

The Abundance Ecosystem

Understanding the figures and groups behind the abundance agenda.

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Introduction

The abundance movement is increasingly influential in American politics on both sides of the aisle. The groups and individuals behind the movement were first discussed by my colleague Dylan Gyauch-Lewis in *The American Prospect* in November of 2024, but the publication of *Abundance* by Ezra Klein and Derek Thompson in March 2025 has helped the movement gain mainstream recognition in the months since. This report is an attempt to lift the veil of the groups and individuals promoting the abundance agenda, and funding the work behind it.

This report's discussion of the abundance movement refers specifically to the national push surrounding a slate of policies that has been combined into the platform of abundance. While some abundance proponents will attempt to co-opt the "yes in my backyard," or "YIMBY," movement as part of their movement, we do not consider this a part of the *national* abundance movement which we critique, both for its single-issue focus (housing) and due to it predating the term "abundance" being popularized by Derek Thompson in the pages of *The Atlantic* as a proposed direction for course-correcting the nation's politics.

Meet the Abundists

At the core of the abundance agenda—or movement or faction, if you prefer—is a small group of prominent supporters. This group includes academics, philanthropists, "wonks," and a lot of media figures.

To understand who exactly is driving the abundance agenda's popularity in the mainstream media, we identified the individuals we feel are the most vocal and prominent supporters of abundance. Opinions among the individuals and groups involved vary. This is merely a short primer on the beliefs, funding, and connections of those included. Biographical details have been taken from LinkedIn pages as well as staff biographies at the various organizations that have employed the individuals. Those abundance figures indicated with an * were mentioned by name in *Abundance*.

Media Figures:

The most prominent abundance figures are, without a doubt, Ezra Klein and Derek Thompson, co-authors of *Abundance*. But they are not the only prominent media figures espousing the gospel of abundance. Below is an incomplete list of some of the media's most prominent abundance evangelists.

Jerusalem Demsas*

Jerusalem Demsas is the editor-in-chief and CEO of <u>The Argument</u>, a newly-launched online publication with <u>backing</u> from major abundance funders including <u>Arnold Ventures</u>, <u>Open Philanthropy</u>, <u>Emergent Ventures</u>, and Patrick Collison. Demsas is a former *Vox* reporter, where she co-hosted <u>The Weeds</u> podcast, and a former staff writer at <u>The Atlantic</u>. Demsas <u>spoke</u> at the 2024 abundance conference and is <u>slated</u> to speak at the 2025 conference as well.

Josh Barro

Josh Barro is a Substacker who publishes the *Very Serious* newsletter. He previously <u>worked</u> at the <u>Manhattan Institute</u>. Barro has <u>encouraged</u> Republicans to embrace abundance, and previously <u>declared</u> that his vision of abundance will require Democrats to fight with unions. Barro is scheduled to <u>speak</u> at the 2025 abundance conference.

Ezra Klein*

Co-Author of *Abundance*, Klein is a columnist at *The New York Times* and hosts *The Ezra Klein Show*. Klein is a founder of *Vox* where he previously worked as editor-in-chief. Klein is slated to be a keynote speaker at the <u>2025 abundance</u> conference.

Dylan Matthews

A *Vox* senior writer, Dylan Matthews helped <u>popularize</u> the concept of an "abundance agenda" in his writing for *Vox's Future Perfect*, an effective altruist-based podcast and vertical that was once <u>funded</u> by Sam Bankman Fried. Matthews also <u>co-hosted</u> the <u>Institute for Progress</u>-produced abundance podcast, *Metascience 101*.

Noah Smith*

Noah Smith is an economist and blogger who writes *Noahpinion* on Substack. He was an early popularizer of the term "abundance agenda," using it as early as 2022.

Derek Thompson*

Co-Author of *Abundance*, Thompson writes for *The Atlantic* and hosts the podcast *Plain English*. Thompson <u>spoke</u> at the 2024 abundance conference and is slated to be a keynote speaker at the 2025 abundance conference. Thompson also originated the term "abundance agenda" in an <u>Atlantic article</u> in early 2022.

Matthew Yglesias*

Matthew Yglesias is a long-time political blogger and pundit who publishes the *Slow Boring* newsletter on substack, was a co-founder of *Vox* and is a <u>senior fellow</u> at the <u>Niskanen Center</u>. Derek Thompson <u>credited</u> Yglesias as the "OG grandfather of the ideas" in *Abundance*. Yglesias <u>spoke</u> at the 2024 abundance conference—where Thompson also credited his abundance awakening to reading Yglesias' blogs—and is set to be a <u>speaker</u> at the 2025 abundance conference.

Benefactors:

The abundance movement is reliant on generous funding from billionaire donors. Below is a short list of some of the most prominent funders, who have been vocal about their politics and their support for abundance. (See the "Funders" section below for more information about these benefactors' spending on abundance.)

Marc Andreessen

Marc Andreessen is the billionaire Silicon Valley investor and co-founder of venture capital firm Andreessen Horowitz. In addition to his work at Andreessen Horowitz, he has sat on the board of Meta since 2008. A major Republican donor, he gave over <a href="\$\frac{\$2.5\$ million}{\$2.5\$ million}\$ to a Trump-aligned Super-PAC in 2024 and was a major force behind the cryptocurrency industry's unprecedented campaign spending in 2024. Andreessen is one of the backers of a tech billionaire-controlled, planned city in Solano County called California Forever, and is involved with the New American Industrial Alliance. Andreessen has also written his own manifesto on abundance and reportedly controls a network of influential group chats that include major Silicon Valley figures, powerful government officials, and abundance figures like Tyler Cowen and Patrick Collison (one of the chats was also reportedly named the "Matt Yglesias Fan Club").

John Arnold*

John Arnold is the billionaire philanthropist behind <u>Arnold Ventures</u>. He made his fortune in energy trading, and previously worked at Enron. He is quoted in *Abundance* saying "America has the ability to invent. China has the ability to build. The first country that can figure out how to do both will be the superpower." Arnold has claimed that <u>Senator Mike Lee's</u> plan to sell off public lands is the "<u>first real test of Democrats' commitment to the abundance agenda</u>" and that "the results aren't promising." Arnold is slated to be a speaker at the <u>2025</u> <u>abundance conference</u>.

Patrick Collison*

Patrick Collison is the billionaire co-founder of payment processing company Stripe. He was a major Republican donor during the 2024 election cycle. Collison (along with his billionaire brother John) is one of the backers of a tech

billionaire-controlled, planned city in Solano County called <u>California Forever</u>. In addition to hosting an annual <u>abundance-themed retreat</u>, Collison heavily funds abundance work, including pledging <u>\$60 million</u> to <u>Open Philanthropy's</u> abundance grant program. He <u>spoke</u> at the 2024 abundance conference.

Dustin Moskovitz

Dustin Moskovitz is the billionaire co-founder of Facebook. He is an avowed effective altruist, and <u>founded Open Philanthropy</u> as a means of doling out his fortune in an effective altruist manner. In March 2025, Moskovitz' Open Philanthropy pledged a minimum of <u>\$120 million</u> in grants to abundance-related causes, half of which was provided by Patrick Collison.

Peter Thiel*

Perhaps Silicon Valley's most outspoken conservative, Peter Thiel is a multi-billionaire who co-founded PayPal (where he worked alongside Elon Musk) and Palantir. Thiel was also an early investor in Facebook, and has invested heavily in Cryptocurrency. Thiel, who has Said "I no longer believe that freedom and democracy are compatible," funds numerous Conservative campaigns and projects, provided the initial funding for Emergent Ventures, and has been heavily involved with the New American Industrial Alliance. He is also deeply involved in the eugenics-adjacent Silicon Valley pro-natalist movement.

Academics/ Think Tankers:

While *Abundance* may have popularized the concept in the media, the book <u>lacked</u> <u>detailed policy answers</u>. We've identified individuals who not only were cited by Klein and Thompson, but are constructing the policy plans they hope will be used to achieve abundance.

Marc J. Dunkelman*

Author of *Why Nothing Works*, Dunkelman is a Fellow in International and Public Affairs at Brown University. Dunkleman is slated to be a speaker at the <u>2025</u> <u>abundance conference</u>.

Tyler Cowen*

Tyler Cowen is a professor of economics at George Mason University and is the chairman and faculty director of the Koch-funded Mercatus Center. He also directs Emergent Ventures, the Peter Thiel-backed grant making foundation. Cowen describes himself as a "state capacity libertarian" and has worked closely with Patrick Collison to develop the discipline they have termed "progress studies." Cowen also hosts the Conversations with Tyler podcast through Mercatus, which features many prominent abundance figures as guests.

Samuel Hammond

Samuel Hammond is the Chief Economist at the Foundation for American Innovation. He previously worked at the Niskanen Center and at Mercatus. Hammond gained attention online for writing "The EA [Effective Altruist] case for Trump 2024," in which he claimed Trump's superiority on Abundance hobby horses, like housing and drug development made him the better presidential candidate. Hammond was a speaker at the 2024 abundance conference and will be one at the 2025 abundance conference.

Jeremiah Johnson

Jeremiah Johnson is the co-founder of the <u>Center for New Liberalism</u> (<u>formerly</u> the DLC-backed <u>Progressive Policy Institute's</u> Neoliberal Project).

Jen Pahlka*

Jen Pahlka is a former video game industry executive turned nonprofit leader. Pahlka <u>founded</u> "Code for America," an attempt to bring Silicon Valley tech chops to government. She was later appointed by President Obama to lead the United States Digital Service. Since leaving government, Pahlka wrote *Recoding America* (which Ezra Klein <u>raved</u> about) and has taken <u>positions</u> as a senior advisor at the <u>Abundance Network</u> and a senior fellow at the <u>Niskanen Center</u> and the Federation of American Scientists.

James Pethokoukis*

James Pethokoukis is a fellow at <u>The American Enterprise Institute</u> and the author of *The Conservative Futurist*. Pethokoukis is slated to be a speaker at the <u>2025 abundance conference</u>.

Alec Stapp*

Alec Stapp is the co-founder and co-CEO of <u>Institute for Progress</u>. He previously worked at the <u>Niskanen Center</u>, the <u>Mercatus Center</u>, the International Center for Law and Economics, and the <u>Progressive Policy Institute</u>.

Caleb Watney*

Caleb Watney is the co-founder and co-CEO of <u>Institute for Progress</u>. He previously worked at the <u>R Street Institute</u>, the <u>Mercatus Center</u> and <u>Progressive</u> <u>Policy Institute</u>. Watney is slated to be a speaker at the 2025 abundance conference.

The Groups

While Klein and Thompson's book launched the abundance concept into the mainstream, a number of organizations which existed before the book's publication were already espousing the ideas of abundance. We've identified the most prominent groups involved with the abundance movement, from local civic groups, to think tanks and philanthropies.

As there is no centralized determination of who is and who is not counted as a member of the amorphous abundance movement, we have determined the most prominent abundance groups based on multiple abundance groups' own lists as well as past participation in abundance events. In particular, we made selections based on the Abundance Map, Inclusive Abundance Initiative's "Abundance Landscape," and past involvement with both 2024 and 2025 abundance conferences.

Funders:

Andreessen Horowitz

Marc Andreessen and Ben Horowitz's venture capital firm Andreessen Horowitz, also known as a16z, has been vocal about its support of abundance. The company is heavily invested in artificial intelligence (AI), and believes that it will both help "usher in" abundance, and that abundance will help AI by providing a friendly regulatory environment. In October 2023, Marc Andreessen published the "The Techno-Optimist Manifesto," which is littered with abundance thinking as well as outright fascism. A16z funds the Chamber of Progress and the New American Industrial Alliance. Among other ventures, a16z is heavily invested in multiple cryptocurrency companies and Marc Andreessen has celebrated Donald Trump's embrace of the industry. A16z launched a \$100 million campaign fund in 2025 in conjunction with OpenAI to push politicians to take more AI-friendly positions.

Arnold Ventures

The private foundation of John Arnold, a one-time <u>Enron executive</u> and current <u>Meta board member</u>, and his wife, Laura Arnold, a <u>former oil executive</u>, Arnold Ventures has an <u>expansive</u> reach. The philanthropy has funded "pension reform"

work by <u>right wing groups</u>, <u>school privatization efforts</u>, <u>Bari Weiss' anti-woke</u> <u>"university"</u>, <u>the Niskanen Center</u>, and <u>The Argument</u>, and sponsored both the <u>2024 abundance conference</u> and the <u>2025 conference</u>. John Arnold is also cited by Klein and Thompson in *Abundance* and is scheduled to <u>speak</u> at this year's abundance conference.

The Blue Horizons Foundation

An under-the-radar foundation that seemingly lacks even a website, 990 tax forms reveal that the Blue Horizons Foundation is controlled by Joshua and Anita Bekenstein. Joshua Bekenstein is the billionaire former Chairman of Bain Capital, where he worked for most of his career after being hand-picked by company co-founders Bill Bain and Mitt Romney to join the private equity fund at its outset. Bekenstein is a funder of WelcomePac, the centrist political action committee that made headlines for their left-punching WelcomeFest conference. Blue Horizons Foundation is also listed as a sponsor of the 2025 abundance conference. The foundation's executive director, Jane Flegal, was employed by Patrick Collison's Stripe for the two years preceding her work at Blue Horizons and is scheduled to speak at the abundance conference.

California Forever

California Forever is a billionaire-backed planned city located in Solano County California, on the easternmost edges of the San Francisco Bay Area. The project, headed by serial entrepreneur and former Goldman Sachs trader Jan Sramek, plans to develop "the first major new city built in America since [sic] 1960s." California Forever's plans for a tech-mega city in what is now empty farmland has raised over \$\frac{\strack{1}}{2}\$ billion with investments from Democratic mega-donor Reid Hoffman—who infamously attacked FTC Chair Lina Khan, and is a close friend of Peter Thiel—and abundance backers like Marc Andreessen and Patrick Collison. Prominent abundists like Matt Yglesias and Jerusalem Demsas have spoken favorably about the project, and Sramek is slated to be a speaker at the 2025 abundance conference. California Forever is also a member of The New American Industrial Alliance.

ClearPath

A so-called "right of center environmental advocacy group," ClearPath is staffed almost entirely by people with experience working for Republican politicians or conservative causes. The group does not support solar or wind power as fossil fuel alternatives and was "optimistic" about climate change efforts under the Trump administration. In place of wind and solar, ClearPath supports nuclear, hydrogen and natural gas, and champions carbon capture, direct air capture and carbon dioxide removal. ClearPath was founded in 2015 with \$165 million in funding from their founder Jay Faison, who founded audio-visual company SnapAV. In addition to Faison, leadership of ClearPath includes multiple veterans of Republican Senate offices and committees, a former Chevron executive, and a Trump Director of White House Management Office. Trump Secretary of Energy, Chris Wright's current chief of staff, Alex Fitzsimmon was previously Trump's Deputy Assistant Secretary for Energy Efficiency, and ClearPath's senior director for renewable energy, energy storage and advanced manufacturing. ClearPath is a sponsor of the 2025 abundance conference.

Emergent Ventures

A <u>project</u> of the Koch-backed <u>Mercatus Center</u>, Emergent Ventures was originally <u>seeded</u> with money from <u>right-wing tech billionaire Peter Thiel</u>. Emergent Ventures is administered by Klein and Thompson's ally, Tyler Cowen, a <u>self-described libertarian</u>. Emergent Ventures offers <u>funding</u> to "thinkers and doers" and has funded other Abundance groups like the <u>Institute for Progress</u> and <u>The Argument</u>.

The Future of Life Institute

An effective altruist grant-making organization, the Future of Life Institute (FLI) claims to be focused on steering "away from extreme large-scale risks." The organization, which claims to eschew donations from Big Tech, had its first grant program funded by Elon Musk, and received a gift of cryptocurrency worth \$660 million from Ethereum co-founder Vitalik Buterin. The group is headed by MIT professor Max Tegmark, and its board includes effective altruist and Skype founder Jaan Tallinn, and Victoria Krakovna, an AI researcher for Google's DeepMind project. The group largely focuses on lobbying for AI regulations, but in 2022 it garnered attention for sending a letter of intent to grant \$100,000 to Swedish neo-Nazi publication Nya Dagbladet. FLI later canceled the grant and

claims that the funds were subsequently rescinded. FLI is a <u>sponsor</u> of the <u>2025</u> <u>abundance conference</u> and will have a speaker at the event.¹

The New American Industrial Alliance

The New American Industrial Alliance (NAIA) is a mutli-sector industry association that aims to "reindustrialize America." The group is currently headed by Julius Krein, the founder of pro-Trump publications *The Journal Of American* Greatness and its successor, American Affairs, which have been described as providing an intellectual footing to Trumpism. The publications have proven popular with conservatives including JD Vance and Peter Thiel, who funds the latter's work. In addition to Krein, NAIA staff includes interim-CEO Benjamin Kohlmann, who has been <u>nominated</u> by Donald Trump to be Assistant Secretary of the Navy. The group's founders include AI -driven manufacturing entrepreneurs, and the founder of a company that claims to use autonomous factories for defense manufacturing. NAIA has published a guide to reindustrializing America and bolstering tech entitled the "Techno Industrial Playbook" which was co-written with the Institute for Progress and the Foundation for American Innovation. NAIA's "members" include Thiel's surveillance panopticon Palatir, Andreessen Horowitz, Silicon Valley Bank, California Forever and Booz Allen. NAIA is a sponsor of the 2025 abundance conference, where Krein is expected to speak, as is NAIA co-founder, Austin Bishop.

Open Philanthropy

Facebook co-founder Dustin Moskovitz started Open Philanthropy as an effective altruist-run grant-making foundation, with ties to Sam Bankman-Fried's one time guru, Will MacAskill. It has been described as having "close ties to Al firm Anthropic, which was founded by Daniela Amodei, the wife of Open Philanthropy co-founder Holden Karnofsky." Open Philanthropy is a major donor to the pro-abundance Institute for Progress. In 2025, Open Philanthropy announced a \$120 million "Abundance And Growth Fund." Open Philanthropy sponsored both the 2024 and 2025 abundance conferences and has a speaker scheduled for the 2025 conference.

¹ An earlier version of this report stated that FLI "approved" a grant to Nya Dagbladet based on <u>reporting</u> in Swedish publication Expo. FLI has disputed this characterization, and denied the disbursement of any funds. The wording has been updated for the sake of clarity.

The Pacific Legal Foundation

The Pacific Legal Foundation was <u>started</u> by a group of Reagan welfare reform staffers who sought to replicate the successes of liberal legal advocacy groups (a frequent boogeyman of the abundance crowd) for conservatives. PLF's President and CEO, <u>Steven Anderson</u>, credits his political awakening to reading Ayn Rand's *The Fountainhead* and claims to be focused on "ending eminent domain abuse." (That this is directly antithetical to the entire <u>abundance thesis</u>, which views the state and other builders as needing fewer checks on their actions, raises interesting questions about the movement's priorities.)

James Burling, PLF's Vice President of Legal Affairs, decided to become a lawyer after becoming frustrated with environmental laws while working in the oil business. PLF's Vice President for Litigation and Strategy, Larry Salzman, also serves on the board of the Ayn Rand Institute. Other notable figures associated with PLF include George W. Bush-era SEC General Counsel Brian Cartwright, and Bush's Deputy Assistant Attorney General for the Office of Legal Counsel, John Yoo, notable for authoring the infamous "enhanced interrogation" memos that provided the legal argument for CIA torture. PLF has received millions in funding from the Koch network and from tobacco giant Philip Morris, which declared the organization a "key third party ally."

Over the past 50 years, the organization has been involved with a myriad of legal fights, many of which have resulted in disastrous Supreme Court rulings that have gutted labor rights, environmental protection, student debt forgiveness and even access to public beaches. PLF has also embraced the sale of public lands, claiming "transferring public land to private ownership will unleash America's abundant natural resources." The Pacific Legal Foundation is a sponsor of this year's abundance conference, which will also feature three different PLF speakers.

Renaissance Philanthropy

In 2024, <u>Schmidt Futures'</u> Chief Innovation Officer Tom Kalil left the organization to begin another philanthropic venture, Renaissance. The organization has been <u>funded</u> by Eric Schmidt (of Schmidt futures) and has a pro-tech, <u>pro-Al outlook</u>. In addition to Kalil, other <u>Renaissance employees</u> have ties to Schmidt Futures.

Both <u>Kalil</u> and <u>Schmidt</u> have positions on Al company boards. Schmidt has even

gone so far as to posit that AI is the <u>only possible solution to climate change</u> and that it should be powered even by <u>fossil fuel sources</u>. Renaissance was a <u>sponsor</u> of the 2024 abundance conference and its president, Kumar Garg, <u>spoke</u> at the event.

Schmidt Futures

A philanthropic group started by former Google CEO Eric Schmidt, Schmidt Futures is a powerful institution on the center left. Under the Biden administration, Schmidt Futures controversially funded the salaries of multiple White House staffers, a situation ethics experts found uncomfortable due to the massive conflicts of interest. Obama administration staff were also reportedly uncomfortable with his influence and preponderance of conflicts of interests. Eric Schmidt has said that "We're not going to hit the climate goals anyway" and claims that policymakers should invest in AI to solve the problem for us. Schmidt has also called for the use of fossil fuels to help power AI data centers, saying, "What we need from you, is we need the energy in all forms, renewable, non-renewable, whatever. It needs to be there, and it needs to be there quickly." Schmidt Futures funds Institute for Progress and has extremely close ties to Renaissance Philanthropy.

Stand Together

Founded by <u>Charles Koch</u>, Stand Together is part of the Koch family network. Stand Together <u>funds</u> abundance work including the <u>2024 abundance</u> <u>conference</u>, the <u>2025 abundance conference</u>, the <u>Mercatus Center</u>, and the <u>Niskanen Center</u>, and the group has been <u>vocal</u> about their own support of the abundance agenda. Stand Together's Chairman and CEO, <u>Brian Hooks</u>, is also the President of the Charles Koch Foundation and previously served as the executive director and COO of the <u>Mercatus Center</u>. Hooks is scheduled to <u>speak</u> at the 2025 abundance conference.

Stripe

A payment processing app, Stripe has become a crucial part of the abundance discussion as its co-founder Patrick Collison has made the movement one of his pet projects. Collison has joined other tech billionaires (including his brother and

Stripe co-founder John Collison) in backing <u>California Forever</u>, a tech-focused planned city in Solano County California, and has <u>immersed</u> himself in Abundance work, including hosting an <u>annual abundance retreat</u>. Patrick Collison was one of the <u>five featured speakers</u> at the 2024 abundance conference, and was featured in Institute for Progress' <u>Metascience 101 Podcast</u> series alongside Tyler Cowen, *Vox* journalist Dylan Matthews, and <u>Open Philanthropy</u> CEO Alexander Berger. (The podcast was recorded at Stripe's headquarters.) John and Patrick were both <u>early funders</u> of the <u>Institute for Progress</u>, and have an employee sitting on the <u>board of directors</u>. Patrick Collison also co-founded an abundance grant-making organization, Fast Grants, with Tyler Cowen, which was <u>celebrated</u> by <u>Stand Together</u> as a model grant-making organization.

Attempts at Grassroots:

The national abundance movement began within <u>circles of media figures and think</u> <u>tankers</u>, and as such lacks a robust base of dedicated activists, but that does not mean that there haven't been attempts to construct a grassroots movement around abundance. Many in the abundance movement point to the related but distinct YIMBY movement as a source of grassroots support. However, there is little on-the-ground mobilization on the abundance agenda's core issues beyond housing policy. Additionally, many grassroots YIMBY organizations have <u>distanced</u> themselves from the national ambitions of the abundance movement. As such, we have included only those who have affirmatively linked themselves to abundance.

Abundance Network

An effort to turn the broader abundance agenda into a grassroots movement, the Abundance Network currently comprises just three chapters, all based in California. The chapters are located in San Francisco, Oakland, and Santa Monica. The Abundance Network nonprofit was previously known as "Effective Government" through 2022, according to tax filings. It does not publicly disclose donors for its multi-million dollar budget, but the group publicly claims several California politicians as among its partners, including Speaker of the California Assembly, Rob Rivas, CA Assemblywoman Buffy Wicks, former Mayor of San Francisco London Breed, and San Francisco City Attorney David Chiu. The group also has close ties to State Senator Scott Wiener, donating money to his campaign in 2023 and hiring Weiner's political director, Todd David, as their own political director.

The organization was <u>founded</u> by Zach Rosen, a website operations <u>entrepreneur</u>, and is <u>advised</u> by Jen Pahlka, a senior fellow at the Niskanen Center. The Oakland chapter was <u>launched</u> by cryptocurrency executive Jesse Pollak who also started a <u>campaign arm</u> for Families for a Vibrant Oakland, which he <u>seeded</u> with over \$140,000. Other prominent donors include co-founder of Ripple Labs (a cryptocurrency firm), Chris Larsen, who <u>donated</u> \$900,000 to the Abundance network (and has also <u>donated</u> \$2 million to UC Berkeley's Center for Law, Energy & the Environment, to envision what the oil and gas industries could be in a "climate-safe world.") The Abundance Network is a <u>co-host</u> of the 2025 abundance conference.

Americans for Prosperity

The libertarian PAC started by Charles and David Koch is listed on Inclusive Abundance's "Abundance Landscape" and has pledged a seven-figure campaign to "unleash energy abundance" through permitting reform. Americans for Prosperity was a key <u>funder</u> of the Tea Party movement and <u>was</u> "one of the most prominent groups opposing the Obama administration's two key domestic policy goals: health care reform and cap and trade."

Inclusive Abundance Initiative

<u>Founded and led</u> by Derek Kaufman, a former Senior Managing Director of hedge fund Citadel, the Inclusive Abundance Initiative is a <u>501(c)(3)</u> organization with very little public-facing work. The initiative maintains a list of Abundance-related groups and their publications. It also maintains an advocacy group, the 501(c)(4) Inclusive Abundance Action. The group <u>consciously</u> embraces <u>conservative</u> as well as more liberal interpretations of abundance. Kaufman spoke at the <u>2024</u> <u>abundance conference</u> and at <u>2025 WelcomeFest</u>. Inclusive Abundance is also a <u>co-host</u> of the 2025 abundance conference.

YIMBY Action

A grassroots organization that began in San Francisco, but now has <u>dozens of chapters</u> across the country, YIMBY Action is a <u>501(c)(4)</u> nonprofit organization focused on securing a future of abundant housing. The organization <u>directly engages</u> in the political process by lobbying, organizing, publishing voter guides

and policy recommendations. YIMBY Action also has a 501(c)(3) organization, Yes In My Back Yard, focused on many of the same issues. YIMBY Action is a co-host of the 2025 abundance conference, and their executive director, Laura Foote is scheduled to speak.

Abundance Think Tanks and Publications:

The Abundance Institute (TAI)

The Abundance Institute is a Utah-based abundance organization with <u>oddly</u> <u>close ties</u> to <u>Utah State University's Center for Growth and Opportunity</u>. Its <u>CEO</u> is a former director at the <u>Mercatus Center</u>, and it is listed among the <u>Koch and Walton-backed</u> State Policy Network's <u>partners</u>. Eli Dourado, the then-Chief Economist at The Abundance Institute, <u>spoke</u> at the 2024 abundance conference (and is a speaker again this year) and TAI is listed in Inclusive Abundance's "Abundance Landscape."

American Enterprise Institute (AEI)

The American Enterprise Institute is one of the premier conservative think tanks in Washington DC. AEI, which is listed in Inclusive Abundance's "Abundance Landscape," features prominently in Abundance. Figures at the think tank such as James Pethokoukis have encouraged conservatives, including "MAGA Bros," to embrace Klein and Thompson's vision for Abundance. AEI is governed by a board of trustees that currently includes private equity billionaire Daniel A. D'Aniello as its chair, along with Harlan Crow (Clarence Thomas' controversial benefactor), Dick DeVos (husband of Betsy DeVos), and representatives from no fewer than eight private equity firms. The American Enterprise Institute will have two speakers at the 2025 abundance conference.

The Argument

A newly-launched online publication helmed by Demsas, *The Argument's* roster includes some of abundance's biggest proponents. In addition to Demsas, the publication counts Derek Thompson, *Vox* journalist and effective altruist Kelsey

Piper, and Matthew Yglesias among its cast. In addition, Yglesias' wife and *Slow Boring*'s managing editor, Kate Crawford, serves as the publication's chief of staff. Prior to the public launch, *The Argument* reportedly raised millions of dollars from abundance-tied groups including Arnold Ventures, Open Philanthropy, Emergent Ventures and Patrick Collison. Despite this, the publication has publicly eschewed a "formal relationship" with the abundance movement (there is, as far as we know, no formal process for becoming involved in the abundance movement). Multiple writers associated with *The Argument* are speaking at the 2025 abundance conference, including Demsas, Thompson and Yglesias.

The Breakthrough Institute

One of the hosts of the 2024 abundance conference, The Breakthrough Institute was cofounded by Ted Nordhaus and Michael Shellenberger in 2007 as part of an effort to shift environmentalism away from conservation and towards the development of new technologies. Shellenberger has made more recent headlines for his culture war focus, writing the book "San Fransicko," accepting a professorship at Bari Weiss' anti-woke "university," and reporting on the Hunter Biden Laptop controversy. Shellenberger distanced himself from the organization in 2015, and Nordhaus leads Breakthrough today. In 2023, Breakthrough's Co-Director of the Climate and Energy Team, Patrick Brown, courted conservative media approval by alleging that his research was untruthful and that he lied about the importance of climate change to gain the approval of scientific journals. This was thoroughly denied by prominent journal Nature, which had been the target of his claims. Early on, Breakthrough courted controversy when it attacked the Obama administration's climate approach, and, similar to claims in Abundance, alleged that not only did environmentalists want to end economic growth, but that environmentalists like Rachel Carson were overdramatic and have a negative impact on current environmental politics. Like last year, The Breakthrough Institute will co-host the 2025 abundance conference conference. and is slated to have two speakers at the event.

Center For New Liberalism (CNL)

A project of the <u>Progressive Policy Institute</u> (PPI), the Center for New Liberalism was <u>created</u> to rebrand PPI's "Neoliberal Project." PPI noted that "using the

'neoliberal' label may not actually serve its goals." The Center for New Liberalism has previously partnered with TechNet, a <u>Silicon Valley trade group</u> that represents firms including Amazon, Apple, Google and Meta, to produce <u>work</u> arguing that regulations on big tech firms are bad. The Center has hosted Derek Thompson on *The New Liberal Podcast* (<u>formerly the Neoliberal Podcast</u>) to discuss *Abundance* on <u>multiple occasions</u>. The Center's co-founder, Jeremiah Johnson, <u>said</u> he helped create the organization to promote housing abundance. He also <u>claims</u> that the organization has "developed into the nation's foremost center-left grassroots movement." In August 2025, CNL's steering committee <u>vice-chair</u>, Maya Luna, <u>said</u> they "tepidly support Trump's actions in DC," referring to Trump's <u>occupation</u> of the city with federal law enforcement and national guard troops. CNL is listed in Inclusive Abundance's "<u>Abundance Landscape</u>."

Chamber of Progress

Headed up by a long-term Google lobbyist who still brags about convincing Harvard to cross the United Farm Worker picket line during his college years, Chamber of Progress is a not-so-subtle attempt to ingratiate the tech agenda to the Democratic Party. Registered as a 501(c)(6) tax-exempt organization, Chamber of Progress has a wide variety of Silicon Valley funders it refers to as "partners," including cryptocurrency companies (notably Circle, Kraken, Coinbase, Grayscale and Ripple), self-driving car firms (Waymo and Cruise), Fintech firms (Klarna, Earnin), gig economy companies (Grubhub, Doordash, Lyft, Uber and Instacart), and Big Tech firms (Apple, Amazon, Meta, Google) along with tax filing giant Intuit, ticket vendor StubHub, VC firm a16z, and AI firm Midjourney. Chamber of Progress also used to be funded by Sam Bankman-Fried's notorious FTX, Blockchain.com, Zillow, Twitter, and the investment firm behind WeWork, SoftBank. The group has launched a "Abundance & Affordability" project, is listed among Inclusive Abundance's "Abundance Landscape," and its employees are vocal in their support of the agenda. Chamber of Progress is sponsor of the 2025 abundance conference, and their Senior Advisor, Gary Winslett, spoke at the 2024 abundance conference.

Cicero Institute

Listed in Inclusive Abundance's "<u>Abundance Landscape</u>," the Cicero Institute is a right-wing think tank based in Austin, Texas. The organization was the <u>fiscal sponsor</u> of Bari Weiss' "Anti-Woke" University of Austin. Cicero was <u>founded</u> by

Palantir co-founder Joe Lonsdale, a Silicon Valley entrepreneur with close business ties to Elon Musk and Peter Thiel. Lonsdale has <u>advocated</u> for using market-based incentives to reduce recidivism through the use of private prison companies, and for "<u>embedding</u>" 15 to 20 Al engineers in the Food and Drug Administration to speed up medical device and drug reviews. He has partnered with <u>Stand Together</u> and <u>The Abundance Institute</u> to help accomplish this goal. Cicero has become a vocal opponent to "housing first" homeless services, even <u>partnering</u> with right-wing propagandist Dennis Prager to produce a documentary opposing the practice.

Foundation for American Innovation (FAI)

A co-host of the 2024 abundance conference and yet another member of the Inclusive Abundance Initiative's Abundance Landscape, the Foundation for American Innovation was funded by Charles Koch. Known as the Lincoln Network until 2023, the organization changed its name and toned down the more right-wing language in its mission statement. Previously, FAI called on lawmakers to "bridge the gap between Silicon Valley and DC." FAI is a member of the State Policy Network, an interconnected group of think tanks backed by the Walton family, the Koch network and other right wing groups. FAI was founded by two "hackers" who wanted to start something they called a "Republican stealth mob" to help the GOP. Thomas Hochman, the director of infrastructure policy at FAI, has promoted articles on "the YIMBY case for alligator alcatraz" and "build more prisons: the case for incarceration." FAI is anti-union, and has been described as spreading a "Venture Capital-Fueled Ideology." The Foundation for American Innovation is a co-host of the 2025 abundance conference, and is scheduled to have three speakers at the event.

Institute for Progress (IFP)

Founded by Alec Stapp and Caleb Watney in 2021, Institute for Progress is perhaps the quintessential Abundance think tank. Early on, Alec Stapp <u>described</u> his goal with IFP as creating an organization like the Mercatus Center, but without the libertarian brand that limits that think tank's outreach to the left. Instead, Stapp <u>said</u> that he wanted IFP to be known as "the Effective Altruism think tank in DC." Institute for Progress's core funders have <u>included</u>: "<u>Open Philanthropy</u>, <u>Emergent Ventures</u>, Patrick Collison, John Collison, and Sam

Bankman-Fried." Both Stapp and Watney have experience working at Mercatus, as well as the Progressive Policy Institute. IFP's co-founders are both cited by Klein and Thompson in *Abundance* and they are <u>listed</u> by Niskanen as part of the "coherent network" of the "Abundance faction." Institute for Progress was a co-host of the <u>2024 abundance conference</u> and is set to do the same for the <u>2025 event</u>, where they will have <u>two speakers</u>.

Manhattan Institute

The Manhattan Institute is a right-wing think tank that has grown in prominence in recent years, particularly due to its importance in culture war debates. Manhattan employs conservative provocateur and Ron DeSantis ally Chris Rufo—the <u>progenitor</u> of the debate over "Critical Race Theory"—among its many conservative staff. Manhattan researchers have <u>claimed</u> that "Climate-Change Activists Are the Real Science Deniers," and <u>that</u> "No, the Criminal-Justice System Isn't Racist." The Manhattan Institute Board of Trustees is currently <u>run</u> by multi-billionaire Paul Singer, and the Institute receives significant support from Harlan Crow's wife, Kathy Crow, Federalist Society Chairman Leonard Leo, and the Koch network. The Manhattan Institute is <u>listed</u> in Inclusive Abundance' Abundance Landscape and will have <u>two speakers</u> at the 2025 abundance conference.

Mercatus Center

A libertarian think tank at George Mason University, Mercatus is privately funded and refuses to comply with disclosure requirements expected of public institutions. Mercatus has long been funded by the Koch network, and reports have indicated that the Koch operation has hiring.control over Mercatus. Mercatus is listed among the organizations in Inclusive Abundance's "Abundance Landscape" and Mercatus' Executive Director has written about his commitment to abundance.

National Multifamily Housing Council (NMHC)

The National Multifamily Housing Council is a corporate trade group and lobbying organization that represents thousands of companies in the real estate industry, including corporate landlords and developers. NMHC spends millions of dollars annually <u>lobbying</u> the federal government and Congress. Much of this

lobbying includes efforts to oppose rent control, opposition to anti-discrimination rules, opposition to section 8 housing protections, and the EPA's Clean Water Rule. NMHC also lobbied Congress on artificial intelligence issues as lawmakers considered a ban on state-level regulation of AI, which would have deterred state crackdowns on rental price fixing algorithms. The "abundance map," a pro-abundance website that lists organizations that are related to the abundance agenda, claims that the NMHC "supports the apartment industry and policies that encourage building more housing." NMHC is listed in Inclusive Abundance' Abundance Landscape.

The Niskanen Center

The Niskanen Center was founded by long-time CATO Institute employee and self-described "Wild-Eyed Reaganite" Jerry Taylor. Taylor, who described himself as the "lead climate denier" at the libertarian CATO Institute for 20 years, founded Niskanen in 2015 and made an about-face on his decades of climate denial, suddenly advocating for a moderate approach to the issue. Niskanen has been funded by Abundance-tied organizations like Stand Together and Arnold Ventures, along with tech giant Google, tax-filing giant Intuit, and insurance giant State Farm. Niskanen was among the first groups to openly embrace what they deemed to be the "Abundance Faction" in 2024, writing that the faction must take on environmentalists and unions in the name of prosperity. Ezra Klein and Derek Thompson's book referenced Niskanen as among the conservative organizations pushing for abundance. Niskanen was a co-hosting organization of the 2024 abundance conference, and is a co-host for this year's conference as well, where it will have five speakers. Niskanen is also included in the Inclusive Abundance Initiative's abundance landscape.

Progressive Policy Institute (PPI)

The Progressive Policy Institute was founded by the Democratic Leadership Conference (DLC) in 1988 to help form an "Intellectual Center" for the Democratic Party. PPI is a <u>subsidiary</u> of the The Third Way Foundation, and it <u>proudly proclaims</u> itself as the "intellectual birthplace of the New Democrat and 'Third Way' movements." PPI has accepted donations from <u>Big Oil</u> and <u>Big Pharma</u> while working to <u>undermine</u> Democratic antitrust legislation. The organization has also <u>refused</u> to say whether or not it received funding from tax-filing company Intuit while opposing efforts to provide Americans with free tax filing

services through the IRS. In 2009 it <u>decried</u> President Obama's pledge not to include lobbyists on advisory boards. PPI alumni include Alec Stapp and Caleb Watney, the co-founders of <u>Institute for Progress</u>, who were director of technology policy and director of innovation policy at PPI, respectively. PPI is listed in Inclusive Abundance's "<u>Abundance Landscape</u>."

R Street Institute

Listed among Inclusive Abundance's "Abundance Landscape" and with close ties to Niskanen and Institute for Progress, the R Street Institute was founded by Eli Lehrer in 2012 as a spin off of The Heartland Institute, where he had been formerly employed. The Heartland Institute is a conservative group that described itself as an "Action Tank" as opposed to a Think Tank, and was among the most prominent voices pushing lies about climate change. Prior to founding R Street and his work at Heartland, Lehrer worked at conservative organizations like the Washington Times and Heritage Foundation, as well as for Republican Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist. He still serves as the president of R Street. Among other beliefs, R Street has pushed for "Alternative Workers' Organizations" to defang union power, compared efforts to eliminate political dark money to doxxing, and has argued in favor of Big Tobacco talking points while accepting donations from Philip Morris' parent company, Altria. R Street is co-hosting the 2025 abundance conference and will have two speakers at the event.

Utah State University's Center for Growth and Opportunity (CGO)

The Center for Growth and Opportunity was established with <u>funding</u> from the Charles Koch Foundation. It too is <u>part of</u> the <u>State Policy Network</u>: a network of right wing think tanks from around the country that are <u>funded</u> in part by conservatives including the DeVos family, the Kochs and the Waltons.

Conclusion

With powerful figures ranging from sitting governors, past presidents and billionaires backing the abundance movement, it's no wonder that it has gone from the pages of *The Atlantic* to dominating political discourse in just a few short years. But despite this

success, abundance proponents are still not eager to discuss the individuals and groups that have enabled their rapid success. Discussion of the success of the movement must include the context of the individuals funding the ideology's rapid expansion.