Aswath Damodaran

THE ESG MOVEMENT: THE GOODNESS GRAVY TRAIN ROLLS ON!

Charity begins at home

Buzz Words and Magic Bullets!

- In my four decades in corporate finance and valuation, I have seen many "new and revolutionary" ideas emerge, marketed as the solution to all of the problems in business decision making.
 - Most of the time, these ideas represent either a repackaging of existing concepts, with a healthy dose of marketing and selling, usually by consultants and bankers, and their magic fades quickly once their limitations come to the surface, as they inevitably do.
 - Worse, they operate as weapons of mass distraction, used to justify the unjustifiable.
- The latest entrant in this game is ESG (Environmental, Social and Governance), and the sales pitch is wider and deeper.
 - Companies that improve their social goodness standing will not only become more profitable and valuable over time, we are told, but they will also advance society's best interests, thus resolving one of the fundamental conflicts of private enterprise, while also enriching investors.

The ESG Promises: Cake for all, with no calories!

- For companies, the promise is that being "good" will generate higher profits for the company, at least in the long term, with lower risk, and thus make them more valuable.
- For investors in these companies, the promise is that investing in "good" companies will generate higher returns than investing in "bad" or middling companies.
- For society, the promise is that not only would good companies help <u>fight problems directly related to ESG</u>, like climate change and low wages, but also counter more general problems like income inequality and healthcare crises.

The Five Big Questions

- What is ESG and can it be measured?
 - Implicit in ESG is the assumption that there is consensus on what comprises good, and that it can be measured.
- 2. How (if at all) does ESG affect value?
 - ESG is being marketed to companies as being value increasing.
 - The marketing pitch is based upon anecdotal evidence (usually from fossil fuel/mining companies) and studies that are more advocacy than serious research.
- 3. As an investor, can (will) you make money investing based on ESG?
 - The pitch is that investors in "good" companies will earn higher returns
 - But that pitch is internally inconsistent and fundamentally incoherent
- 4. Is society better off, if companies follow the ESG path?
 - The argument is that ESG makes the world a better place, and thus merits acceptance
 - But does it?
- If you want to make the world a better place (and who does not), what is the alternative to ESG?

1. Goodness is measurable, but it is individualized...

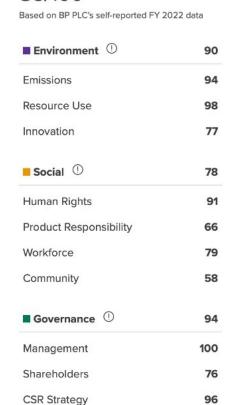
- It is fuzzy: The first is that much of social impact is qualitative and developing a numerical value for that impact is difficult to do.
- Person specific: The second is even trickier, which is that there is little consensus on what social impacts to measure, and the weights to assign to them. In fact, we know that people measure goodness very differently, depending on age, culture, religion, nationality ETC.
- But it is still being measured: If your counter is that there are multiple services now that measure ESG at companies, you are right, but the lack of clarity and consensus results in the companies being ranked very differently by different services.

Dueling ESG scores for BP...

Refinitiv

BP PLC ESG score:

86/100



Sustainalytics

BP Plc

Industry Group: Oil & Gas Producers

Identifier: LON:BP

BP is an integrated oil and gas company that explores for produced 1.1 million barrels of liquids and 6.9 billion cull stood at 7.2 billion barrels of oil equivalent, 56% of which

+ Show More

Full time employees: 67,600

ESG Risk Rating

COMPREHENSIVE

35.1

High Risk

Negligible	Low	Medium	High	Severe		
0-10	10-20	20-30	30-40	40+		

Last Full Update: Jun 26, 2023 ? Last Update: Jul 12, 2023 ?

S&P

S&P Global ESG Score

50

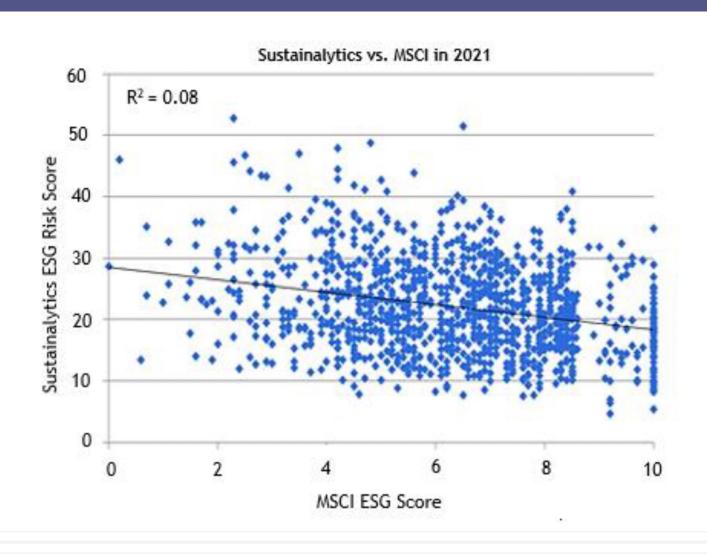
Data Availability : Very High

Methodology Year: 2023

Updated annually or in response to major developments

Aswath Damodaran

ESG Services, in the cross section...



The Revisionist History of ESG

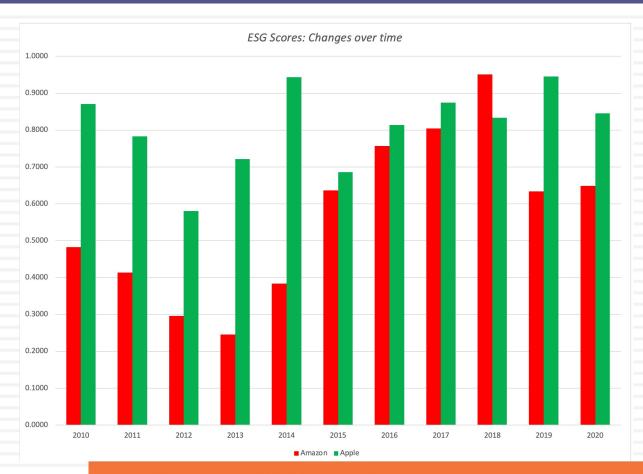
- Goodness: Born out of a UN document, and packaged by leading financial service companies, ESG was created as a measure that could measure how well companies were contributing to the planet's well being.
- Alpha: The ESG salespeople recognized early in the game that goodness by itself did not sell well and swiveled to making it an instrument of delivering alpha.
- Risk: After the Russian invasion of Ukraine upended markets, and fossil fuel stocks surged, ESG services changed their tune and argued that ESG scores were a measure of risk, with better scores translating into lower costs of capital & failure risk.
- Disclosure of material impact: In the last year, as the pushback against ESG's use by investment managers has mounted, ESG has been reframed as a mechanism of disclosure of "material" impact.

Goodness is a shifting definition...

Philip Morris donates 500,000 packs of cigarettes to Ukrainian army

The tobacco company said it's working on options for leaving the Russian market, joining scores of multinationals that are scaling back operations in the country after its invasion of Ukraine

ESG scores change over time...



ESG Scores via WRDS do not match scores via Refinitiv

Refinitiv delivers version 1 of ESG to WRDS and uses version 2 on their internal platforms such as Eikon. The two versions use slightly different methodology and the scores will not match exactly. WRDS has requested version 2 but does not have a time frame for this enhancement

ESG score biases: Scores are higher for large market-cap companies...

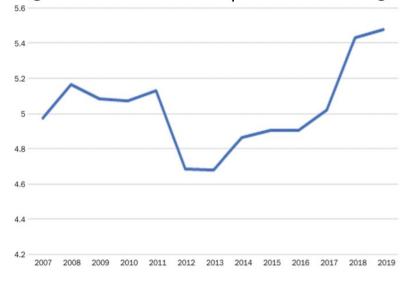
Market Cap Decile	Q1	Median	Q3
Smallest	20.32	28.17	38.19
2nd decile	24.65	33.92	45.67
3rd decile	26.64	37.25	49.93
4th decile	30.20	42.55	56.36
5th decile	31.03	44.08	57.13
6th decile	31.55	46.13	60.30
7th decile	35.26	50.55	63.66
8th decile	38.05	53.23	65.42
9th decile	44.55	59.76	72.49
Largest	49.95	61.72	73.38

And increase with disclosure bulk, and goodness is increasing..

As the number of ESG disclosure items has increased..

·				
Year	Mean	Standard Deviation	Max	Mir
2013	295.2	107.6	581	12
2014	303.7	100.5	583	12
2015	348.4	100.8	633	12
2016	371.9	98.4	684	12
2017	382.0	90.3	671	12
2018	390.1	82.4	658	1
2019	397.0	71.4	628	16

The average ESG score for companies has also gone up...



If your answer is risk... look again

- In the last three or four years, ESG services seem to have changed their tune about what they are measuring, from "goodness" to "risk".
- At various points, ESG services have claimed that
 - Companies with higher ESG scores have lower costs of capital than companies with lower ESG scores
 - Companies with higher ESG scores have more stable earnings than companies with lower ESG scores
 - Companies with higher ESG scores are less likely to face crises or catastrophic risk
- Each of those statements is misleading, at the very least, and untrue, at its core.

Refinitiv's ESG and Cost of Capital: Is there an ESG link?

	Refinitiv: ESG Scores and Costs of Capital										
	Market Cap Decile										
ESG Decile	Bottom decile	2nd decile	3rd decile	4th decile	5th decile	6th decile	7th decile	8th decile	9th decile	Top decile	All firms
Bottom decile	8.60%	8.33%	7.84%	8.16%	8.58%	8.26%	8.97%	8.35%	9.83%	8.65%	8.42%
2nd decile	8.79%	8.06%	8.25%	8.82%	8.13%	8.37%	9.21%	8.19%	8.33%	8.89%	8.45%
3rd decile	8.47%	8.04%	7.72%	8.16%	7.89%	8.65%	8.67%	8.50%	8.22%	7.45%	7.72%
4th decile	8.26%	7.36%	8.23%	8.21%	8.65%	8.20%	8.23%	8.26%	8.57%	8.37%	7.95%
5th decile	7.98%	8.43%	8.83%	8.17%	7.65%	8.22%	7.72%	7.93%	7.89%	7.43%	8.16%
6th decile	8.08%	7.96%	8.16%	8.44%	7.78%	8.49%	7.94%	8.17%	7.77%	8.15%	8.16%
7th decile	8.00%	7.80%	8.29%	8.67%	8.06%	8.45%	7.94%	7.87%	7.67%	8.22%	8.08%
8th decile	8.87%	9.09%	8.82%	8.53%	8.27%	7.97%	7.63%	8.09%	8.28%	7.73%	8.08%
9th decile	9.13%	8.50%	8.01%	9.54%	8.05%	7.52%	7.97%	8.38%	7.59%	7.65%	8.09%
Top decile	10.63%	13.10%	9.68%	8.86%	8.22%	8.49%	8.19%	8.48%	7.36%	7.35%	7.98%
All firms	8.48%	8.05%	8.16%	8.43%	8.13%	8.30%	8.12%	8.16%	7.82%	7.63%	8.10%
					Num	ber of firm	ıs				
					Marke	t Cap Deci	le				
Market Cap Decile	Bottom decile	2nd decile	3rd decile	4th decile	5th decile	6th decile	7th decile	8th decile	9th decile	Top decile	All firms
Bottom decile	298	168	126	107	91	95	79	66	33	5	1068
2nd decile	243	211	135	121	106	92	74	48	22	17	1069
3rd decile	174	162	155	113	109	101	99	79	53	23	1068
4th decile	125	157	160	134	121	105	106	71	57	33	1069
5th decile	93	112	153	135	123	135	112	94	71	41	1069
6th decile	57	103	119	130	117	127	134	131	90	60	1068
7th decile	28	71	91	112	132	116	121	151	144	103	1069
8th decile	26	48	70	106	123	130	131	140	154	140	1068
9th decile	18	25	45	71	85	95	127	159	209	235	1069
Top decile	6	12	14	40	62	72	86	129	236	412	1069
All firms	1068	1069	1068	1069	1069	1068	1069	1068	1069	1069	10686

Controlling for the fact that ESG scores tend to be higher for larger firms, there is no correlation between ESG and cost of capital.

As for catastrophic risks, the evidence, at least on the highest profile firms, is to the contrary

□ FTX

ECHNOLOGY

The do-gooder movement that shielded Sam Bankman-Fried from scrutiny

Effective altruism. backed by Silicon Valley billionaires. now finds itself at a crossroads.

Adani Group

Adani Shock Rips Through ESG Funds as Strategy Fails Test

- Adani stocks are spread across large numbers of ESG funds
- ESG fund exposure to fraud risk raises doubts about policies

ESG firm raises eyebrows for ranking collapsed crypto giant FTX higher on governance than Exxon Mobil

Too little, too late

https://www.reuters.com > business > sustainable-business

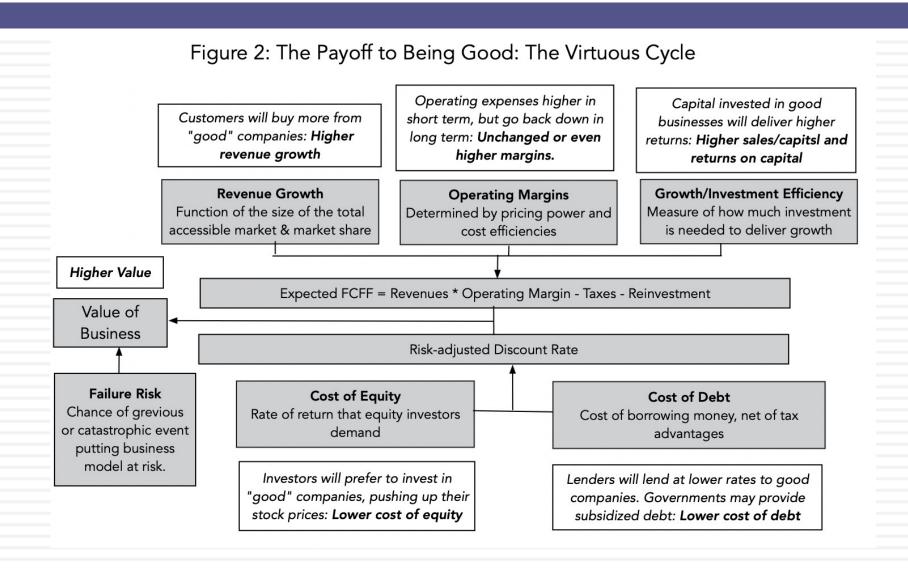
Sustainalytics downgrades three Adani companies ... - Reuters 8 days ago — Among its downgrades this month, Sustainalytics assigned Adani Green Energy a "moderate" business ethics controversy score, ...

It is true that this is anecdotal evidence, but as a challenge, is there a single high-profile firm that you can think of where a low ESG score would have warned you ahead of a crisis?

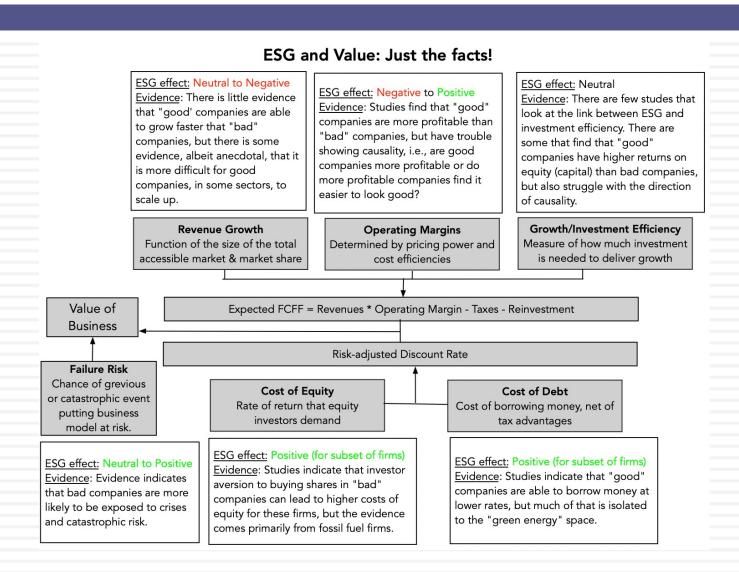
ESG score differences will persist... and the gaming will get worse...

- There are some who believe that as companies provide more disclosure on ESG data and ESG measurement services mature, there will be consensus.
 - I don't believe it, because. if there were consensus, we would not need to convince businesses to reflect that consensus.
 - If there is a consensus that emerges, it will be because ESG services will draw on a small subset of people who have been trained in ESG talk, bring the same mindset and indulge in group think.
- The nature of any scoring system is that the "scored" will learn (either because it explicitly lays out the components that lead to a high score) or scores can be reverse engineered to figure out what causes high and low scores.
 - The bottom line is that gaming is a feature of any scored system than a bug in the system.
 - As scoring systems mature, the gaming gets easier (not harder) making the scores even less useful.

2. The ESG Promise: The Good shall be rewarded!



The Evidence: Being good will help some firms, hurt others and do others unaffected!



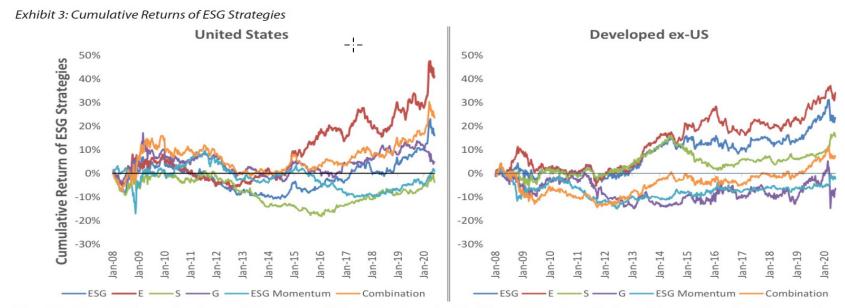
ESG and Profitability: The Causality Question

- There are ESG advocates who point to evidence that firms with high ESG scores have higher profitability (defined as margins or returns on capital), but the findings are statistically flawed for two reasons:
 - The first is that ESG, at least in earlier years, was skewed higher for technology and service firms, which had higher margins well before ESG even showed up.
 - The second is that the disclosure and gaming that has been set in motion by ESG services are expensive and easier to play for profitable firms that have more buffer than for firms that are struggling.
- There is a simple test of causality. If higher ESG scores can improve profitability, increases in ESG scores should lead to increased profitability in subsequent periods, and there is no evidence backing this proposition.

Is ESG good for companies?

- The notion that ESG is good for companies is being sold strongly, with research that is
 - Anecdotal, in the form of case studies and stories of success
 - From advocates, with strong priors that ESG matters
 - Statistically a mess, because it is so difficult to tell the direction of causation
- The truth is much grayer and predates the entire ESG movement, and is that
 - Companies that are "bad" or perceived to be so, because they have crossed a good corporate citizen line are exposed to punishment. That punishment, right now, is coming from investors and lenders more than from customers and employees.
 - There are some companies that benefit from being "good", but they have trouble scaling up
 - For other companies, ESG is just a marketing tactic, which loses (or already has lost) its effectiveness, as everyone uses it.

3. The ESG Pitch: Investing in "good" companies generates alpha...



The plots show the time series of cumulative returns of the strategies, calculated from daily returns for the entire sample period. The sample period ranges from 1/01/2008 to 30/06/2020. The strategies refer to the Scientific Beta US universe and Scientific Beta Developed ex-US universe.

Jan 2008 - Jun 2020	ES	SG .	E	≣	5	5	(G	ESG Moi	mentum	Combi	nation
Geographic Universe	US	Dev ex-US	US	Dev ex-US	US	Dev ex-US	US	Dev ex-US	US	Dev ex-US	US	Dev ex-US
Ann. Return	1.29%	1.63%	2.89%	2.43%	-0.23%	1.07%	0.45%	-0.85%	0.15%	-0.26%	1.92%	0.48%
t-statistic	0.85	0.90	1.71	1.59	-0.05	0.70	0.40	-0.05	0.19	-0.11	1.23	0.36
CAPM Alpha	2.57%	1.63%	3.99%	2.43%	0.54%	1.08%	1.30%	-0.52%	0.06%	-0.14%	2.84%	0.53%
t-statistic	1.55	1.05	2.28	1.68	0.35	0.79	0.84	-0.23	0.04	-0.12	1.62	0.37
7 Factor Alpha	-0.33%	1.31%	0.96%	1.95%	-1.17%	1.95%	-0.22%	-1.75%	0.00%	0.86%	0.96%	0.52%
t-statistic	-0.24	0.85	0.68	1.43	-0.84	1.43	-0.16	-0.78	0.00	0.73	0.59	0.36

Source: Honey, I shrunk the ESG alpha

The ESG sales pitch is internally incoherent

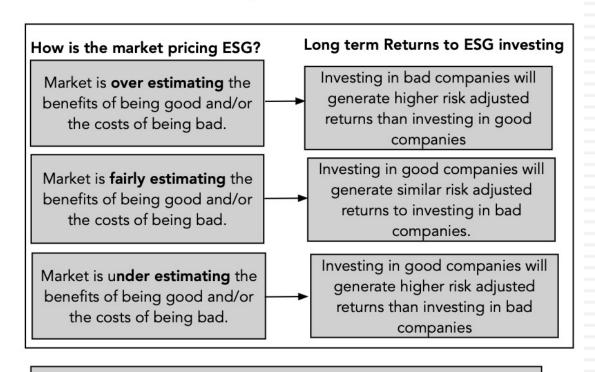
ESG and Investor Returns: The Market Pricing Effect

How does ESG affect value?

Being good increases value, either by increasing cash flows or reducing risk

Being good has no effect on value, with any benefits being offset by costs.

Being good has no effect on value, with any benefits being offset by costs.



Whether you earn higher or lower risk adjusted returns on good companies, relative to bad companies, is entirely a function of how markets price ESG, not ESG's effect on value.

Implications for investing

- The first is that it suggests that much of the research on the relationship between ESG and returns yields murky findings. Put simply, there is very little that we learn from these studies, whether they find positive or negative relationships between ESG and investor returns, since that relationship is compatible with a number of competing hypotheses about ESG, value and price.
- The second is that bringing in market pricing does shed some light on perhaps the only aspect of ESG investing that seems to deliver a payoff for investors, which is investing ahead or during market transitions.
 - I pointed to this study that find that activist investors who take stakes in "bad" companies and try to get them to change their ways generate significant excess returns from doing so.
 - Another study contends that investing in companies that improve their ESG can generate excess returns of about 3% a year, but skepticism is in order because it is based upon a proprietary ESG improvement score (REIS) and was generated by an asset management firm that invests based upon that score.

3a. ESG Disclosure

- If ESG does not add to value, at companies, or to returns, for investors, there are some who argue that the primary benefit of the ESG movement has been increased disclosure.
 - In short, the new push for ESG seems to be that it just a disclosure movement, that is attempting to let investors know about "material" risks that they might be exposed to.
 - Implicit in this argument is the assumption that more disclosure will not only induce better behavior on the parts of the "disclosing" firms, but also allow consumers and investors to make more informed judgments.
- That push has already created results with the EU leading the way on new disclosure requirements, with different interest groups pushing for disclosures on their favorite causes.

The Magic of Materiality

- While there seems to be this consensus that we can define materiality, that is far from true. There are three different definitions of materiality:
 - Accounting materiality: Reflecting the accounting attention to detail and absence of perspective, accounting materiality is designed to mix the small with the big, and expend resources on details that don't matter to anyone other than the accountants (Goodwill impairment).
 - Value materiality: Value materiality focused on items that change the value of a business by having a significant effect on future cash flows, growth and risk.
 - Pricing materiality: Price materiality is built around any item that can cause prices to change substantially, which may or may not overlap with value materiality.
 - Legal materiality: Legal materiality is about disclosing any item, no matter how minor, that if things go wrong could be highlighted as material.

Disclosure as information

- In theory, disclosures should make us more informed as consumers and investors, but here again, there are caveats.
 - <u>Legalese</u>: In an age of litigation and regulation, disclosures seem to be written by lawyers and for lawyers, and there is no reason to believe that ESG disclosures will be any different.
 - Information overload: As we have seen with accounting disclosures, there is a danger that if ESG disclosures become too extensive, they will be ignored even by people who claim to care about the disclosed information.
- It is almost unavoidable that what starts as value materiality will become legal materiality somewhere along the way, especially when there are laws and regulations that will punish firms, with the benefit of hindsight.

Disclosure and Corporate Behavior

- While it is possible that disclosure could lead to better behavior, there are at least two potential problems.
 - <u>Greenwashing and Game Playing</u>: Once the disclosure requirements are set, there will be companies that find ways to play the disclosure game to make themselves look better.
 - Confess and then sin again: A more dangerous problem is that companies may view disclosure as license for the disclosed bad behavior.
- In short, the notion that requiring companies to disclose more will induce better behavior is at odds with the evidence on almost every aspect of disclosure that we have seen so far.
 - Did increased risk disclosures make companies more careful about taking risk?
 - Have corporate governance disclosures, which have exploded over the last two decades, improved corporate governance at companies?

4. ESG is good for society

- There are some who believe that even if ESG makes firms less valuable and investors make lower returns, it is a net positive for society.
 - It is premised on the notion that society has developed a consensus on what comprises goodness.
 - It is also based upon the presumption that companies that behave well will create less side costs for society and perhaps even contribute to societal good.
- If you accept this proposition, the trade off will be positive for society.

The Law of Unintended Consequences...

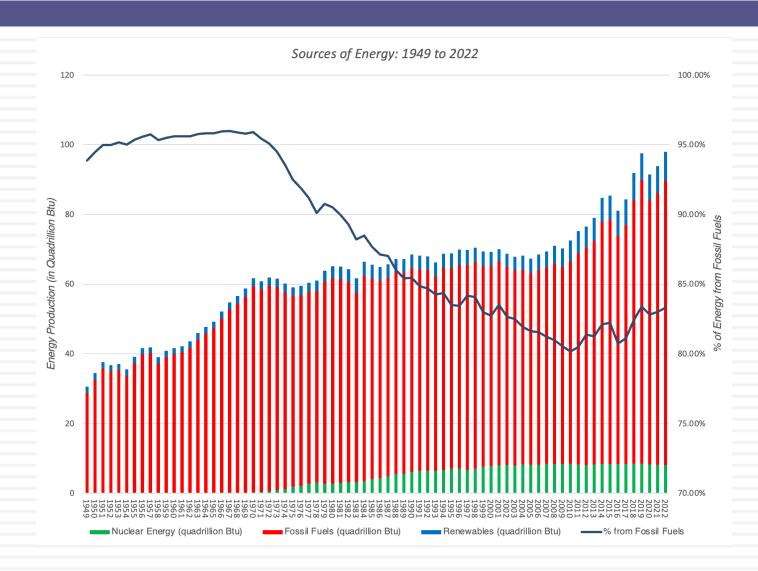
- As publicly traded companies that are exposed to ESG shaming are forced to divest themselves of their "bad" businesses, it is worth remembering that selling or divesting a business does not erase it from the face of the earth, but just transfers it to a different owner, presumably one is less exposed to the ESG shaming.
- In the fossil fuel business, for instance, the pressure on the easily pressured (the big US/European oil companies) has led them to cut back on investments in the fossil fuel space.
 - That absence of investment is and will continue to push up the price of fossil fuels, making their production more profitable.
 - A subset of the investments are now being made by foreign companies (in markets where stockholders has little power) or private equity funds.

Private Equity in Fossil Fuels

Private Equity Firm	Fossil Fuel Companies Held	Renewable Companies Held	Total Number of Energy Companies	
Carlyle/NGP	68	14	82	
Brookfield/Oaktree	40	23	63	
KKR	28	6	34	
Blackstone	25	5	30	
Warburg Pincus	28	1	29	
Kayne Anderson	23	2	25	
Ares	16	3	19	
Apollo	14	5	19	
TPG	4	2	6	
cvc	5	0	5	

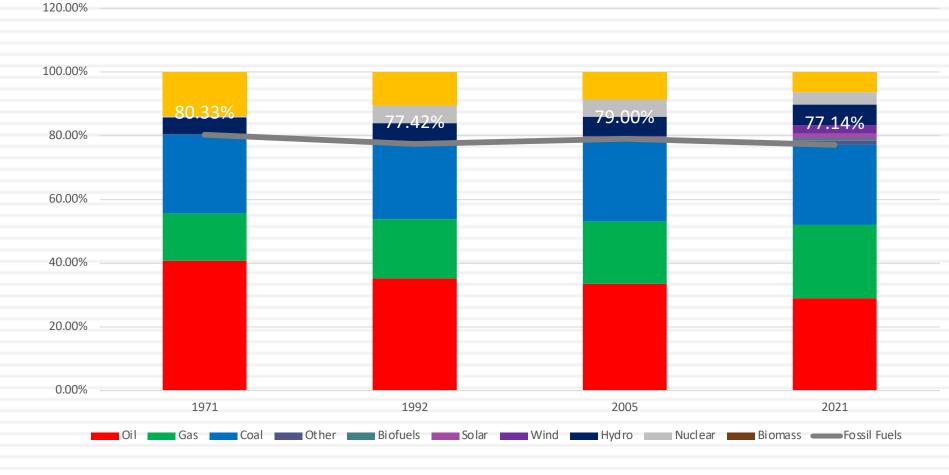
Between 2010 and 2020, private equity funds have invested a trillion dollars in fossil fuel investments...

And how this plays out... Sources of energy in the US



And globally...





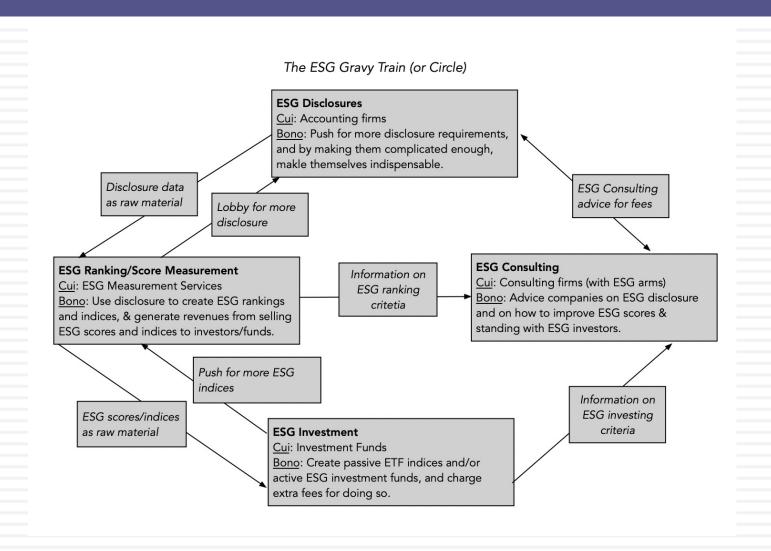
5. Wanting to do good for society predates ESG...

- The notion that until ESG came along, companies (and individuals) are businesses operated without a care for society would be comical, if the people pushing it were not so insistent that it is true.
- That is nonsense. People who have wanted to do good have always been able to do so.
 - In privately owned businesses, owners have always been free to share their profits or give away their wealth, to meet whatever societal need they felt most strongly about.
 - In publicly traded companies, that responsibility fell to the owners of its shares, who again were free to share their winnings with society, in any way they though fit.

Outsourcing your conscience is a salve, not a solution!

- The ESG movement has given each of us an easy way out of having to make choices, by outsourcing these choices to corporate CEOs and investment fund managers, asking them to be "good" for us, while not charging us more for their products and services and delivering aboveaverage returns.
- Implicit in the ESG push is the presumption that unless companies that are explicitly committed to ESG, they cannot contribute to society, but that is not true. Well before ESG came along, good businesspeople have not only made their shareholders wealthy, and also given back to society.
- The difference between this "old" model of business and the proposed "new ESG" version is in who does the giving to society, with corporate CEOs and management taking over that responsibility from shareholders.

So why is ESG still being sold? Cui Bono? (Who benefits?)



Fake ESG? BlackRock's Carbon Transition ETF

Carbon Transition or Carbon Copy?

BlackRock's new U.S. Carbon Transition Readiness ETF's top holdings are highly similar to those of index funds that don't share its 'sustainable' mission.

iShares Core S&P 500 ETF	iShares Russell 1000 ETF	BlackRock U.S. Carbon Transition Readiness E1		
6.00 % AAPL		5.39%		5.20%
5.53% MSFT		4.91%		4.87%
4.09% AM7N		3.62%		3.40%
4.09% AMZN		1.87%		2.11%
2.09% FB		1.74%		2.01%
1.94% GOOGL		1.69%		1.92%
1.87% GOOG		1.43%		1.55%
1.60% TSLA		1.28% 1.17%		1.26%
1.45% BRKB		1.07%		1.17% 1.17% MDT
1.31% JPM				-1.17 /6 MD1
1.19 % נאנ	100			

Note: As of April 15 Source: iShares

Expenses: 0.03% Expenses: 0.15%

And why are corporate managers going along with this charade?

- Given that shareholders in companies and investors in funds are paying for this gravy, you may wonder why corporate CEOs not only go along with this charade, but also actively encourage it, and the answer lies in the power it gives them to bypass shareholders and to evade accountability.
- After all, these are the same CEOs who, in 2019, put forth the <u>fanciful</u>, <u>but</u> <u>great sounding</u>, <u>argument</u> that it is a company's responsibility to maximize stakeholder wealth, rather than cater to shareholders, which I <u>argued in a post</u> then that being accountable to everyone effectively meant that CEOs were accountable to no one.
- In some cases, flaunting goodness has become a way that founders and CEOs use to cover business model weaknesses and overreach. It is a point that I made in my posts on Theranos, at the time of its implosion in October 2015, and on WeWork, during its IPO debacle in 2019, noting that Elizabeth Holmes and Adam Neumann used their "noble purpose" credentials to cover up fraud and narcissism.

A Roadmap for being and doing good

- Start with a personalized measure of goodness, and don't overreach: The key with moral codes is that they are personal, and for goodness to be incorporated into your investment and business decisions, you have to bring in your value judgments, rather than leave it to ESG measurement services or to portfolio managers.
- As a businessperson, be clear on how being good will affect business models and value: If you own a business, bring your personal views on morality into your business decisions, but if you do so, be at peace with the fact that staying true to your values may, and probably will, cost you money. If you are making decisions at a publicly traded company, as an employee, manager or even CEO, you are investing other people's money and you have an obligation to be open about what your conscience will cost your shareholders.
- As an investor, understand how much goodness has been priced in: If you are an investor, you don't have to compromise on your values, as long as you realize, at least in the long term, you will have to accept lower returns than you would have earned without that constraint..
- As a consumer and citizen, make choices that are consistent with your moral code: Your consumption decisions (on which products and services you buy) and your citizenship decisions (on voting and community participation) have as big, if not greater, an effect.

In conclusion...

- On a personal note, I have always found that the people that I've known who do good, spend very little time talking about being good or lecturing other people on goodness. I reserve my skepticism for those companies that spend hundreds of pages of their annual filings telling me how much "good" they do.
- The ESG movement's biggest disservice is the sense that it has given those who are torn between morality and money, that they can have it all.
 - Telling companies that being good will always make them more valuable, investors that they can add morality constraints to their investments and earn higher returns at the same time, and young job seekers that they can be paid like bankers, while doing peace corps work, is delusional.
 - The truth is that being good will cost you and/or inconvenience you (as businesses, investors or employees), and that you choose to be good, despite that cost.