

Key Findings

We began with a discussion board at the end of November with 30 persuadable voters nationwide who did not have strong views towards “ESG” and were otherwise weak partisans/ideologues, followed by a survey of 1,000 registered voters nationwide conducted in mid-January.

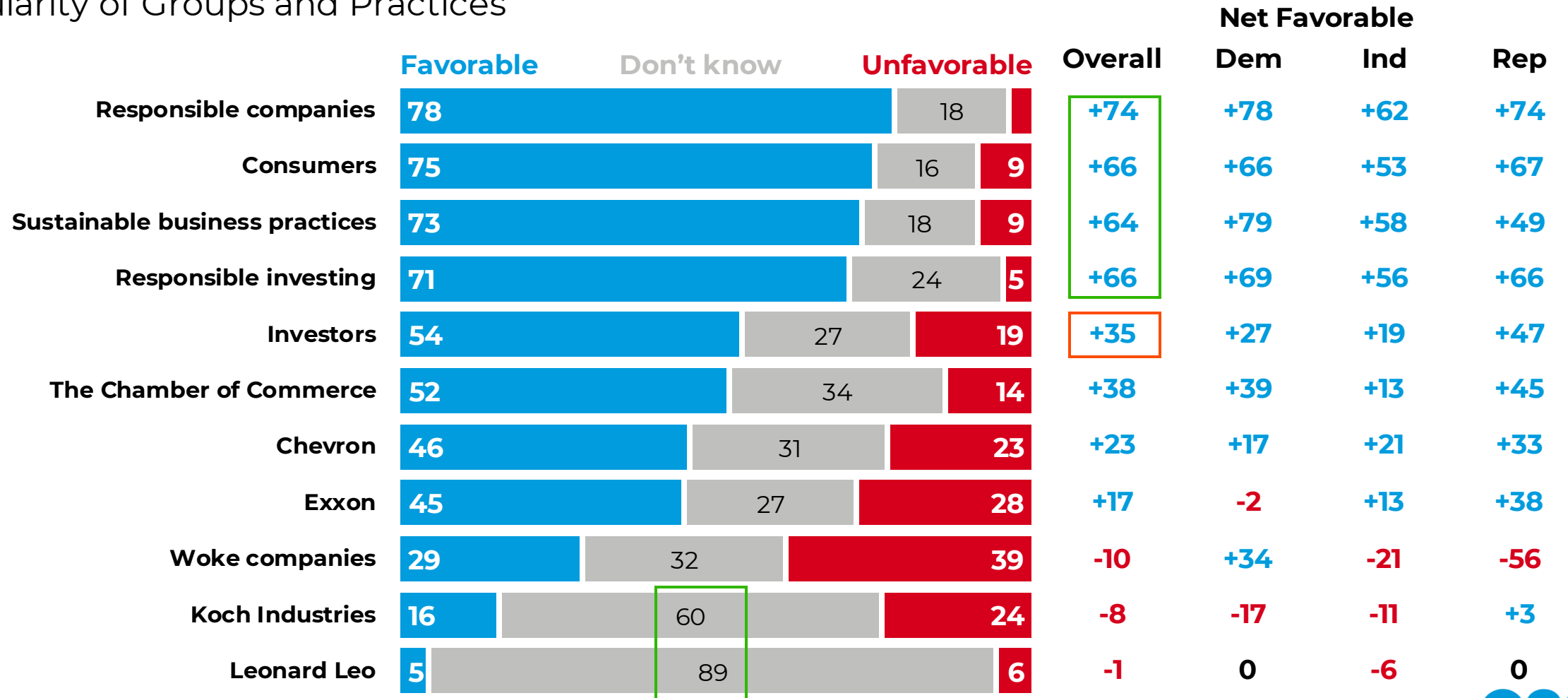
- **While voters are largely unfamiliar with the term “ESG,” they are overwhelmingly favorable to “responsible companies” (78% favorable), “sustainable business practices” (73%), and “responsible investing” (71%).** While this research was focused on going on offense against those who want to ban “ESG,” this research confirms findings revealed in other studies that terms like “responsible investing” are viewed more positively by voters than “ESG.”
- **Voters overwhelmingly oppose banning “ESG.”** From banning books to banning abortion, voters are generally opposed to government bans, and ESG bans are no exception. By 24 points (25% support, 49% oppose) voters initially oppose banning ESG – and when they learn more, opposition grows by 14 points, with voters opposing a ban by 39 points (24% support, 63% oppose).
- **More than seven in ten Americans find a range of consequences from ESG bans to be “serious.”** Chief among them are lack of corporate accountability leading to lower wages for workers (54% “very serious”) and worse working conditions for workers (49%), jobs being sent overseas (49%), jobs being lost by limiting investment in renewables (48%), higher interest rates (47%), and taxpayers having to pay more like in Texas (47%). Less serious are those focused on increased bureaucracy (27%) or investors making poorly informed decisions (33%).
- **Voters feel ESG bans will most harm workers and the economy.** Nearly three in five voters say workers would be negatively impacted by ESG bans (58%), with similar numbers of voters saying that ESG bans will negatively impact the economy (58%), energy and gas prices (57%), and others’ retirement savings (56%).
- **Three in five voters are concerned that “supporters of ESG bans do not care about the well-being of the middle class or American workers.”** Nearly 60% of voters are also concerned that billionaire donors “are pouring money into the groups and politicians that support” ESG bans.



The Landscape: Views of ESG Investing and Bans on ESG

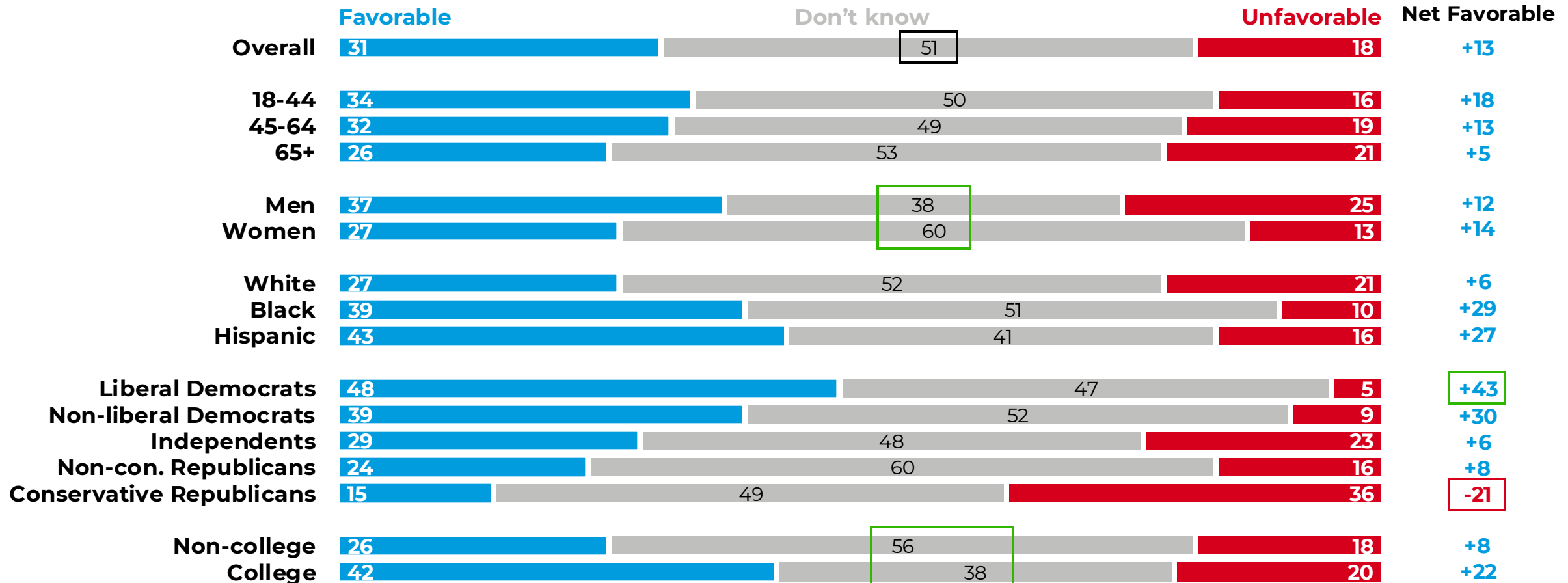
“Responsible” and “sustainable” is popular language. Investors are viewed less favorably than consumers, and ESG opponents are either unknown or not overly unfavorable

Popularity of Groups and Practices



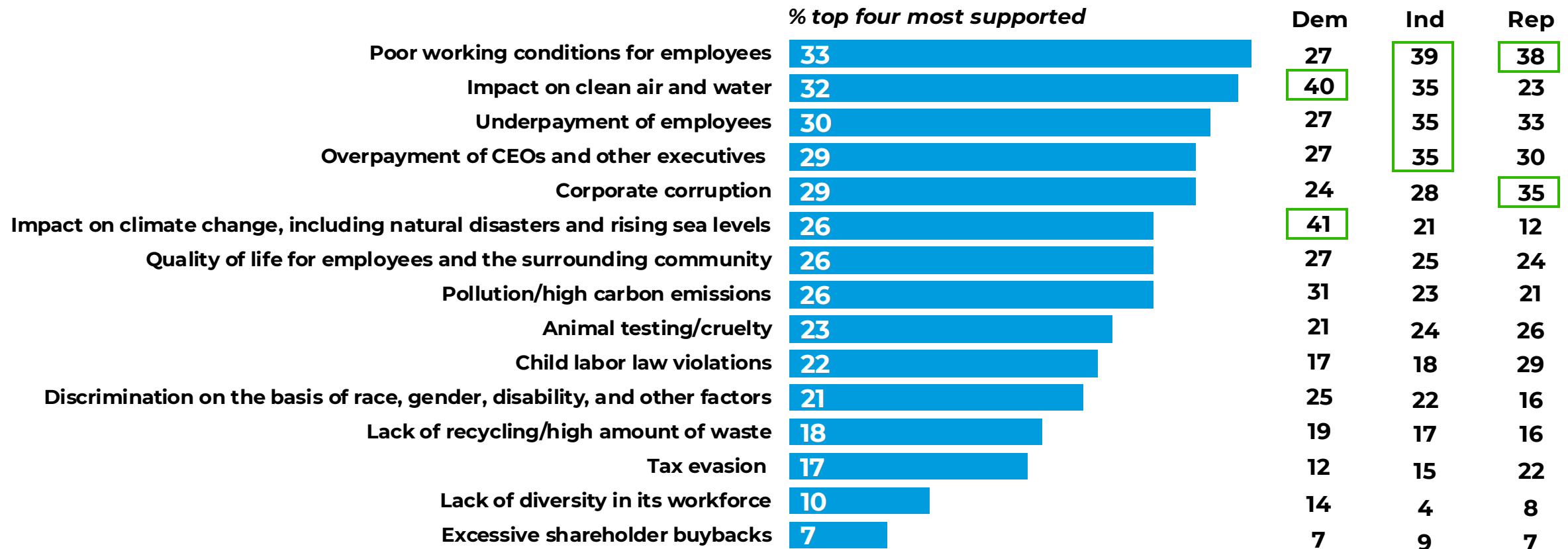
So-called “ESG” is a foreign concept for most (generating more uncertainty than phrases like “responsible investing”), even among ideological partisans; awareness gaps exist by education and gender

Popularity of “ESG Investing, or Environmental, Social, or Corporate Governance Investing”



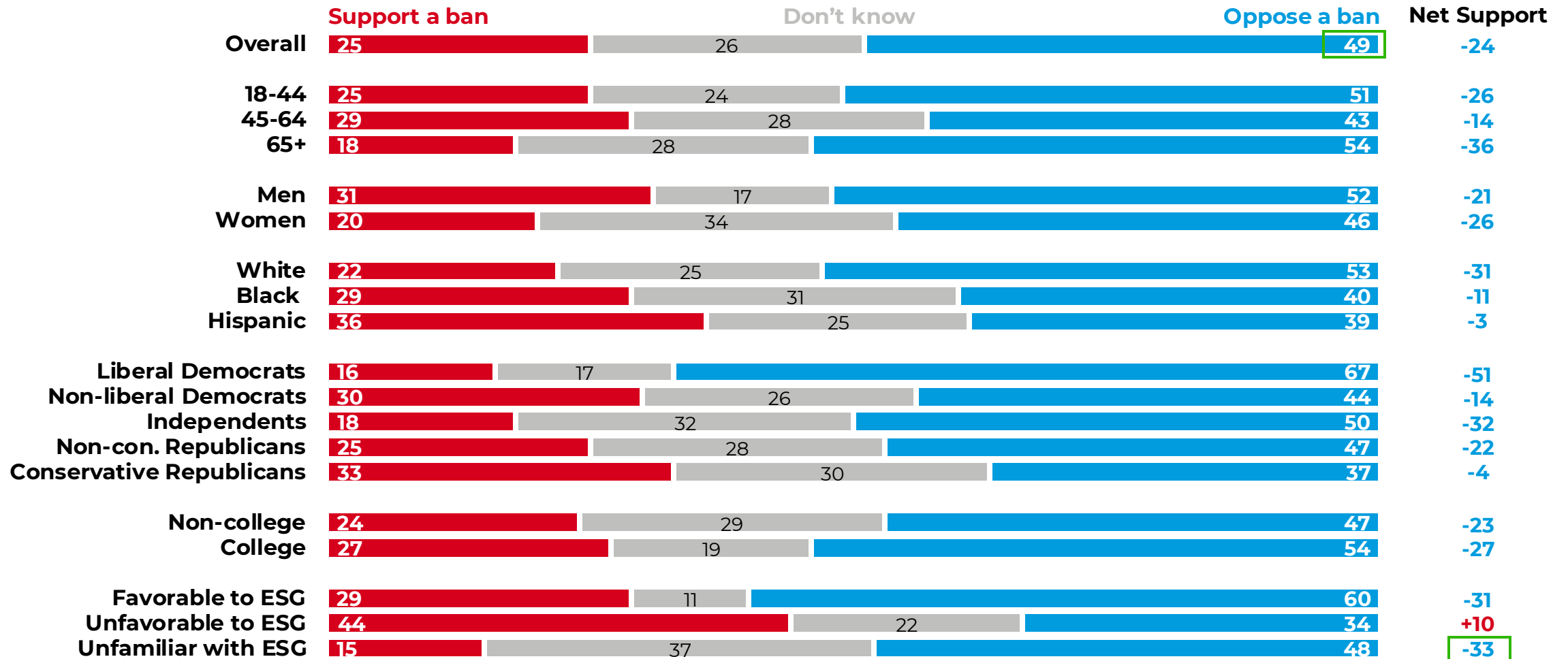
Independent and Republican voters support standards on working conditions, wages, CEO pay and corporate corruption, while Democrats gravitate to environmental considerations

Investors and businesses that follow this ESG economic approach in making decisions seek out companies and opportunities that meet certain standards. Which four do you most support being considered?



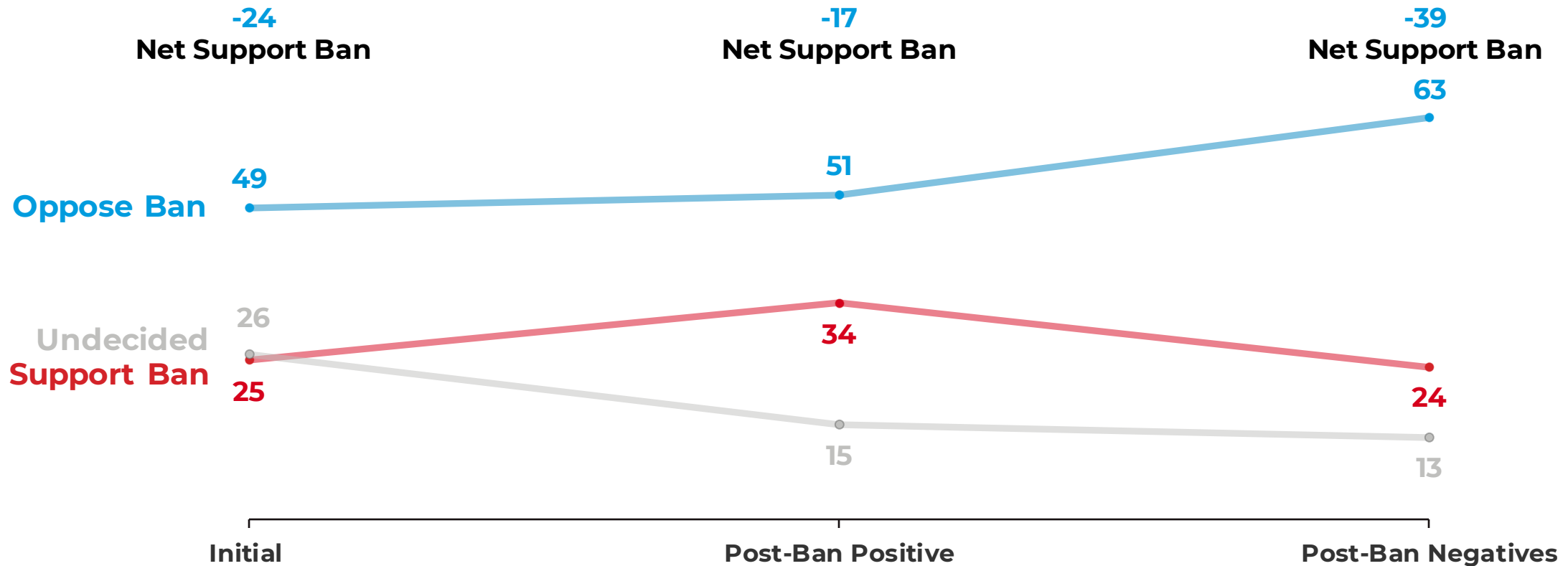
Almost half begin by opposing an “ESG” ban: even those unfamiliar largely oppose, revealing animus toward a “ban” with minimal explanation of ESG itself

Initial Ban Vote: Do you support or oppose a **ban** on businesses and investors being able to consider all factors, including environmental, social, and governance (ESG) factors, in judging the strength of an investment or a pending business decision?



Opposition to a ban starts out strong and narrows only slightly after messaging in support of a ban; opposition grows to nearly two-thirds after messaging against a ban

Vote Movement – ESG Ban



Voters across the partisan and ideological spectrum solidly oppose bans after hearing arguments against them, erasing modest gains made after hearing a positive case on ESG bans

ESG Ban Support Movement

BAN POSITIVE: Supporters of these bans say that ESG is a set of rules that forces companies to adhere to a politically correct, "woke" agenda, including forcing investing in companies that oppose fossil fuels, push for unionization, and stress racial and gender equity over merit in hiring and board selection. ESG rules hurt investors, consumers, and everyday seniors just looking to survive off their retirement savings. Bans on ESG help to free businesses and investors from this "woke" agenda and allow them to instead focus on achieving the best returns and economic outcomes possible for Americans, first and foremost.

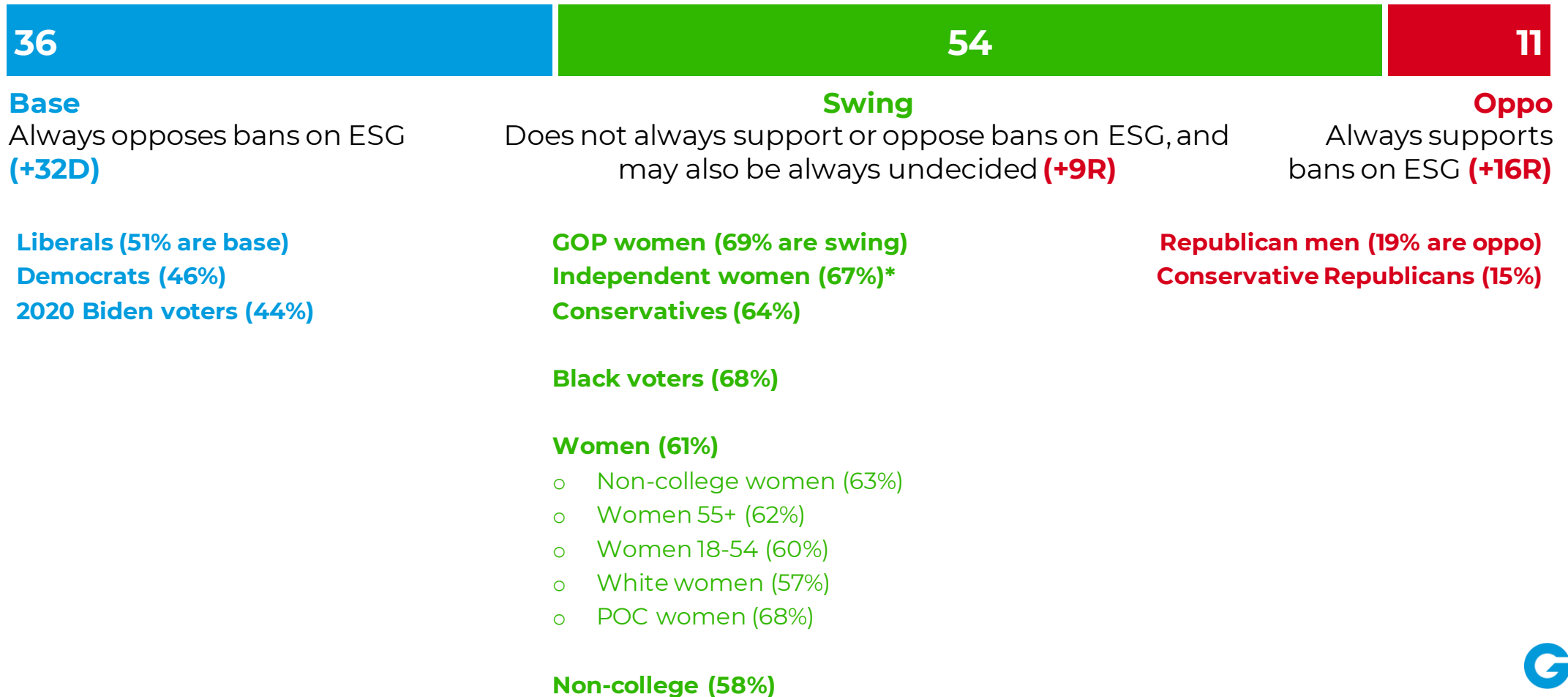
Net Support an ESG Ban

| | Initial | Post-Ban Positive | Post-Ban Negatives | Change (Initial to Post-Ban Negatives) |
|------------------------------|---------|-------------------|--------------------|--|
| Overall | -24 | -17 | -39 | -15 |
| Liberal Democrats | -51 | -45 | -62 | -11 |
| Non-Liberal Democrats | -14 | -12 | -33 | -19 |
| Independents | -32 | -28 | -48 | -16 |
| Non-conservative Republicans | -22 | -12 | -39 | -17 |
| Conservative Republicans | -4 | +7 | -16 | -12 |

Among conservative Republicans, support for a ban on ESG is at **46%** after a positive message around bans, declining to **35%** after reading negatives around a ban.

Many voters are persuadable, especially non-college voters, Black voters, and women (especially center-right women)

ESG Ban Targets





The Most Concerning Harms Caused By Bans

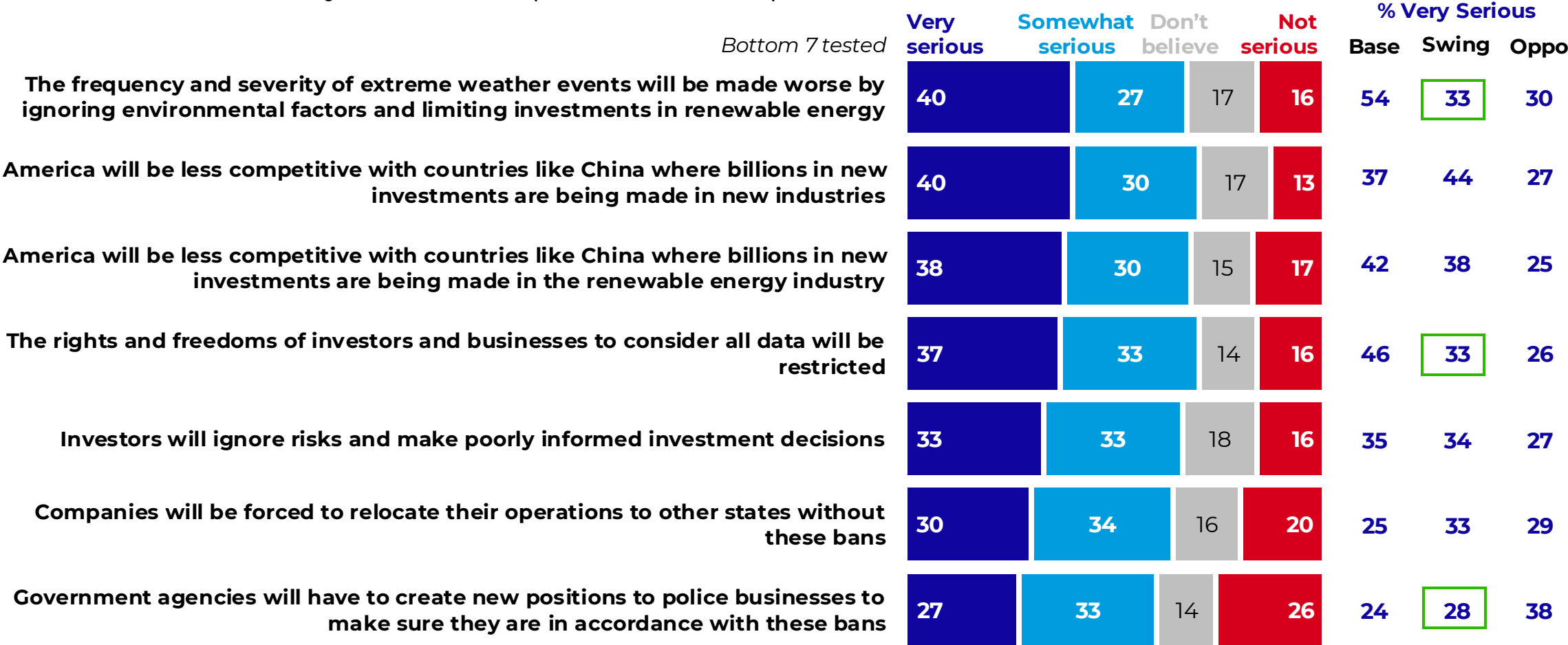
Lower wages while CEOs benefit, higher interest payments, and job losses raise most serious concerns for persuadable voters

Please indicate how serious you find each potential consequence of an ESG ban.

| | <i>Top 12 tested</i> | | | | % Very Serious | | |
|---|----------------------|------------------|---------------|-------------|----------------|-------|------|
| | Very serious | Somewhat serious | Don't believe | Not serious | Base | Swing | Oppo |
| Without accountability for corporate executives, CEO pay will continue to skyrocket and worker wages will remain low | 54 | 26 | 12 | 8 | 65 | 51 | 32 |
| Without accountability for corporate executives, worker health and safety will not be a priority | 49 | 29 | 14 | 8 | 61 | 43 | 42 |
| Jobs will be sent overseas to friendlier economic environments that do not have these kinds of bans | 49 | 25 | 15 | 11 | 43 | 53 | 45 |
| Hundreds of thousands of jobs will be lost by limiting investment in the renewable energy industry which has added more than 100,000 good-paying jobs to the American economy in 2023 alone | 48 | 26 | 14 | 12 | 57 | 44 | 31 |
| Economists predict that if there is a ban, banks will raise borrowing costs and taxpayers will have to pay millions more in higher interest payments | 47 | 30 | 15 | 8 | 48 | 49 | 34 |
| Taxpayers will have to pay more, like in Texas, where such a ban created more than \$300 million in additional interest costs in the first eight months alone | 47 | 30 | 14 | 9 | 53 | 43 | 42 |
| Hundreds of thousands of jobs will be lost by limiting investment in new, developing industries | 46 | 29 | 17 | 8 | 47 | 49 | 29 |
| Retirement savings could be cut – like in North Carolina, where such a ban would cost the state's retirement system more than \$8 million a year in perpetuity | 46 | 33 | 14 | 7 | 50 | 45 | 39 |
| Pensions will be harmed, like in Indiana where the state's retirement system estimated such a ban would cost retirees nearly \$7 billion over 10 years | 45 | 30 | 15 | 10 | 49 | 44 | 33 |
| Retirement savings could be cut to pay for higher costs, greater surveillance needs, and even more bureaucratic burdens for retirement systems to abide by these bans | 44 | 28 | 17 | 11 | 41 | 47 | 37 |
| American manufacturing jobs will be outsourced overseas to friendlier economic environments that do not have these kinds of bans | 42 | 31 | 16 | 11 | 42 | 45 | 29 |
| Pensions will be harmed because state retirement systems will be forced to invest with companies that do not consider all risks | 40 | 34 | 16 | 10 | 40 | 43 | 25 |

Frequency/severity of extreme weather, impacts on investors and businesses, global competitiveness, and increased bureaucracy less concerning

Please indicate how serious you find each potential consequence of an ESG ban.

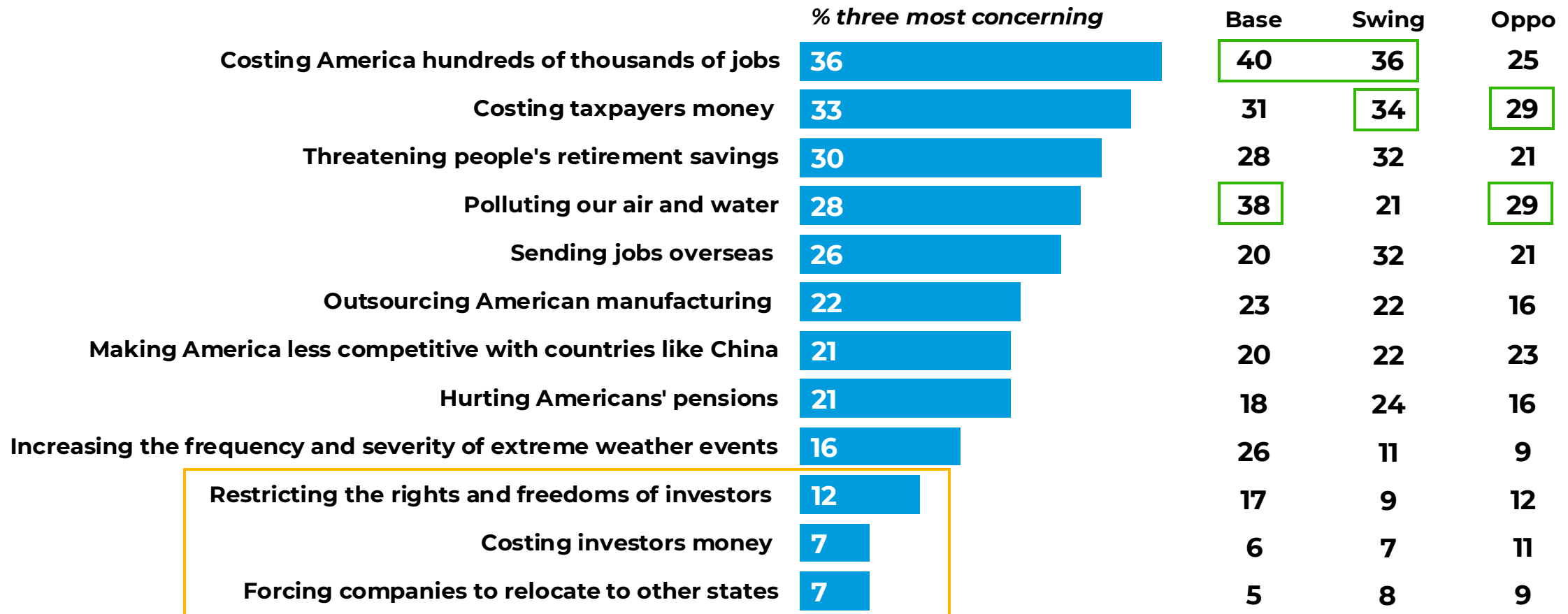


Even among Americans who report having an investment account of their own (41%), **“rights and freedoms of investors” being restricted** and **investors ignoring risks** remain among the five lower-testing consequences.



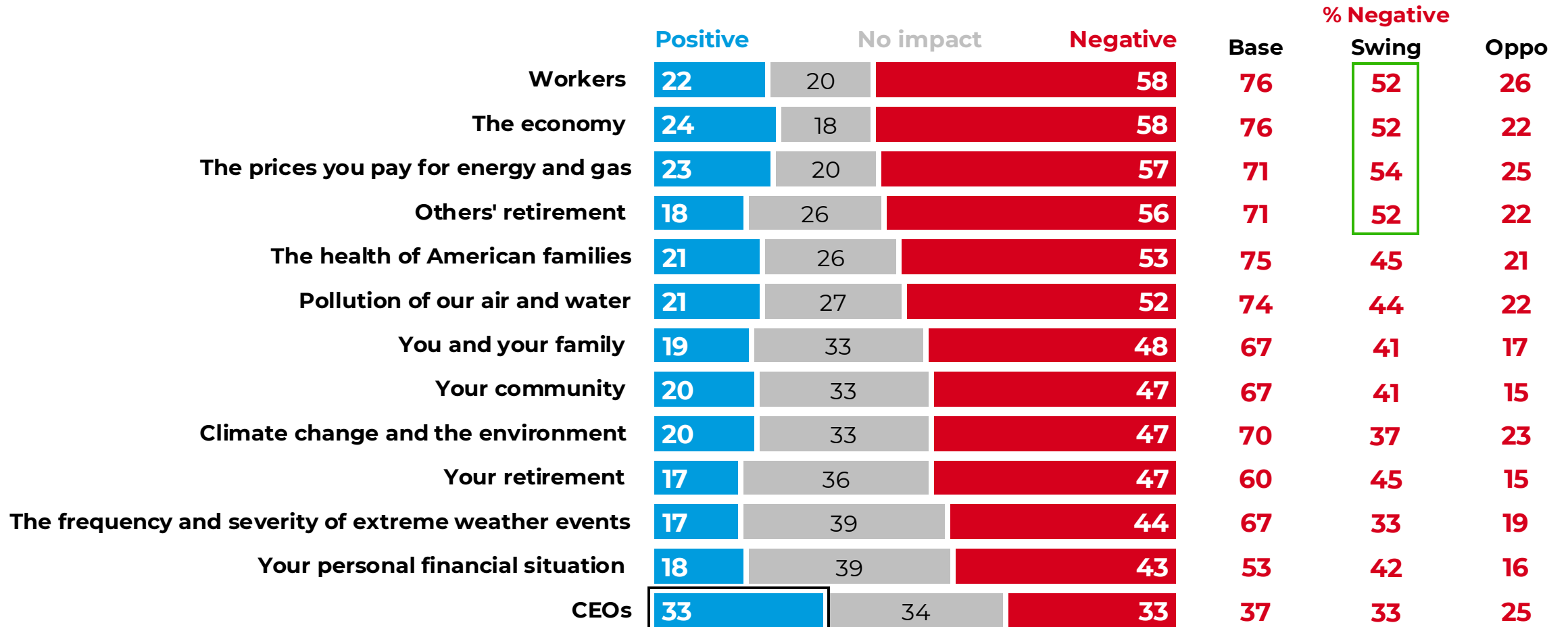
Again, costing American jobs and hurting taxpayers are most concerning to persuadable voters. Anything to do with investors or well-being of companies does not land

Which potential consequence that could result from an ESG ban do you find most concerning?



After learning more about the consequences of ESG bans, voters believe they will harm workers (including the prices they pay for energy and gas) and the economy overall

Do you think an ESG ban would have a positive or negative impact on each?





The Motivation Behind ESG Bans and Their Proponents

Messaging on CEOs' disregard for workers (particularly on wages) and the network of billionaires and politicians colluding to ban ESG raises most concern among both base and swing. Unlike the base, swing voters are not energized by a message on extremism

Please indicate how concerned each statement makes you feel about bans on ESG investing and decision-making.

| Overall | Base | Swing | |
|-----------------------|------|-------|---------------------------|
| <i>MEAN Concerned</i> | | | |
| 6.84 | 7.91 | 6.53 | [CEO PAY VS. WORKERS] |
| 6.75 | 7.88 | 6.41 | [BILLIONAIRES] |
| 6.72 | 7.86 | 6.37 | [CORPORATE GREED] |
| 6.70 | 7.91 | 6.26 | [EXTREME AGENDA] |
| 6.66 | 7.82 | 6.31 | [PAY BACK] |
| 6.64 | 7.64 | 6.31 | [DANGEROUS] |
| 6.6 | 7.50 | 6.40 | [WEAPONIZING GOV'T] |
| 6.59 | 7.70 | 6.20 | [CLIMATE DENIALISM] |
| 6.58 | 7.72 | 6.17 | [UNNECESSARY RISKS] |
| 6.51 | 7.44 | 6.22 | [ANTI-FREEDOM/CENSORSHIP] |

Workers' rights and the shady network of billionaires and politicians working to ban ESG are strongest across many demographics. Among Black voters and liberal voters, extremism and climate denialism also work

Please indicate how concerned each statement makes you feel about bans on ESG investing and decision-making.

| Overall | Men | Women | White | Black | Hisp. | Liberal | Mod. | Cons. | |
|-----------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------|------|-------|---------------------------|
| <i>MEAN Concerned</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| 6.84 | 6.40 | 7.20 | 6.73 | 7.01 | 7.15 | 7.85 | 7.09 | 5.67 | [CEO PAY VS. WORKERS] |
| 6.75 | 6.36 | 7.08 | 6.59 | 7.07 | 7.26 | 7.90 | 7.04 | 5.43 | [BILLIONAIRES] |
| 6.72 | 6.26 | 7.10 | 6.50 | 6.93 | 7.49 | 7.85 | 7.00 | 5.40 | [CORPORATE GREED] |
| 6.70 | 6.28 | 7.05 | 6.53 | 7.13 | 6.96 | 7.94 | 7.03 | 5.24 | [EXTREME AGENDA] |
| 6.66 | 6.35 | 6.93 | 6.51 | 7.01 | 6.89 | 7.79 | 6.97 | 5.35 | [PAY BACK] |
| 6.64 | 6.25 | 6.98 | 6.42 | 7.01 | 7.16 | 7.82 | 6.78 | 5.45 | [DANGEROUS] |
| 6.60 | 6.23 | 6.93 | 6.48 | 6.87 | 6.84 | 7.43 | 6.78 | 5.66 | [WEAPONIZING GOVT] |
| 6.59 | 6.17 | 6.95 | 6.38 | 7.12 | 6.83 | 7.91 | 6.77 | 5.22 | [CLIMATE DENIALISM] |
| 6.58 | 6.19 | 6.92 | 6.46 | 6.85 | 6.96 | 7.64 | 6.92 | 5.28 | [UNNECESSARY RISKS] |
| 6.51 | 6.29 | 6.71 | 6.43 | 6.68 | 6.71 | 7.16 | 6.80 | 5.62 | [ANTI-FREEDOM/CENSORSHIP] |

Messages

[CEO PAY VS. WORKERS] Those who support these bans **do not care about the well-being of the middle class or American workers. They want to let CEOs make 500 times what the average worker makes**, and do not want big corporations to be held accountable even for unsafe working conditions for their employees.

[BILLIONAIRES] **Shady billionaires support these bans.** This group of billionaires, including Leonard Leo and others, has raised over \$2 billion over nearly 30 years to influence the Supreme Court. Now, they are pouring money into the groups and politicians that support these bans on ESG, operating behind closed doors to corrupt our democracy.

[CORPORATE GREED] Those who support these bans are driven by one simple motivation: **corporate greed**. They want to protect the status quo that allows companies to cut corners and hire the cheapest labor, while hiking prices on consumers, overpaying CEOs, and protecting the bottom lines of big oil and gas.

[EXTREME AGENDA] Those who support these bans support an **extreme agenda that also is trying to ban books, ban abortion, and tried to overturn the 2020 election results**. They are putting the personal ideologies of extreme politicians before the well-being of our country and economy.

[PAY BACK] Those who support these bans are **self-serving politicians who are in the pockets of the big oil and corporate polluters that fund their campaigns**. They would rather make seedy, backroom deals to pay back their donors and benefit themselves politically and financially than look out for the well-being of the American people.

[DANGEROUS] Those who support these bans are the **same dangerous companies that have histories of harming American communities with addictive prescription drugs and polluting our air and water with toxic chemicals**. Now, they want to conceal yet again just how dangerous their businesses are to protect their bottom lines.

[WEAPONIZING GOVT] Those who support these bans are politicians who are **weaponizing state and federal government** to increase red tape; politicize pensions, retirements, and other public investments; and dictate how investors and businesses are allowed to make decisions.

[CLIMATE DENIALISM] Those who support these bans want to **protect the corporate polluters who are poisoning our air and water and do the bidding of their donors in the fossil fuel industry**. These people and groups have been denying climate change for decades, harassing and criticizing scientists, and blocking commonsense policy changes that would protect clean air and drinking water while saving our planet for future generations.

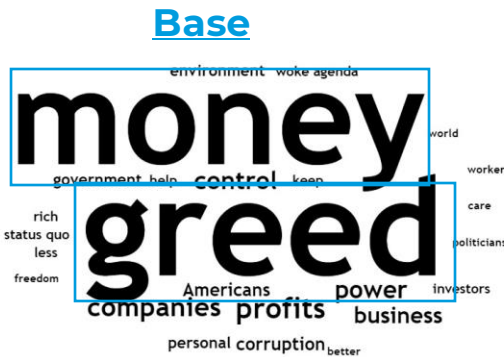
[UNNECESSARY RISKS] Those who support these bans want to **conceal just how risky their businesses are to protect their bottom lines**. Any good business or investor considers ALL available data before making decisions, but supporters of these bans do not want the public to consider all the potential risks when making decisions.

[ANTI FREEDOM/CENSORSHIP] Those who support these bans **want the government to censor companies**, preventing businesses from having the freedom to share information that could grow their company and grow the economy, and preventing investors from having the freedom to make their own economic decisions.

Base and swing voters alike say it is money and greed that motivate ban supporters, who they see as “greedy” and “self-serving”

What do you think is the main motivation for supporters of a ban on ESG? (OPEN END)

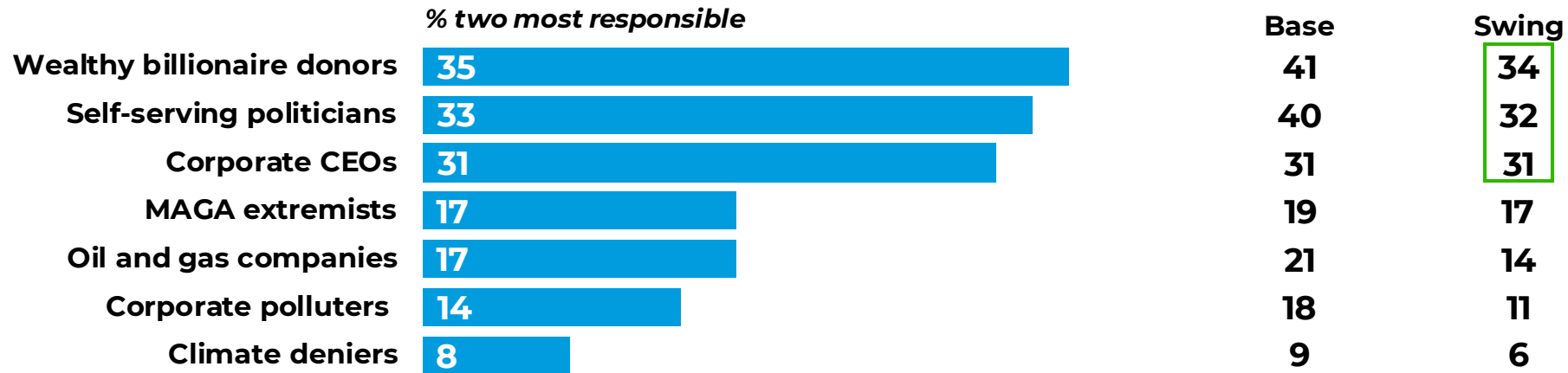
What is the best word or phrase to describe those who support these bans on ESG?



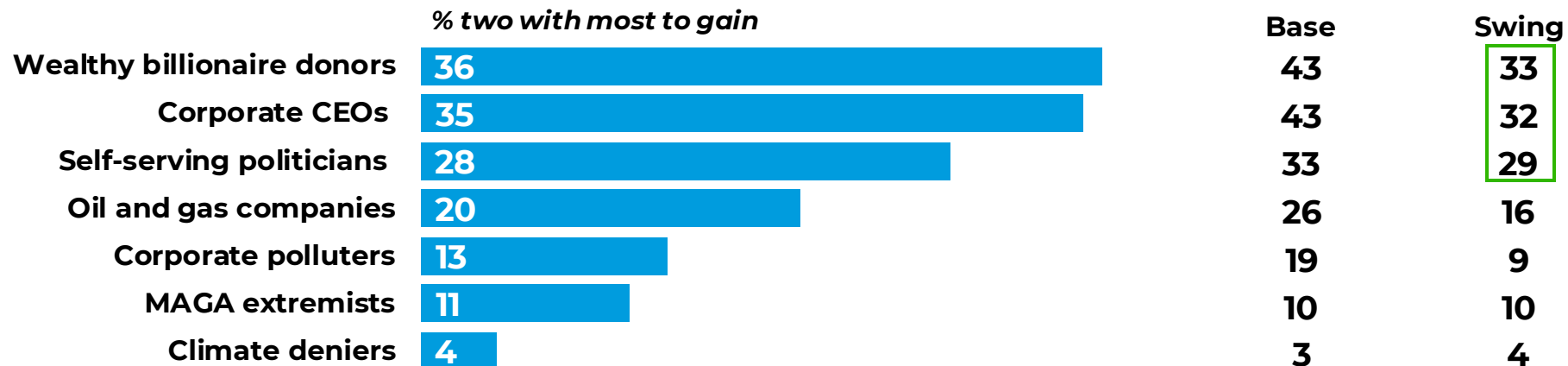
| | % two best word or phrases | Base | Swing |
|---------------------|----------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Greedy | 50 | 62 | 46 |
| Self-serving | 36 | 47 | 31 |
| Extreme | 14 | 14 | 13 |
| MAGA | 11 | 10 | 11 |
| Un-American | 11 | 16 | 10 |
| Risky | 8 | 4 | 10 |
| Backwards | 7 | 13 | 4 |
| Divisive | 5 | 3 | 4 |

The triumvirate of billionaire donors, self-serving politicians, and corporate CEOs are the standout villains behind the anti-ESG movement and those positioned to gain the most from it

Who do you think is most responsible for pushing these bans on ESG?



Who has the most to gain from these bans on ESG?





Conclusions and Recommendations

Conclusions and Recommendations

Keep the argument on economic terrain by focusing on the personal financial harms of ESG bans – favoring CEO pay over worker wages/conditions, job loss, and costs to taxpayers. Again, as many voters are feeling cost pressures in their everyday lives, policies that address and speak to those concerns are most resonant. When it comes to ESG bans, the consequences tested that lean into those feelings – high CEO pay at the expense of workers’ wages/working conditions, job loss, higher interest payments, harm to retirement savings – are the ones that stick most with voters.

More swing voters and voters overall believe ESG bans will have a negative impact on workers, the economy, and energy prices. Asked what the impact would be on each one if ESG were to be banned:

- 58% of voters overall, 52% of swing voters say “workers” would be negatively impacted
- 58% of voters overall, 52% of swing voters say “the economy” would be negatively impacted
- 57% of voters overall, 54% of swing voters say “the prices you pay for energy and gas” would be negatively impacted

Define drivers of ESG bans as billionaire donors, self-serving politicians, and greedy CEOs. Following messaging, we asked voters both who was most **responsible** for pushing bans on ESG and who **has the most to gain** from these bans: the top three across both questions – among both swing and base voters – are wealthy billionaire donors (35% most responsible, 36% most to gain overall), self-serving politicians (33% most responsible, 28% most to gain), and corporate CEOs (31% most responsible, 35% most to gain).

Messaging Recommendations

Specify the motivation for proponents of ESG bans – putting CEOs ahead of workers and using the network of billionaire donors and self-serving politicians to protect their profits and the status quo. Our strongest messaging pulls together two themes: ESG bans as another means for CEOs to prosper at the expense of workers, and the shady network of the rich/billionaire donors and the politicians in their pay-for-play schemes working together to ban ESG to maintain an unfair status quo. Our top-two testing messages overall and among both base and swing focus on proponents putting CEOs before workers and the shady network of billionaires who are pushing these bans:

In a subsequent open-ended question, base and swing voters alike say it is money and greed that motivate supporters of ESG bans. These two words are by far the standouts on motivation, and when asked what the best word or phrase to describe those who support these bans is, 50% say “greedy” and 36% say “self-serving.”

Messaging Imperative: Win on the Economy

Voters are unfamiliar with ESG but opposed to a “BAN” from the outset – a position we are able to maintain and strengthen, by building out messages that include the following:

THE WHO:

- Self-serving politicians
- Greedy CEOs
- Wealthy billionaire donors



THE WHAT:

Tangible and personal economic harms

- Lower wages for workers while CEOs make more and more
- Job losses
- Higher interest payments/costs to taxpayers
- Harm to retirement savings



THE WHY:

- “Corporate greed”
- Emphasize their desire to make the rich richer at the expense of **the working class, including lower wages for workers and unsafe working conditions**
- Highlight the **network of donors and politicians pushing bans for their own benefit**

Bringing It All Together

ESG bans are bad for the economy. The **self-serving politicians and billionaire donors** pushing these bans **do not care about the well-being of American workers** and are driven by one thing: **greed**. They want to **protect the status quo**, let **CEOs make 500 times what the average worker makes**, and **do not want big corporations to be held accountable even for unsafe working conditions for their employees**. The **self-serving politicians** who support these bans do not care that banning ESG **costs hundreds of thousands of good-paying American jobs, raises interest payments and costs for taxpayers, and hurts hard-working Americans' retirement savings**. **Billionaire donors** are pouring money into **corrupt groups and politicians** that are trying to ban ESG, operating behind closed doors to corrupt our democracy and **protect their own bottom lines** by preserving the status quo where the rich get richer, and the middle-class struggles.



Appendix

Methodology

Phase 1: Discussion Board

Swing Voters

Global Strategy Group conducted a 3-day online discussion board of **30 swing voters who did not have strong feelings towards ESG (including many who were totally unfamiliar with the term)** from November 14th through November 17th, 2023.

We screened out strong partisans and strong ideologues. Voters were also still undecided when it comes to 2024. Care was taken to ensure that demographics nationwide were represented.

Phase 2: Survey

Voters

Global Strategy Group conducted an online survey of **1,000 registered voters nationwide** between January 16 and January 20, 2024.

Margin of Error

The margin of error at the 95% confidence level is +/- 3.1%.

The margin of error on sub-samples is greater.

The “Who” of The ESG Ban Movement

Who?

Why They Work

Self-serving politicians



Voters see politicians and the rich as putting themselves and their own financial and political well-being over the working class. As we saw in the qualitative research, voters aren't happy with the economic status quo and know exactly who it is working for – the rich and self-serving politicians – and who it is working against – themselves and other working-class Americans. Voters here are also clearly tired of politicians across the aisle – making “politicians” broadly a good, non-partisan scapegoat.

Greedy CEOs



Corporate greed is the natural driver voters perceive in this anti-ESG movement, and the most concerning consequences of bans on ESG are those that result from failures to hold CEOs accountable at the expense of the working class. It takes very little on our side to make this lift – and it is something voters find deeply troubling. It exacerbates the gap between them (middle class Americans) and the rich (who support these bans).

Wealthy billionaire donors



Wealthy billionaire donors are natural antagonists to cost-conscious voters who are struggling to make ends meet, while the rich get richer than ever before. Billionaires simply aren't looking out for American families and are only looking out for themselves, and banning ESG is yet another embodiment of that fact. Their seedy deals with self-serving politicians also leans into an untrustworthy, self-serving image of corruption of our democracy and economy.

The “What” of the Anti-ESG Movement

Worker Harms:

- Without accountability for corporate executives, **CEO pay** will continue to skyrocket while **worker wages** will remain low, and **worker health and safety** will not be a priority

Job Loss:

- **Jobs will be sent overseas** to friendlier economic environments that do not have these kinds of bans // **Hundreds of thousands of jobs will be lost** by limiting investment in new, developing industries

Higher Costs for Taxpayers:

- Economists predict that if there is a ban, **banks will raise borrowing costs** and taxpayers will have to pay millions more in higher interest payments

Retirement Savings (Strengthened By a Previous Example):

- **Retirement savings could be cut** – like in **North Carolina**, where such a ban would cost the state's retirement system more than \$8 million a year in perpetuity

Thank You

New York

Washington, DC

Hartford

Chicago

Denver

Seattle