce spending and the implications of the Inflation Reduction Act.
- Naples, Florida: Jamie Gass and Frank Bailey hosted *Investment in our Future: The Battleground of K–12 Education* to explore how states like Florida can continue to promote innovative educational choice for all students.

Policy Luncheons

In Massachusetts, Pioneer hosted prominent leaders, addressing government accountability, education standards, and fiscal policy.

- State Auditor Diana DiZoglio discussed her efforts to increase government transparency and the proposed ballot initiative to audit the State Legislature.
- Marty Walz and Mary Tamer of Democrats for Education Reform discussed the benefits of the MCAS graduation requirement.
- Pioneer Fellows Eileen McAnneny and Aidan Enright examined the Bay State’s 2025 economic outlook and the new surtax’s impact.

Pioneer Institute: Strategic Media Relations Report

Restoring the City on a Hill



The Institute's *Restoring the City on a Hill* campaign received 60 print media hits, 26 interviews and coverage in states across America, especially in our target states of Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Ohio, and Texas. Our online audience exceeded 23 million.

“The time is long overdue to reinvigorate the study of comprehensive, balanced, U.S. History that can help Americans of all backgrounds understand the values and principles that unite us.”

– Jamie Gass and Charles Chieppo in *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*

“Less than half of the adults can name the three branches of the U.S. Government. Another 25% can't name even one. And just over one-third of Americans can pass the U.S. Citizenship test.”

– Jamie Gass and Chris Sinacola in the *Miami Herald*

“If you don't know outs, strikes and innings in baseball, your'e not going to understand the executive, judiciary and legislative branches.”

– *The Washington Times*



“School choice makes a world of difference for the kids that don't fit in a public school setting.”

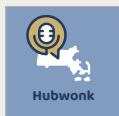
– Daniella Moreci Pack



“I want policy makers to understand that on many of the issues that

they're concerned with, there is a body of pretty good scholarship on things like vouchers and charter schools... And doesn't easily fit with a particular ideology.”

– Josh Angrist



“We're working one day a week just to pay for healthcare.

We're overpaying for healthcare, which could otherwise go to wages, better academic programs, and infrastructure...”

– Cynthia Fisher

OPINION REVIEW & OUTLOOK Follow

Massachusetts Puts Student Failure on the Ballot

Unions want to revoke a state test required for high-school graduation.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

“The MCAS has proven to be a reliable indicator of students' college and career readiness. Eliminating the MCAS graduation requirement would replace this objective standard with more than 300 local graduation standards.”

– Jamie Gass and Charles Chieppo in *Commonwealth Beacon*.

“I'm skeptical state government can assure a healthy life of sciences ecosystem. Massachusetts has a great life sciences cluster because it has great PhD's, great universities, and smart venture capitalist.”

– Bill Smith in the *Boston Globe*.

2024 Donors

Pioneer Institute and Pioneer Public Interest Law Center are deeply grateful for the generous Board of Directors, individuals, corporate partners, and foundations who support our work and mission.

The following list recognizes those donors for their support of Pioneer Institute from October 1, 2023—September 30, 2024.

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**Roger Scoville****Memorial**

You could not miss Roger Scoville in a room. He was known across Boston for his investment acumen and for co-founding Seaward Management, the growth of which he guided for three decades. Seaward was a great name for Roger's firm, because it fit him so well. He exuded leadership, service and adventure. He dedicated himself to civic and nonprofit causes, serving as treasurer, chairman, and president of numerous institutions that shaped communities and lives. And he loved the outdoors, embracing skiing, golf, and canoeing with enthusiasm—one of the reasons he was so passionate about making similar experiences available to disadvantaged kids. A devoted family man and a gifted storyteller, Roger's wisdom, humor, and generosity will be sorely missed. His laugh, too, which he did with his entire body.

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Brad Perry Memorial

Brad Perry made his mark in Boston as a disciplined investment leader. For half a century, Brad paired investment success with a rare gift—he could break down any economic or policy challenge and present the real challenges and potential solutions in clear lay terms. His policy passions focused on issues that are fundamental to the American Experiment—education, transparent government, retirement systems and healthcare. Brad championed the long game, not the flash of political announcements. As he loved to repeat, “I invest in winners”—meaning those with a track record of building, creating, and succeeding.

Brad’s wisdom and clear thinking were a gift to investors and to the institutions in which he engaged. He was among our founding investors and remained committed to facts, informed public debate and Pioneer’s data-driven approach to public policy. Conversations with Brad were no-nonsense and purpose-driven: Salutations were kind but brief and followed by a deep dive into data, related trends and a focus on how we can make progress. We are grateful to him and his family for their generosity, shared purpose and friendship.

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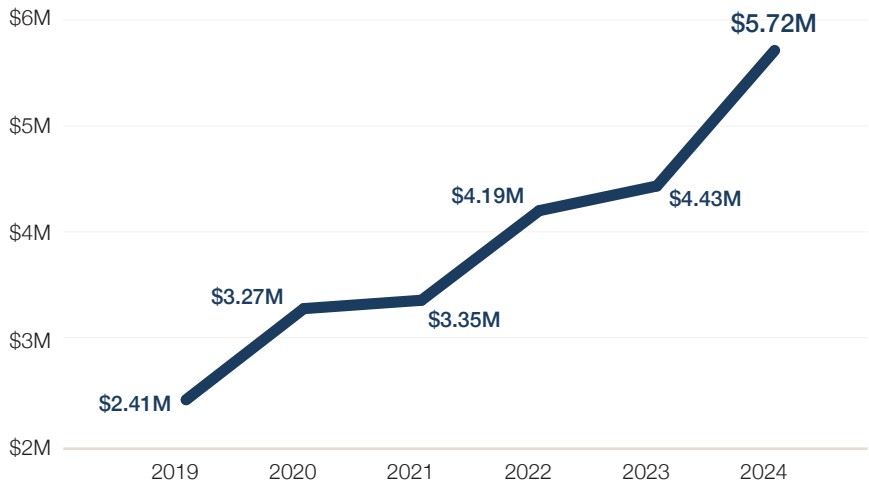
Fiscal Year 2024

Financial Structure

The 2024 unaudited financial results presented here reflect the consolidated financial performance of Pioneer Institute, Inc., and its affiliate, PioneerLegal, LLC, d/b/a/ Pioneer Public Interest Law Center, a not-for-profit public interest law firm. Complete Fiscal Year 2024 Audited Financial Statements are available at www.pioneerinstitute.org. Pioneer Institute and PioneerLegal (together the “Organization”) are privately funded, accepting no government grants.

In the fiscal year ended September 30, 2024, the Organization received approximately \$5.7 million in contributions, with 69 percent of those without donor restrictions and 31 percent with donor restrictions. The Organization generated \$912 thousand in net investment gains and income and increased its net assets by \$1.93 million during the year.

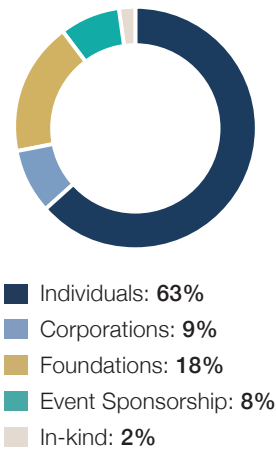
Revenue 2019–2024



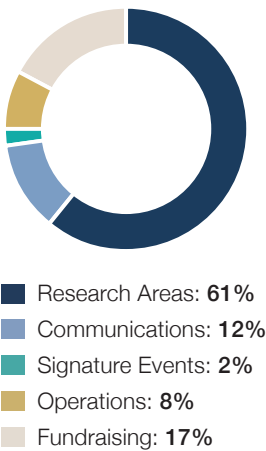
“ We spend your dollars in a business-like manner, focusing on initiatives that align with our strategic plan, and are rigorously monitored and evaluated for their impact to ensure we are effective stewards of your generosity.

– Brian Broderick, Board Director

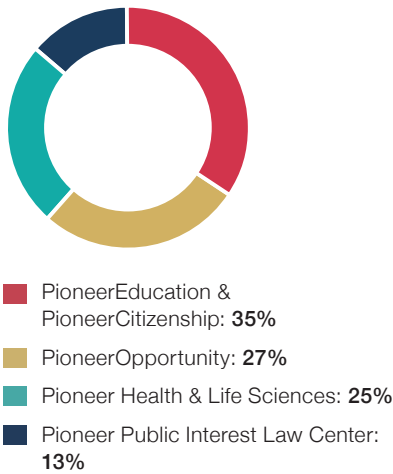
Revenue Distribution (\$5.72 Million)



Expense Distribution (\$4.69 Million)



Research Expense Distribution (\$2.61 Million)



2024 Staff

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Caitlin Marple, *Deputy Director, Development*
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Aidan Enright, *Economic Research Associate*
Jamie Gass, *Director, PioneerEducation*
Andrew Mikula, *Fellow on Housing in Residence*
William Smith, *Director, Life Sciences Initiative*

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Thomas Gorman, *Staff Attorney*
John La Liberte, *Staff Attorney*

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