

The Reframe

Why share your reading of political history?

Abundance Network is a multi-decade project for the renewal of liberal institutions and the institutional left's ability to build and govern cities, states, and in time, the country. Our goals are ambitious, and our core beliefs run counter to how left institutions—the Democratic party, left philanthropies, advocacy organizations—think and operate today.

For example, we believe:

1. Democrats have a 'product problem', more than a 'marketing' problem. Governing is the product, and campaigns are marketing and sales. In the absence of tangible outcomes for the working class, voters are turning to a populist strongman.
2. Democrats are failing to govern. The political geographies Democrats govern—blue cities, blue states—are failing. Conversations on the left today are fixated on stopping Trump and coming back in '26 and '28. Come back, and do what?
3. Left institutions are not held accountable, and therefore do not focus on driving policy outcomes. Which left institutions, funders, and political operatives are today focused on solving #1 and #2?
4. Left institutions do not have a money problem; \$86T of private wealth is being transferred from Boomers to Millennials. We have a conviction problem. We don't believe that the left institutions are capable of transmuting funding into policy outcomes that change citizens' lives. This is for good reason; liberal institutions are demonstrably failing to create outcomes.

As we bring on our early long-term funding partners, they will need to share our conviction that we are on the right path, even if it runs counter to how left institutional leaders think today. Those leading their renewal of the left will often be insider-outsiders: civic leaders who are expert and confident enough in how these institutions operate, but share conviction in radical, countervailing beliefs they have the courage to put into action.

We are undoubtedly still wrong about many things, but that's OK as long as we budget for our mistakes and keep learning at a high rate. However, we cannot afford

to be wrong about core ideas. Abundance Network is a multi-decade undertaking, and we refuse to wake up in 5-10 years and realize we are off track.

The two best ways to learn and build conviction about what works in politics are to (a) ‘learn by doing’ budgeting for your own mistakes and (b) learn from the mistakes and successes of others by reading political history. Reading history is the ‘cheapest’ way to figure out what works in politics, which is why we start there.

Our conviction in our work, priorities, and operating model at Abundance Network is grounded in our reading of history. It underpins our operational strategy and plan. We cannot afford for our funders to be misaligned with us on our core strategy, so we need funders to buy into our analysis (or not and opt-out!)

Our analysis came out of a joint 5+ year, 100-book quest for a ‘root disease’ diagnosis for what is crippling left politics and rotting our American democracy. There is so much written on why we are in a downward spiral—how rampant polarization is fracturing our politics, why trust in civic institutions is plummeting, and the rise of authoritarianism.

In 2019, we felt these different strands of analysis were yielding more noise than signal in aggregate. We had a hunch that these symptoms were interrelated, and we hoped that if we kept zooming out and digging in, we’d arrive at a root-cause diagnosis that explained all of the symptoms in context.

Over the past five years, we—and a community of intellectuals like Ezra Klein, Jerusalem Desmas, Jen Pahlka, Steve Teles, Derek Thompson, and many others—have been piecing that analysis together via an emerging political ideology called **Abundance**. This analysis explains how we helped form this ideology and our strategy for operationalizing it into a powerful political faction that drives public outcomes at scale.

The key to our operational strategy is to build the Abundance faction bottoms up, city by city, across the United States, modeled after the Progressive ideology of 100+ years ago. The scale of our ambition, the core operating model (expanding via city chapters), and our priorities in our scale up, all are rooted in our reading of American political history over the past 100 years: the ‘upswing’ of the progressive era in the first half of the 20th century, followed by crumbling failure of the institutional left 1960s to present.

Overview

Our analysis is chunked up into these sections:

Our credentials → Who are we to make such audacious claims?

- Zack and Misha ~personal intro

The Reframe → The key insight that finally made everything else make sense

Progressive Era → How elites 100 years ago self-organized, rebuilt their governments, and unlocked the greatest generation of shared prosperity in American history

- Things sucked way worse in the late 19th century
- Progressive movement didn't progress until the industrialists rolled up their sleeves and helped lead
- Institution-building was "bottoms up" city-by-city, state-by-state and only tackled Federal government once progressives had built enough power & expertise
- The institutions they built up are now the ones failing us

The Fall of Civic Institutions → How both the left and right have hobbled government

- The left with procedures
- The right with disdain

The abdication of elites and the rise of Left Cosplay → The institutional left's favored business model of hobbling government and claiming victory

- The abdication of elites
- New advocacy model leveraging public interest legalism
 - Relies less on building political power via coalition management, local funding
- Left leaders became less accountable to government outcomes, and less accountable to democratic governance.
 - Philanthropy can fund capital-light advocacy, lacks a feedback loop to accountability
- Public becomes less informed and interested in how local government works, local news decays post-Internet
- 13x multiplier on money spent on state & local races re: budget control
- Small dollar internet fundraising makes politics dumber
- The Left is the Party of Government but doesn't know government.
 - BLM didn't achieve outcomes b/c they didn't understand how to exercise political power
- The narrow interests aren't that strong; but the general interest is very weak.
- As government underperforms, we saddle it with more process, further undermining it.
- The left talks about taxing & spending but not government outcomes. Our cities & states are the most dysfunctional. There is more economic mobility in red states.

- Left activism today is animated more by righteousness than by effectiveness. We blame others (GOP) vs. ourselves.
 - We dream hoard.
 - We forget the government is us.

It All Falls Apart → Maszlow's monsters are now here: Urban conflagrations, floods, deteriorating norms, and the rebellion against elites

- The Government is how we solve public problems at scale
- Now there is no Party of the Government

What History Teaches Us → How we can accelerate our work by analyzing political history

- How our analysis informs our strategy operational plan

Our Credentials

I (Zack) was there in the Boston FleetCenter in July 2004 when Obama gave the Democratic National Convention [keynote address](#) that launched his national career and changed the course of American history. This was a consolation prize after 100-hour weeks in Burlington, Vermont, on Howard Dean's digital team during his failed nomination bid. Misha Chellam punched his ticket helping Jim Webb get elected as Senator of Virginia.

As lifelong liberals, it pains us to say the Left is a well-meaning backwater of depleted ideas, a hollowed-out container of a party struggling to define not what we believe but how we intend to translate our ideas and values into policy outcomes. Our party leaders' track record demonstrates an increasing gap between our stated values and our governmental outcomes.

Campaigns are the marketing and sales of politics. Governing is the product—the Democrats have a product problem. Why?

We—Misha and Zack—have independently, and since 2019 jointly, been on a quest to answer this question. First, we needed to know for ourselves, then for our colleagues on the journey with us, and then, if we are successful via Abundance, the country.

We have reached a magical point where we are beginning to answer questions at a higher rate than we uncover them. This tells us that it's now time to shift a bit more towards writing and educating, to share what we have uncovered with our friends and colleagues so we can scale our work. This memo is meant to summarize all we have learned to date and chart out a path for building and scaling the political power and policy outcomes of Abundance, with a focus on the components of the movement we are helping build at [Abundance Network](#).

Years in, we found an unlock to the project with a key question that reframed everything for us. It opened up a much more useful line of questioning and focused us on a fuzzy outline of solutions that we are building into an [organization](#) that is helping power the young democratic movement of Abundance. So we are going to start there first—on the reframe.

The Reframe

To ground our work, we went looking for the best historical comparisons to our current political moment. Luckily for all of us, there is a small coterie of academic researchers who have been obsessing over this since the 1970s: Putnam, Fukuyama, Theda Skocpol and their peers.

The one book that changed everything for us was Putnam's [Upswing](#). His reframe was brilliant, which, if you don't read the book (you really should!) we will summarize like this:

Everyone is asking why everything is getting shitty—polarization, social cohesion, isolation, trust in institutions. It is true everything has been getting shittier since the 60s. But if you zoom out another 80 years, you'll realize all the things getting shitty now were even *shittier* 1870-1900. Then, somehow, they got very, very good (eg the 'upswing'). And now they are getting shitty again.

Putnam's brilliant reframe is to not ask why things are now getting shittier today, but rather: *"How did they get good in the first place?"*

If you start the journey from this historical vantage point, you will uncover a forgotten world that explains so much of what is happening around us. Because we have been here before. And we built our nation out of it—from a collapsing agrarian government to an apex industrial government that destroyed the Nazis, buried the totalitarian Soviets, and brought more broad-based economic prosperity, growth and *progress* to Americans than ever before or since.

One generation of Americans accomplished this. How? Well, let's start at the beginning...

Progressive Era

Move to cities, your kids die



Before we figured out how to design cities, they were brutal.

The life expectancy for a laborer moving to Liverpool for a factory wage got as low as 15 years old v.s. 40 for a farmer in rural England. Today's urban elite worry about the quality of our public schools and public order. The elite of the Industrial Revolution worried about their kids getting cholera from the well or catching whooping cough; 20-30% of city kids died before reaching the age of 18.

America's population exploded as immigrants seeking a better life pressed into American cities—and died by the millions. The municipal governments responsible for public health and safety were collapsing under demand for services; they were designed for the agrarian era when only 5-10% of the population lived in cities. In early America, 90-95% of Americans lived rural lives, but by the 1920s, 50% of the population moved to cities for higher-paying industrial jobs.

New York City's population, tax revenue, and government workforce exploded by an order of magnitude from 1850-1920:

	Population	Tax Revenue	Municipal Workforce
1850s	696,000	\$2-3M	2,000-3,000
1920s	5,621,000	\$400M+	75,000-85,000

Germ theory by this time was advancing, but city governments were slow to adapt. The early Progressive era was a pitched battle between reformers (many of them elites from industry) v.s. the spoils system-entrenched political machines that ran municipal governments and had little interest in cleaning up their act.

Teddy Roosevelt's first executive job was to crack skulls as President of the Board of Police Commissioners in New York City, and break apart this system:

“Taverns paid the police \$10,000 to open on Sunday; gambling dens set aside between \$15 and \$300 each month as insurance against raids; and a successful brothel would contribute \$30,000 each year to a precinct captain.

It was commonplace to buy rank, as in the case of one officer who paid his superiors \$15,000 in order to receive a captain’s badge. Police Chief Thomas Byrnes presided over this network of extortion and was said to be worth \$350,000.”

You can date the year progressives won power by when they rewrite their city charters:

City	Population	Charter Rewritten
New York, NY	3,437,202	1898
San Francisco, CA	342,782	1900
Chicago, IL	1,698,575	1907
Boston, MA	560,892	1909
Cleveland, OH	381,768	1913
St. Louis, MO	575,238	1914
Baltimore, MD	508,957	1918
Philadelphia, PA	1,293,697	1919
Cincinnati, OH	325,902	1926
Buffalo, NY	352,387	1927

These reformers went on to build all facets of modern municipal government we rely on today: bookkeeping, civil service, police, fire, sanitation, K-12 public schools, roads,

and sewers. They took systems that worked in industry and figured out, painstakingly, how to retrofit them to our democratic civic institutions.

Who were these reformers? A motley collection that included suffragettes, civil rights activists, teetotalers, trustbusters, education reformers, settlement house reformers, civil service reformers, and the “goo-goos” of Good Government. This was a deeply racist time, and their political history reflects it.

Industrial leaders were key to this work. Practitioners who figured out how scale industry were needed to help retrofit modern management systems to government, and replace the agrarian era institutions of “courts and parties” with a modernized government that could support an industrialized civilization. Civil service finally brought professionalized management to government, the efficiency movement brought in bookkeeping and inventory management etc.

Most importantly, the progressive movement scaled power only when industrialists brought their financial and social capital to bear on the institutional problems blocking progress.

Julius Rosenwald built thousands of schools for black families in the rural south, which became the institutional framework of the country’s K-12 school system.

Nathan Straus *“built a fortune as one of the owners of Macy’s, but in the 1890s he became obsessed with food safety after losing two of his children to disease. He began by asking a simple question: Louis Pasteur had invented the milk pasteurization process in 1865, so why were kids still being routinely killed by unsafe milk decades later? Straus took his department store earnings, his skills at organization-building, and the doggedness of an entrepreneur and set out to solve the problem. First, he and his wife built a “milk laboratory” to produce sterilized milk in 1892, a time when 25% of infant mortality was tied to diseased milk. He then built a factory to supply New York orphanages with sterilized milk at subsidized rates. Overnight, sure enough, child mortality rates plummeted. Strauss then helped pass the nation’s first milk pasteurization laws, personally driving policy outcomes that saved hundreds of thousands of lives a year, many of them children.”*

Early progressives did this work in a pitched, multi-decade battle for control of our democratic systems of government in an age of graft, waste, cronyism and entrenched interests that would put our worst offenders to shame. The results of their work speak for themselves—infant mortality rates in NYC fell from 250–300 per 1,000 births in 1890 to 23.6 by 1960.

The intellectual nexus of this work was a small, pioneering research institution called the Bureau of Municipal Research that published reports such as:

Title	Published	Impact
How New York is Governed	1906	Launched NYC's government reform movement
Budget Exhibit of the City of New York	1908	Influenced the creation of New York's first executive budget; inspired national adoption of budget exhibits.
Report on the Department of Health of the City of NY	1909	Resulted in staffing reforms, improved health reporting, and modernized service delivery.
A Municipal Program	1910	Became a policy framework for Progressive Era charter revisions in cities like Cleveland and Cincinnati.
Training of a Municipal Executive	1914	Led to the founding of the Training School for Public Service, a precursor to modern public administration programs.

The same reformers who took over municipal governments in the 1910s and 1920s then took over state governments in the 1920s and 1930s. Then, one of them, FDR, became president in 1932.

The intellectual core of FDR's New Deal came from his contemporary Al Smith—national social welfare, labor and workplace protections, public works, and government modernization were largely national-scale replicas of Al Smith's government innovations. Many reformers such as Frances Perkins worked for Al Smith before they moved up into FDR's administration.

An important implication for the Abundance movement to internalize is this: The progressives rebuilt the American government from an agrarian system of "courts and parties" to the modern American state that underpins our industrialized civilization *bottoms up*. The rebuild did not start with the federal government. They had to go city by city, state by state, and—once reformers had built enough power and reform expertise—federally. (We will keep coming back to this.)

This rebuilding of civic institutions after a technology breakthrough reorders economic institutions is actually a recurring pattern in history. You want your civic institutions to be slow and careful. And every time it happens there is political upheaval as civic institutions are broken down and reconstituted.

It's a messy process because civic institutions underpin everything; when they fail, economic systems fail. When they succeed, civilizations flourish. Progressives, by renovating their civic institutions alongside their economy, transformed government from an essentially a failed state to the modern, muscular government. Their government defeated the Nazis and leapt from Kittyhawk to the Moon. They, via their institutions, unlocked broad prosperity and opportunity for more Americans of any generation before or since.

They built the institutions that still underpin our civilization today. Institutions that are now rotting and weak, infected by 'brain worms' of trendy bad ideas, and governed by ineffectual leaders. These institutions are now crumbling under our feet as fires burn our cities, as China threatens the global order, and as Americans lose faith in our capacity to govern ourselves.

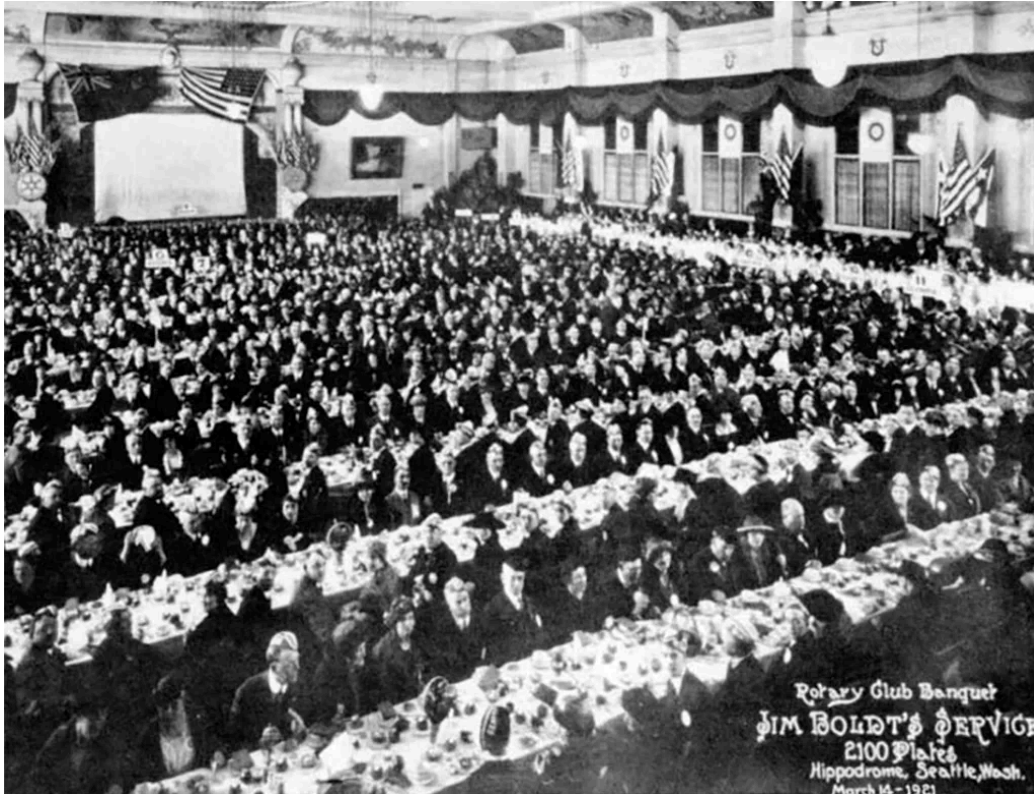
What happened to them?

The fall of Civic Institutions

Ultimately, both the right and the left politically aligned in a pincer movement to hobble the Government, our most vital public institution. The Left tied government down in procedure and strictures as is well covered by *Why Nothing Works* (Mark Dunkelman) and *Abundance* (Ezra Klein & Derek Thompson). The Right neutered its power and delegitimized its value ("reduce [Government] to the size where I can drag it into the bathroom and drown it in the bathtub." —Grover Norquist).

For the left it was a quick fall from the sudden assassinations of JFK and MLK, to the disaster of Vietnam, to the embarrassment of Watergate that took the heart out of government. From there, the left took the downslope of NIMBYism post-riots and sealed our cities in amber, and fled urban cores for the suburbs on federal subsidy; housing was made illegal, and urban public education systems were abdicated. Proceduralist kudzu overgrew the gears of government.

For the right, and corporate power, it was a dereliction. Regional banks folded and corporate leaders pulled out of municipal institutions. CEOs of large employers outsourced their civic leadership to emissaries from "Government Relations". And a new, aggressive ideology of 'free-market' conservatism blotted out the vital role of public leadership that previously was core to conservative identity:



Rotary Club Banquet, Seattle Washington, Hippodrome — March 16th, 1921

Importantly, many of our remaining pockets of effective government survive where right and left politics remain in tension: blue cities in red states (Houston) are solving homelessness, and purple geographies building homes (Colorado) are led by popular Democrats.

But, per Putnam, the overwhelming dynamic beneath these institutional changes was a cultural shift. One that ultimately broke American citizens' connection with our Democracy and, with it, our agency and responsibility in the public realm.

The abdication of elites

Silicon Valley is an obvious example of the cultural disconnect between business success and civic responsibility.

One way to think about Abundance Network is the liberal answer to the tech elite joining the MAGA faction.

Andreessen's "[Software eats the world](#)" and "[It's time to build](#)" manifestos will be prescient and essential texts in modern political history. But Andreessen has glaring blind spots. When asked why he joined the MAGA faction, Andreessen [explains](#) that the left broke what he refers to as 'the deal'; where tech industrialists like him make

a lot of money, donate it to philanthropy, and are lauded by the public. He has many grievances from the Biden era for himself, his companies, and the tech industry.

There is truth in his complaints; the left has been waging an often contentless war against tech. But 'the deal' was a sham. The public is catching on to how broken left philanthropy and public institutions are, and elites who fund and operate them—whether they recognize this or not—will be blamed by the public when they fail.

At the core of this abdication is a faulty assumption by elites that they can personally shield themselves from the failure of our public institutions. But you can't hide if your Tahoe or Pacific Palisades home turns to ash in a megafire, and you cannot educate your kids if teachers can't find housing. Elites are beginning to wake up to the personal consequences of their abdication.

This is a positive development because the Progressive movement only started to build real power when elites rolled up their sleeves and put their social and financial capital to work, building and leading civic institutions.

“Four lawyers and a fax machine”

\$2.6T of private wealth has been created in the Bay Area, much of which landed in the pockets of young liberal families in the past 15 years. In total, \$84T of wealth will soon transfer from Boomers to Millennials. For entrepreneurs like us looking to fund, build, and operate the political machinery of Abundance, money is not our problem. Our problem is conviction. Specifically, the belief that investment will yield real actual policy outcomes that exist in reality, 'cranes in the sky.'

This skepticism is warranted, as the outputs of left philanthropy and the institutions they fund are a trend line toward failure. How left institutions took hard turns towards failure is worth diagnosing.

Commensurate with the Left's turn towards punishing the government was a new business model of advocacy to punish it with. Ralph Nader took the seedcorn of public interest law, and honed it into a scalable business model: (1) proceduralize government, and (2) raise money to pay lawyers to sue government at key steps (NEPA) of government procedure (3) claim victory for beating back government and use that to raise more money (hello victor side legal fees!) to repeat the process.

Messy and difficult coalitional organizing was no longer required; suddenly all you needed were “4 lawyers and a fax machine” to be a DC powerhouse. At some point Greenpeace got in trouble for being one of the largest pulp paper consumers in the

country. After being caught, they were forced to shut down their highly successful direct mail program and their 'membership' dropped by 90%.

This new business model for advocacy replaced the prior generation of political organizers who understood how to build and scale coalitional power up from church basements to city hall to the governor and president. The left would no longer train its civic leaders how to politik: how to cut deals, trade votes, and transact to put food on the table for their constituents.

Replacing them was a new generation of elite 20-somethings from name-brand colleges and head-strong public interest lawyers. With them came the new regime of proceduralism, legalism, and hollow advocacy, propping up the aging brands of progressivism. Successive generations of advocates become less and less expert in building and exercising power to deliver policy outcomes.

Decentralizing News & Political Power

The public became dramatically less informed and less interested in understanding how their governments work or why they failed as local newspapers folded as the Internet nationalized news.

A stunning example of information arbitrage this created: political contributions today go 13x farther invested in state & local races vs federal races as a ratio of dollars spent on the race vs dollars controlled by the electeds. This provides a marker of how divorced from the reality of governing the public has become, as well as an inexcusable subsidy to the narrow interests walking city hall and our statehouses.

In political fundraising, the Dean campaign helped replace \$2,000 chicken lunch-powered campaigns with small dollar donor powered politics, which has regrettably helped make the left dumber. The old gatekeepers were political professionals who could count cards; small dollar donors today are amateurs yanking the handles of ActBlue slot machines.

Today, there is no party of the Government

The left is supposedly the party of Government, but does not *know the Government*. Most highly educated liberals are surprised to learn that 85% of Government Employees work for State & Local Municipalities—the 15% comprising the federal workforce include 4 million members of the military. We tax federally, but our money goes to states, who disburse to municipalities.

Government is our parks, our schools, our safety, our water, and our access to economic opportunity. The progressives understood government and power in ways

the left today do not—their incredibly successful bottoms up movement strategy reflected it. The governments that control these systems—Municipal and State civic institutions—have unsurprisingly withered and the forces of status quo are now dug in.

Interests have hardened, and the government process calcified. It's not so much that narrow interests are that powerful in America, it's much more that the general interest has become supremely weak.

As the government became more and more disjointed and broken, we made it worse by responding to brokenness with additional layers of cruft and complexity. If your political perspective is that the government is 'the problem', you can easily prove your point by making government execution worse.

The left stopped believing itself. We don't talk about what we achieve together with our government, we talk about whose money we should tax and where their money will be spent. We blame Trump, but it is Blue Cities in Blue States that are the most dysfunctional governments. Super majority Democratic-controlled California (our home) has the highest poverty rate in the United States, so if you are the child of a poor, immigrant family, you are better off growing up in Texas; you will be less impoverished, and your schools will be better.

In place of real civic organizing in our communities that improve the lives of our families and neighbors, we have the cosplay of left activism animated by righteousness instead of effectiveness. We let ourselves be focused on far away enemies, instead of our own localized governing failures where we have exponentially more agency and responsibility. We may support housing, just not in our backyard.



Instead of building new housing for our neighbors, the left elites busied ourselves building glass ceilings under our feet. We zoned ourselves away from the problems of the poor; insulating ourselves from increasingly broken government services—urban police departments, public schools, and the sacrifice of fighting wars.

The Left's model of advocacy is akin to 'yelling at government' via protests, petitions, donations, marches, and public comment. But: "The government is us; we are the government, you and I." - Theodore Roosevelt

When we yell at our government, we are yelling at ourselves.

It all falls apart

So now there is no party of the Government. But the Government is how we solve our public problems at scale.

The Government protects our Cities from burning to the ground, from falling into the ocean.

The Government figures out how to inoculate against withering pathogens at speed and scale.

The Government defines the economic system and opportunity for Americans, by educating our children, by ensuring access to American opportunity.

The Government protects us from Putin and Xi; autocrats who live and die by the sword

But our generation has only known a Government trending towards failure, that fights “stupid wars”, enables dumb asset bubbles that wreck economies, that is captured, and hobbled, and asleep at the wheel, and incapable of building anything. When we stop believing in self-government’s ability to deliver and improve our lives, it becomes rational to no longer want to ‘give up a little’ to get a lot back; whether that’s taxes or dense housing in our backyard. We opt out lest we be the sucker. This becomes a downward spiral of disinvestment.

Our government here in California underpins the 4th largest economy in the world, powered by the technology of Silicon Valley and the cultural power of Hollywood. But we increasingly govern ourselves as a 3rd world country, that can’t admit its failings or muster the courage to displace its demons, and solve the problems as espoused by elites. Rather than being honest with ourselves, elites hide monsters under our kids beds; earthquakes, fires, floods, budgets, transit, and housing crisis.

Meanwhile the pace of the economic innovations is only accelerating: the internet, AI, autonomy, clean cheap power. As does the gap widening between what the private industry accomplishes and what our self-governments demonstrate we are capable of.

Public works are the ‘physical manifestation of democracy’ and our ability to deliver them is becoming a joke; 16 years and \$11b in, California High Speed Rail has accomplished nothing useful for the public. Meanwhile, SpaceX is iterating Starships faster than the government can review launch permits.

Software is eating the world, just as the steam engine did in the industrial revolution. Our industrial-era government is failing us, just as the American government of

“courts and parties” failed the public 150 years ago. But our left elites do not yet get it.

Harris ran on “Trump is worse.” The American public disagreed. If they are forced to choose between “(A) Burn it down” or “(B) Perpetuate left elites”, they choose (A). Trump gained the most ground with voters in left elite cities who live with the consequences of our own self-government.



Maslow’s monsters are now here among us. You cannot raise children if you cannot employ teachers. You cannot rebuild a hollowed out downtown with rampant disorder. And you cannot hide from elite responsibility when your Tahoe or Pacific Palisades house turns to ash. And the only thing that protects us from societal collapse is the thin envelope of norms that we are steadily burning through.

So what do we do?

What History Taught Us

Here are the most important points we have taken away from our study of U.S. political history as it applies to Abundance Network’s operating plan:

1. **‘The work’** of institutional renewal is in the strenuous task of making government effective. The politics of Abundance—as difficult as they may be—are the ‘easy’ part. In some ways our generation will have a more

challenging task than progressive reformers since so much will be renovating v.s. the greenfield building of new institutions.

2. **Elite responsibility** is a key element of abundance. Those who modernized our economic institutions for the 21st century must be key contributors to modernizing our public institutions.
3. **Bottoms up** is the only reasonable path to modernizing our government. (1) We need to play the full field of 50 states + 3,000+ counties to build power and hone our operating model and (2) 85% of the government is state & local.
4. **Outcomes** must become embedded into abundance philanthropy. A new generation of civic organizations will need to be built and scaled around Abundance to replace today's dominant 'four lawyers and fax machine' model of advocacy.
5. **Institutional Renewal** will come when political leaders compete over who best makes government most effective. You can see this in the emerging political brands Jared Polis, Gina Raimondo, and Josh Shapiro are forging. Abundance should be the playbook.